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(English Pamphlets)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ

By
SHRIYUT DESHABANDHU C. R. DAS
AND
SHRIYUT BHAGAVAN DAS

FIFTH EDITION

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NOTE

In some public statements made by me in October and November, 1922, and again in my Presidential address at the Gaya Congress, on 26th December, 1922, I drew the attention of the public to the need for stating the fundamental principles and formulating the broad outlines of a Scheme of Self-government which should form the basis of Indian Swaraj.

Subsequently, the new Party (known as the Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj Party) which has been formed within the Congress, in consequence of division of opinion over the question of contesting elections for the official Councils, desired me to outline such a scheme, in conjunction with other friends, who also had been pressing the matter on the attention of the Indian People for some time past, and were co-opted for the Drafting Committee.

The Outline now placed before the public is the result. It was laid before a meeting of leading members of the new party, at Bombay, on 29th January, 1923. There was no time to discuss it properly. Many of the members present (from almost all the larger Congress Provinces) expressed a general approval ; others reserved opinion. But it was unanimously agreed that the draft should be placed before the Indian People, through the Press, and suggestions and criticisms invited.

It was also unanimously agreed that the Outline represents the Ideal which should be kept in view, as one to be gradually worked up to, and that a certain number of intermediate and progressive steps have to intervene, but which must all definitely, unmistakeably, steadily and progressively help to change the present regime so as to realise that ideal at no distant date.

BOMBAY,
30-1-1923 A.C.

CHITTA RANJAN DAS.

A WORD TO THE READER REGARDING THIS PAMPHLET

After presiding over the Gaya Congress, Deshabandhu Das came to Benares for a little rest in January, 1923. Shri Bhagavan Dasji, who had been pressing on the attention of the country continuously from 1921 onwards when the non-co-operation movement was launched, the necessity of defining Swaraj, met Deshabandhu Das in Benares and they had many long talks together on the subject. Shri Bhavavan Dasji then drew up the Scheme embodied in these pages and circulated them over the single name of Deshabandhu Das wit his consent. Shri Bhagavan Dasji has been writing, from time to time, ever since, in favour of this scheme ; and he drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to the necessity of educating public opinion in its favour when they met in Benares in January last. (The interview was published in Aj and reprinted in the Hindi press. It is hoped that an English edition will also soon be published through the medium of the English press.) With the kind permission of Mahatmaji, this Scheme is being circulated with "Young India" in the hope that it will attract the attention of all persons specially interested in the attainment of Swaraj. It is also hoped that they would please preserve this for future reference.

Seva-Upavana,
Benares.
25 *Chaitra* 1983, *A.V.*

SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

ERRATUM.

The words "Indian Legislative Assembly" in the third line of the first paragraph on page 5, should read "Viceroy of India."

AN APOLOGY

At this particular juncture when the Swaraj Scheme embodied in what is popularly known as the Nehru Report is before the country, and the Central Committee appointed by the Indian Legislative Assembly have finished their labours and submitted their reports to H.E. the Viceroy of India in the very teeth of opposition from their countrymen throughout India, and also when the Simon Commission, boycotted universally in India as they are, have well-nigh finished their work and are expected to bring forth the result of their work in the early part of the next year, a word of explanation is perhaps needed in publishing this scheme which was drawn up by the late lamented Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Shriyut Bhagwan Das in the early part of the year 1923, and already circulated in India three times.

It is very well known that the Indian National Congress do not recognise the right of the British Parliament or for the matter of that of any other person or body, to decide our future fate for us. The Indian National Congress claims the right of self-determination and the right to shape our destiny ourselves. It is also very well known to the world at large that the leaders assembled at Calcutta last year in the Congress (1928) after a great deal of deliberation, passed a compromise resolution. The country thereby pledged itself, though reluctantly, to accept and for the present abide by, the recommendations embodied in the Nehru Report, if Great Britain also on her part chose the way of peace and let us have our way to develop ourselves in the best way we could.

But it seems almost unlikely that Great Britain, the most powerful country of the world at the present time, will let us have our own way. The utterances of responsible men in England on the occasion of the last Indian debate in the Houses of Parliament have clearly shown, if there was any doubt at all in the minds of anybody in India or elsewhere, that there is forthcoming a grim fight, however peaceful it may be on our side, between the peoples of these two countries whose forefathers, as Mr. Baldwin reminds the world, came from the same Aryan stock.

Now the Nehru Report will have been dead by the midnight of the 31st December, 1929. India will then have to face the question of framing a fresh constitution for herself according to her genius and in keeping with her traditions. The publisher believes that the present scheme, conceived and elaborated by two giant thinkers of India, one of whom, unfortunately for us, is no more among ourselves, might furnish us with an impetus and might also perhaps suggest some new points to the world at large as it is substantially different from the schemes that are before the people in India at present. It is with a view to contributing to the solution of that practical question and co-operating with the other publicists from certain standpoints that are likely to be ignored, that this new European edition is being placed before the students of constitution-making.

Be it noted, however, finally, that the present publication purports but to be a statement of the general principles that should guide us in our work. Nothing more than a framework is in any case furnished here. Details remain to be filled in. To the elaboration of the principles as well as to the filling in of details the attention of statesmen is cordially invited.

GENEVA,
23rd Margashirsha, 1986, A.V. SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA

(6)

OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	
8	9	After "ones," add "according to population".
,,	13	Omit "according to population".
,,	23	Before "Museums" add "Monuments".
9	12	Omit "Monuments".
,,	34	For "sub-committees" read "committees".
10	31	Do: Do:
11	37	For "twenty-two" read "twenty-one".
16	(Foot-note) 1	For "*regime* only" read "*regime*, but only".
,,	(,,) 6	Omit "the resolution of".
,,	(,,) 8	For "confusedly" read "confessedly".
17	(,,) 6	Omit "a".
,,	(,,) 7	For "Mauriya" read "Maurya".
,,	(,,) 8	For "bundred" read "hundreds"
19	19	For "Pahchayat" read "the Panchayat".
,,	12	For "in" read "in a".
,,	28	For "then" read "thus".
25	36	For "Legislators" read "Legislatures".
29	44	For "forms socio-political" read "forms of socio-political".
,,	,,	For "tried of the" read "tried—the",
30	1	For "lop-side" read "lop-sided".

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OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ

Chapter I.—Essential Principles.

The principles which guide this outline are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial, and have been re-iterated in the Presidential Address of the Gaya Congress, in December, 1922, thus

"To form a scheme of government, regard must be had

(1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India ;

(2) the growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres ;

(3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth ;

(4) the village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous ;

(5) the residuary power of control must remain in the central Government, but the exercise of such power should be exceptional, and for that purpose, proper safeguards should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained, and at the same time, the growth of the central government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such Central Government should be mainly advisory."

Briefly, *a maximum of local autonomy*, carried on mainly with advice and co-ordination from, and only *a minimum of control by higher centres*, which will have some special functions besides.

To this should be added that *every possible care should be taken to ensure that the people's elected representatives*, who will constitute the Chief Authority for each grade of centre, local and higher, with power to make laws and rules, *shall be*, not self-seekers, but *seekers of the public welfare*.

Chapter II.—Administrative Divisions.

(*a*) *Local Centres.*

1. The foundation of the whole administration should be in Local Centres (*grama*), small but practically autonomous.

2. A Local Centre should ordinarily consist of a number of villages of which the population should total about ten thousand souls.

(*b*) *Town Centres.*

3. Towns (*nagar*), should form separate entities, and might, as necessary, be sub-divided into wards or quarters, of about the same population limits as the rural Local Centres.

(c) *District Centres.*

4. Rural and urban Local Centres should be integrated into larger groups of District Centres (zila) with populations of from five to twenty lakhs.

(d) *Provinces.*

5. District Centres should be integrated into Provincial organisations.

6. Provinces (sooba) should be demarcated on the linguistic basis. Any which are considered too large may be divided into smaller ones.

(e) *All-India Organisation.*

7. The Provincial Organisations should be integrated into and be co-ordinated by an All-India (Bharata-varsha or Hindustan) Organisation according to population.

8. Subject to these general principles, each province should draw up its own scheme of administrative divisions to suit provincial variations.

Chapter III.—Administrative Functions.

Functions should be as below :

A. (*i*) Provision for appropriate *Education* of all educable children and youth of both sexes (*Siksha or Talim*).

(*ii*) Provision for educative and cultural *Re-creation* (*vinoda or dil-bastagi*), *e.g.*, Public Gardens, Botanical Gardens, Zoos, Parks, Museums, Playing-grounds, Libraries, Reading Rooms, Art-galleries, Popular Lectures, Recitations, Processions, Pageants, Religious Festivals*, (Katha, Yatra, Kala-kshepam, Kirtan, Ram-lila, Krishna-lila, Maulud, Christmas and Easter celebrations, etc.) refining, elevating and instructive Dramas, Cinema and Magic Lantern shows, games and sports, etc.

B. Provision for *Protection* (*Raksha or Hifazat*), by means of,

(*i*) Police and Local Militia and Regular Military Forces ;

(*ii*) Justice and Settlement of Disputes, through Arbitration Courts or Panchayats in the narrower sense, and Registration of Deeds ;

(*iii*) Appropriate Medical help and Sanitation.

C. Provision for *Economic and Industrial Welfare* (*Jivika or Maash*) by promtion of

(*i*) Agriculture (*Krishi or Zira-at*) ;

(*ii*) Cattle-breeding (*Go-raksha or Taraqqi-maweshi*), *i.e.*, increase and preservation of domestic animals of all kinds, for purposes of milk, wool, plough, transport, etc.

* As regards "Places of Public Worship for the various Creeds," see Appendix Note to Chapter III.

(*iii*) Other Productive Industries relating to Mines, Forests, Fisheries, Salt, Sericulture, Arboriculture, etc. (*Akara-karma or Madaniyat*, etc.) ;

(*iv*) Arts and Crafts and Manufactures of all kinds (*Shilpa or Sanaat-hirfat*) ;

(*v*) Trade and Commerce (*Vanijya or Tijarat*) ; and

(*vi*) By promotion and regulation of the various means which subserve the above, *e.g.*, Taxes, Rates and Revenues, Tariff and Customs, Railways, Post, Telegraph, Telephone and Radiogram, Shipping, Harbours, Lighthouses, Airways, Roads, Waterways, Canals, Bridges, Ferries, Vehicular Traffic, Presses, Public Buildings, Monuments, Rest-Houses, Currency, Weights and Measures, Banks, Co-operative Societies, Factories, Public Property and Private Property, Measures of Flood and Famine Relief, Surveys (Geographical, Geological, Botanical, Meteorological, Statistical, Archaeological, etc.), Friendly Relations with other States, etc.

D. The above provisions would be made

(*i*) by means of laws and rules, bye-laws and resolutions, etc., which would be framed by the different grades of Panchayats, and would have force within the domains of their respective makers, the enactments of the lower grades of Councils being made with advice from and co-ordination by the higher when needed ;

(*ii*) by appointment of executive officials (who would be wholly responsible to the Councils appointing them) to carry out the laws and rules ; and

(*iii*) by supervision of their work.

Chapter IV.—Panchayats and Allocation of Functions.

A. Local Centres or Communes and Local Panchayats.

(*a*) For each rural or urban Local Centre or Commune there should be one Local Panchayat of twenty-one periodically elected members.

(*b*) This Panchayat should be in charge of the different functional departments mentioned above, so far as the Commune affords scope for them, and should carry on the work by means of sub-committees.

(*c*) Under *Education*

(*i*) they would maintain local Schools, giving elementary cultural and vocational-technical instruction, and

(*ii*) would provide for suitable *Recreation*.

(*d*) Under *Protection*

(*i*) they would appoint their own Chaukidars (Watchmen), and would form Local Militia out of such chaukidars and other able-bodied men, and would provide for their proper training ;

(*ii*) they would arrange for Arbitration Courts (the members of which would be separately elected), which would deal with simple civil (including what are now known as rent and revenue, *divani* and *mal* or *artha-vivada*) and criminal (*faujdari* or *parushya-vivada*) cases ;

(*iii*) they would also maintain an adequate Hospital (*chikitsalaya* or *shafa-khana*) and Medical Staff which would provide treatment free and be responsible for the proper Sanitation of the Commune.

(*e*) Under *Economical and Industrial Ministration*, they would see

(*i*) that all arable lands are properly tilled, and village commons, playing-grounds, pasture-lands, groves, orchards, etc., are properly maintained, and a sufficiency of necessaries, specially corn, cotton, and cattle (or other forms of food, clothing, and accessories, in specially circumstanced tracts), for the use of the Commune, is always available within their jurisdiction ;

(*ii*) that co-operative organisations, in the shape of Stores, Banks, etc., are maintained in the needed numbers ;

(*iii*) that wells, tanks, *tals*, canals, and all means of supply of good water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and for irrigation, and all roads, etc., within their Commune, are properly maintained ;

(*iv*) that production of surplus corn, cotton, cattle, and other necessaries as well as comforts, and of mineral and other products and means of increasing the wealth of the locality is encouraged, cottage-industries promoted, and arrangements made for commercial dealing with this produce in such a manner as to avoid competitive waste.

B. Intermediate Centres or Districts and District Panchayats.

(*a*) The District Panchayat should be constituted by each Local Panchayat (or group of Local Panchayats) periodically choosing one member, who may or may not be one of them ; provided that the total number of members should not exceed one hundred ; and provided also that at least two-fifths of them should be residents of towns.

(*b*) They would form sub-committees among themselves on the lines before mentioned.

(*c*) The District Panchayat would generally *advise* and *not control* the Local Panchayat, in respect of all functions. Special provision would be made for such control as may be occasionally or absolutely necessary.

(*d*)—(*i*) Under *Education*, the District Panchayat should maintain one or more higher educational institutions (like colleges and high schools) as may be necessary, which would give cultural as well as technical instruction.

(*ii*) They would also provide *Recreation*, arranging for the more expensive items which may not be within the means of the Local Panchayats.

(*e*) Under *Protection* (*i*) they would co-ordinate the Local Police ;

(*ii*) arrange to maintain some special Reserve of District Police ;

(*iii*) organise and co-ordinate the Local Militia, so that they might discharge the functions of a disciplined Army ; and

(*iv*) Maintain one or more large hospitals and supply medical and sanitary advice to their Communes.

(*f*) Under *Economic and Industrial Ministration*, the District Panchayat would

(*i*) co-ordinate the Local Banks and Stores and other local economic and industrial and commercial enterprises ; and

(*ii*) organise or promote such other independent enterprises.

C. Town Centres and Town Panchayats.

(*a*) Aggregation of dwellings containing ten thousand or more inhabitants should be regarded as towns.

(*b*) Towns should be organised in the same way, generally, as the rural Local Centres ; and the same general principles should be applied to their functioning as to the rural Local Centres, as far as practicable, but regard must be had to the special variations in the economic and other circumstances.

(*c*) For the purposes of the integration of the District Centres and the election of the District Panchayats, the rural and the urban Local Centres should be counted side by side as component units ; and the headquarters or the seat of the District Panchayats would ordinarily be the largest town of the district.

(*d*) For the purpose of unifying the administration of each town as a single whole, the Town's Members of the District Council, together with such other members as may be specially elected by the Ward-Panchayats, in the proportion of two or more per ward, should form a Town Panchayat (like the present Municipal Boards), which would be intermediate between the urban Local (i.e., Ward) Panchayats and the District Panchayat, and would discharge as many of the functions of the District Council, towards the whole Town, as may be conveniently possible.

D. Provinces and Provincial Panchayats

(*a*) The Provincial Panchayats should consist of members elected by the District Panchayats in the proportion of one for every two lakhs of the population ; provided that the total number should not fall below twenty-two, nor exceed one hundred ; and provided also that at least half the number should be urban residents. They may or may not be members of the District Panchayats.

(*b*) The Provincial Panchayts would advise the District Panchayats and co-ordinate them and their work, using residuary powers of control under proper safeguards.

(*c*) Its special work would be

(*i*) to maintain advanced Educational Institutions (in the nature of Vidya-pithas, Dar-ul-ulums, "Seats of Learning," "Centres of Knowledge," Universities) which would give expert cultural and technical training and promote research ;

(*ii*) to maintain special Police and Military Forces, for the guarding of Frontiers, Sea-boards, etc. ;

(*iii*) to make provision for Justice in special cases ;

(*iv*) to administer Provincial Railways, Water-works, Canals, Roads, etc.

E. The India Panchayat.

(*a*) The All-India Panchayat should consist of members elected by the Provincial Panchayats in the proportion of one for every thirty lakhs of population, but Provinces which may have a total population of less than thirty lakhs would send one representative. At least three-fifths of the members should be urban.

(*b*) The functions of the India Panchayat would be similar to those of the Provincial Panchayat *mutatis mutandis ;* a special one would be to deal with neighbouring States (including Indian States and Foreign Countries.

(*c*) The India Panchayat should create a Consulting Senate, consisting of eminent men and women of thought and special knowledge, belonging to all parts of India, who would be elected by the India Panchayat from time to time, without restriction of numbers, etc., and who would be asked for advice on any subject, as needed, by the India Panchayat or the Provincial Panchayats.

(*d*) The language of the India Panchayat should be Hindustani while the Provinces would use their mother tongues.

F. Special Provision for Filling up Vacancies.

Generally, if a member of a lower Council is elected to a higher, his place may be filled up by a new election by the same electorate.

Chapter V.—The Qualifications of the Choosers and the Chosen.

1. Every individual of either sex, who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twenty-five years of age if a man, and twenty-one years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

5. The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre, and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, colour, race, or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of creedal or communal representation.

6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not under forty years of age ; should have done some good work in any walk of life ; should, if rural, be at least literate, and if urban, should possess higher educational qualifications, and in the case of rural and urban members of the Provincial and India Councils, should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience ; should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of bread-winning or money-making, and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends ; should give practically all their time to national work, and should do so without any cash remuneration. But their travelling and other *ex-officio* expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds, and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honour attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions.

7. The members of each Panchayat should possess, between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer.

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass for himself, as a candidate for election ; but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office, if elected.

Chapter VI.—Separation of Functions.

1. Throughout the whole administration, Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions should be kept separate from one another.

Chapter VII.—Finance.

1. The revenues needed to meet necessary expenditure should be raised by the Local Panchayats by means of taxation, with advice from the upper Panchayats.

2. State factories might be opened as necessary, with a view to prevent waste by individual competition, over-production, bad production, etc., to cheapen commodities, and to reduce taxation, but not so as to create monopolies and stifle private enterprise.

3. Where practicable, Local and District Councils should make such improvements in the locality as might result in addition to the communal income, *e.g.*, public wells, tanks, canals, roads, groves of timber and fruit trees, etc., and thereby lead to reduction of taxation.

4. Contributions would be made by the Local Panchayats to make up the revenues of the District Panchayats ; by them to the Provincial ; and by the Provincial to the India Panchayat.

5. Special taxation might be imposed by the Provincial and India Panchayats.

Chapter VIII.—Proprietorship.

1. Private property would be recognised and maintained and the growth of individual wealth, both movable and immovable, would be permitted, but so as not to encroach on or make impossible or impracticable the growth of public possessions as well ; and the owner of individual wealth, who spends it on pious works, *i.e.*, works of public utility, as requested by a Panchayat, would receive special marks of honour.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX.

(*by* BHAGAVAN DAS).

NOTE TO CHAPTER I.

Fundamental Principles.

(*a*) Excessive centralization, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a bureaucratic clique, mindful of its own prestige and emoluments, careless of the public weal, walling itself off more and more thickly from touch with public opinion, in fact arrogant and disdainful towards the public regarding itself as public-*master* rather than as public-*servant*—this is the bane, in consequence of which the public servant waxes and the public wanes, more and more, every day, in India. Genuine decentralization of administration, substantial distribution of power, and real responsibility of the public servant to the People's trusted representatives—this is the only remedy.* Hence the formulation of practical local autonomy as a fundamental principle.

(*b*) The failure to secure *ethical* fitness, the philanthropic and humanitarian outlook upon life, in the elected legislators,—in consequence of which failure, the laws made by them are not wise and just, but partial to special class interests, and promote an excessive inequaliy and therefore widespread discontent and conflicts of all kinds and degrees—this is the disastrous and all-vitiating defect of western system of Swaraj, the cause of all their internal ferments and their external wars, of the enslavement of Labour by Capital, of the many by the few, within each State, and of the ruthless exploitation of weaker nations without. This failure must be strenuously guarded against in our scheme. Hence the formulation of the second fundamental principle.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II.

Administrative Divisions.

This scheme of administrative divisions is in accord with the time-honoured traditions of the country. The agricultural village and the village community were, are, and ought to continue to be the natural basis of our special type of culture and civilisation, and of all wise administration in a country ninety per cent. of the population of which is rural. Most writers and thinkers about India are agreed in this. In the most ancient days, of which accounts are available, the socio-politico-economical divisions were the village, the group of ten villages, the group of ten tens or a hundred, the group of ten such or a thousand —grama, janapada, pranta, vishaya, mandala and so on. In medieval times and the days of the Moghals, the arrangement was much the same—mauza, tappa, pargana, zila, sooba, etc. It is the same to-day

* For the contrast between the English and the U.S. American systems on this point, and the immense superiority of the former, see, e.g., Ford's *Representative Government* (1925).

in the Indian States and in the territories under British occupation.† The names of the divisions and sub-divisions differ in the different provinces. No radical change can be made in this principle of groupings and integration. But for the purpose of the electoral principle, which worked sub-consciously in the old days of the panchayat and the village community, and has to work consciously and deliberately now, a population basis is suggested for the initial groups, and also for the next intermediate groups, though with greater elasticity. For the third grade, the linguistic basis is the most natural and has been already recognised by the Congress. The fourth and the final grade is governed by many considerations, geographical, political, economical, cultural, etc. ; for fixing the outermost boundaries of this whole, no single principle suffices.

The single village cannot well be accepted to-day as the initial unit of administration. The population of the five hundred thousand villages of British-occupied India varies from a few dozens to a few thousands. Therefore, in the interests of a convenient uniformity, a population basis of approximately ten thousand is suggested. This will give about three to four thousand electors for the Local Panchayat (dealt with in a subsequent chapter)—not too large a number for such common consciousness and general acquaintance, by reputation or directly, as is needed for electoral purposes.‡ For the whole of India, the proportion of women over twenty-one is, roundly, about sixty-five millions out of one hundred and fifty ; and of men over twenty-five, also about sixty-five millions, but out of one hundred and sixty.

The treatment of towns as separate entities is suggested for obvious reasons. The difference between the conditions of the two, town and country-village, *pura* and *jana-pada*, *shahar* add *dehat*, has been recognised in all times and climes. The one represents (by no means exclusively, but only by predominant feature) the *intellectual power* (*buddhi*, *aql*) of the people ; the other, their *vital power* (*prana*, *jan*). They are *inter*-dependent. *Both* are necessary for a full civilised life for the People as a whole. But the modern western plutocratic and bureaucratic centralising tendency causes the town to grow *excessively* and absorb the vitality of the country inordinately. This excess needs to be checked, and *just balance between the two* to be restored, in order to prevent disastrous devitalisation of the soul and the body of the vast

† It is the same under the British *regime* only nominally and geographically. The Village Panchayats and their beneficent local self-government have been violently uprooted. The tremendous confusion, and the change for the worse in many respects, that took place in India, with regard to these and the customs and laws of the land tenure have to be studied in works specially dealing with the subject, in order to realise the need for the resolution of the restoration of the old arrangement on a higher level. The village Panchayat seems to have constituted a well-developed example of the confusedly embryonic ideas regarding "group-organisation," "neighbourhood organisation," etc., which are now beginning to be discussed in the West, e.g., in Miss M. P. Follett's *The New State* (1926).

‡ Some western writers have calculated that, even with the widest franchise, the proportion of enrolled electors to the total population comes to about one in five ; the actual number of voters at any election is always much less.

agricultural population, and the consequent crashing down, before long, of the whole much too top-heavy organism.

This balance will be restored by emphasising the *separate autonomy* of the village groups and the towns—the needed co-ordination and mutual support being secured by the advice, and where absolutely necessary, the control, of the Provincial Authority. The need of this separateness is recognised even under the British regime by the distinction between Municipal Boards and District Boards, though, of course, in that regime, the ' local *self*-government ' of the Boards is carried on under the strict ' *other*-government ' of the district officials.

The reason for fixing more elastic population-limits for the District and Town Groups is this. In the Punjab, the population of the existing twenty-nine districts varies from five lakhs to ten lakhs, and gives an average of about seven lakhs. The twenty-six districts of Bombay vary between three and twelve lakhs, and give an average of eight. The average for Bengal is sixteen ; the largest population not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, being that of Mymensingh i.e., forty-five lakhs. The average for Madras is also sixteen. Also for Behar. That for the U.P., ten. Some of the larger districts, *f.i.*, Mymensing, with forty-five lakhs, Vizagapatam and Gorakhpur with thirty-two each, Dacca and Darbhanga with thirty each, Muzaffarpur and Midnapore with twenty-eight each, are too bulky for convenience of autonomous administration. Even the men of the British regime have been thinking of dividing some of them into two or three districts each. The capital towns have eleven or twelve lakhs. The lower limits for towns may be regarded as ten thousand. The Census officials of the present regime have defined the town as every continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than five thousand persons. Ten thousand is suggested in the text, later on, in view of the fact that that figure has been suggested for the rural Local Centre also. In British occupied India there are about twelve hundred ' towns ' or villages, with a population between five and ten thousand, or a total of about eighty lakhs. In view of such facts, elastic limits, of five to twenty lakhs, have been suggested for the District. For purpose of symmetry, the figure might have been fixed at ten lakhs uniformly. It is the actual average for the two hundred and seventy-five districts of British-occupied India. But the centre of a district has ordinarily, to be a fair-sized town. And in tracts where towns are few and far between, large agricultural areas and populations have to be grouped around and with them. Natural boundaries, rivers, forests, ranges of hills, etc., also make for variation of area and population.*

* Aristotle, without railway, steamship, aircraft, telegraph, telephone, wireless and printing press, thought the population for an ideal state was a minimum of ten thousand and a maximum of a hundred thousand, and the area, as far as a herald's voice could reach, Even the much later Rousseau, the philosopher of the French Revolution, thought of ten thousand. The present Scheme tries to synthesise Aristotle's and Rousseau's midget (a city-state) with the leviathan (country-state) of Aristotle's distant contemporary, Chandragupta Mauriya and even more of modern times, consisting of millions of square miles and hundred of millions of human beings.

Note to Chapter III.

Functions.

Western writers divide the functions of government, into (i) Constituent or Protective, and (ii) Ministrant or Promotive. The former are what may be called negative mainly, (*a*) the prevention of crimes and breaches of peace, and (*b*) adjustment of wrong ; in other words, preventive and curative, or police-military and judicial. The others are positive and constructive, the active promotion of the welfare of the community.

The *laisser faire* school of socio-political thought, looking at the mischievous consequences of over-interference by the State, i.e., the Bureaucracy, would confine the duties of government to the former only ; and would give to the individuals, regarded as units, who compose the Public or People, full liberty to work out their own destiny in their own ways, in competition with each other so far as positive welfare of 'success in life'—whatever that might mean—is concerned. This is the school of individualism. Another school, looking at the immense waste of energy and life, which results from unregulated competition, and at the exploitation of the less cunning and less able ' many ' by the more cunning and strong ' few ', (so that the evils of bureaucracy reappear as the evils of plutocracy) and also realising that widespread and substantial and lasting ' success in life ' depends more upon ' mutual aid ' and co-operation and communal organisation, than upon individual enterprise, recommend State-regulation and the free exercise of promotive functions by the State in new ways which will obviate the evils resulting from bureaucracy. This school of thought is generally known as that of Socialism ; but by differences of views as to the ways, becomes divided into many, known as Collectivism, Communism, Anarchism, State-socialism, Guild-socialism, etc.

As uusal, the truth is in the golden mean, and error in the extremes. The best course is the middle course. Our Swaraj must maintain a balance between Individualism and Socialism (*swartha* and *parartha*) must reconcile the two. For *both* are *necessary* to full civilised life, even as the pronouns ' I and We '. The needed reconciliation will be effected by maximising local elective autonomy and minimising centralisation.

As to the preventive and curative functions, Police-Military and Justice, there is no dispute. Also as regards Medicative and Sanitative, which may be regarded partly as protective and partly as promotive, Sanitation being preventive of disease and promotive of health, and medication being curative of ills.

But a certain amount of 'promotive' work must also be done by the various grades of Centres. This work may be grouped under two main heads, the promotion (*i*) of right Education, the very foundation of all communal welfare (and therefore placed here before even Protection) and (*ii*) of Economic and Industrial Well-being. Education will include Recreation also, as being indirect education in a popular and elastic and almost more effective form.

It is the duty of the elders of the family (*i*) to protect the younger generation, (*ii*) to amuse and educate them, (*iii*) to settle them in life, to put them in the way of earning a livelihood. The duty, the right, the function, of the elders of the village, of the districts, of the provinces, of the country as a great whole, is *none other*. All the functions of government are either these, or subsidiary to these.

A word may be specially added here on the subject of Recreation. The object of measures under this head would be two-fold : (*i*) to provide such *refined entertainment*, for young and old alike, as will give healthy *relaxation*, as well as healthy *tone*, and also *indirect* yet very useful *education and general culture*, to the mind and body of all sections of the public, in leisure hours ; and (*ii*) at the same time to *displace the evil recreations*, of drink and drugs and other social vices and harmful indulgences. It should be borne in mind that *some* recreations human beings *will* have ; and where healthy ones are not easily available, evil ones *will* be resorted to.

The desirability should be considered here, of putting provision for "Places of public worship for the various creeds" among the duties of Pahchayat, under the head of Education and Recreation, and putting it even in the forefront. The Worship of the Infinite (a more indubitable fact than the Finite) is Re-creation, creation anew of the soul and the finer elements of the body, nourishment for the inmost heart, in very real sense. That the Elders of the Commune should have the duty of making this provision duly (and separately only to the extent unavoidably necessary, and with at least one place where members of *all* and *any* creed might join occasionally in a Common Prayer worded so as to be acceptable to all)—this would conduce to the liberalisation of all the creeds concerned and then to the Religious Peace which is indispensable for India's and the world's progress.*

Note to Chapter IV.

Panchayats and Allocation of Functions.

The placing of the headquarters of the District Panchayat in the largest town of the district will make the co-ordination of the administration of the town and the country easy. And it is in accordance with natural tendency. The danger that the town may begin to dominate the country, is guarded against by the provision that the country members of the District Panchayat should be in the majority.

The proportion of the two classes of members is made equal in the Provincial Panchayat, and reversed in the India Panchayat, because

*With reference to Chap. III.*D* (*a*) the objection has been taken that there would be thousands of Communes, and each having its own laws would mean utter disintegration. The objection overlooks the higher-co-ordinating bodies. Even to-day, under the British regime, a single province, *f. i.*, the U.P., has over eighty municipalities and about fifty districts, and each has its independent board with its own rules, bye-laws, and minute-books of resolutions. But the rules of all are the same, following one set of model rules framed by the Government, the bye-laws are nearly the same with small variations, the resolutions are special and different.

the upper bodies have to deal more and more with technical and non-agricultural affairs.

The Essential Change.

"*Advisory* and not *mandatory* excepting in rare cases"—this is the essence of the change needed in the administration. The change is one of *spirit*. The details of the official executive machinery may remain much as they are now ; but if the executive, the judicial, and the legislative powers are separated, and the ' legislators ' (in the broad sense) who compose the Panchayats, of all grades, are elected, and the higher Panchayats ordinarily *advise* and not *command* the lower Panchayat, and the executive officials are really responsible to the Panchayats, then, it is exepected, the evils of the present regime will be cured. For the autocracy of the Bureaucracy will be replaced by what may be called an aristo-demo-cracy. Aristo-cracy, because the Panchayats will be composed of the *best* and most trusted and honoured of the people ; demo-cracy because the people will *choose* them. The members of the Panchayats would not exercise any executive powers directly, either in their individual or their corporate capacity, but would only make laws or rules or pass resolutions. These would be carried out by the Executive. And the Executive or at least the chief officials thereof, would be appointed and, if necessary, dismissed or otherwise punished, by the Panchayats. In some cases the executive official may be an elected one. He, too, would be subject to the supervision of the Panchayat. The control of the Panchayat-Legislative would thus be exercised over the Executive by means of this power of appointment, dismissal, or advancement. The Judiciary would be mostly elective also, subject to approval by the Panchayat-Legislative.

This separation of powers would minimise the temptations to, and opportunities of, corruption for all, and would make the Executive (and also the Judiciary) *responsible* to the People, in the persons of their Elect, which responsibility is the one great desideratum to-day.

It will be remembered that Mr. Gokhale suggested and endeavoured that Advisory Committees should be formed in each district, to advise the district officer in all important matters. Of course, the Bureaucracy declined, on the ground that it would interfere with the individual responsibility of the district officer. When they said ' responsibility,' they, of course, meant ir-responsibility ; for when was the district officer responsible, and to whom ? If he was or is responsible at all, it was and is only to the Bureaucratic Clique. If Mr. Gokhale could have agreed, as was suggested in some quarters, that the Advisory Committee should be nominated by the district officer himself, then, indeed, there would have been no difficulty in the acceptance of his suggestion. Only, then, each district officer would have had a standing Darbar of so many courtiers, the nawab-ic arrangement would have been complete, and the People would have been worse off than before.

What is needed is that the Advisory Committee should be a Panchayat made up of the Elders of the People, which will not *interfere* with the pretended and non-existent responsibility of the executive official, but will make it *real* and *enforce* it.

Measures are outlined later on, for further safeguarding and ensuring, as far as is humanly possible, the uprightness of the members of the Panchayats themselves ; for such safeguarding is the very heart of the whole scheme.

It should be noted that, though option is given, the presumption is that the majority of the members of the higher Panchayats will be chosen from among the members of the lower, who will be all directly elected by the People. Constant and sympathetic touch and unity of spirit and of work will thus be maintained throughout, and the People will, for all practical purposes, directly elect to all the Panchayats, Local, Intermediate and Central, even though technically, the election to the latter will be by a process of distillation through electoral colleges. The latter process has some advantages, which too will be secured by this method. The immense worry and trouble and expense of holding huge elections, by millions upon millions of voters, over and over again, for a handful of seats, would be all saved. And in the Local Panchayats, with their small area and population, and through them, in the upper ones, the elected and the electors will be in constant touch with each other, and public opinion will carry its full weight and receive its full due, influencing the members of the Local Panchayats and through them those of the upper ones effectively.*

It is very desirable that there should be a certain number of persons who should belong to all grades of Panchayats. They will serve as the personal linking medium and would bind together all parts of India continuously and effectively, and at the same time keep all the centres in real touch with each other. And this would be one important measure for guarding against the possibility (which is always present in federations of practically autonomous areas and communities) of their falling apart, under the influence of false provincialisms and insularities and other such causes (which are very liable to be fostered by the linguistic demarcation), and so weakening the whole. Another measure is connected with finance, in the shape of some special All-

* The question whether all elections should be direct, or those for the upper bodies should be indirect, is no doubt very debatable. There are pros and cons on each side. But in view of the special circumstances of India, the system recommended in the text has seemed the most suitable. It appears that, by a curious coincidence, the Soviet Constitution of Russia is somewhat similar in this particular respect ; coincidence, in that I had no information as to the nature of that Constitution, and, so far as I am aware Deshabandhu C. R. Das too had none, when we were working at this scheme in January, 1923, But the coincidence is perfectly natural, seeing that Russian conditions are very similar, vast areas, immense (though not so thick) population, the bulk of it agricultural and living in villages.

It will be noted that the idea of the present scheme is to build up the pyramid of the State from the bottom upwards, with a broad and solid base in the group-organisation of the whole people, up to the apex in a Central Legislature guiding a Central Executive. Most modern Constitutions reverse the process, construct the apex first and the base afterwards.

India taxation ; and a third, with the use of a common language by the All-India Panchayat. Both are mentioned in their proper places.

In this way, the virtuous (and not the vicious) circle of (not to use the harsh word ' government ', but) administration of the affairs of the People, for the People (by the People's Trusted and Chosen Elders) will be wholesomely completed. Human affairs should be ministered by those who know human nature in mind and body ; a People's affairs should be administered by those who are its Elect and are in constant and sympathetic touch with, and therefore know, the People and their requirement of body and mind.

It will be seen that, under the scheme, the District Councils, will be fairly large in point of numbers. A district of the maximum population of twenty lakhs, will have a Panchayat of one hundred members ; whereas the provinces which are largest in population (at present) will have no more in their Provincial Panchayats. As the bulk of the administrative work will be disposed of by the Local and the District Council, when they are really autonomous, very large numbers for the upper Council are unnecessary from the standpoint of disposal and distribution of work between and by sub-committees. Very large numbers are also otherwise undesirable in deliberative bodies. The personnel may be changed at short intervals, by framing rules in that behalf. It may be observed here that these sub-committees properly framed and used, would correspond to heads of guilds, and would secure to the communal administration, the advantages, on a higher level, of the village community as well as the city-guilds system.

Note to Chapter V.

Qualifications of Choosers and Chosen.

With regard to the ages suggested for Electors, the idea is that only those who are mature in body and mind, and have had some experience of life, and especially of family responsibility, should be entrusted with the duty of choosing those who would rule their affairs. The ages suggested would ordinarily give these requisites in India. It seems that in England the difference is reversed, twenty-one is fixed for men and thirty for women. Perhaps it was thought that at the earlier age, women would be too busy with family cares and work inside the home, to be able to take much interest in the work outside. In India women are as mature in body and mind at twenty-one as men at twenty-five ; and these different ages, if fixed as suggested, would generally enable husband and wife to go to the poll together.

As regards the qualifications of the elected it has been said at the outset that the conditions for election should be such as would make it humanly probable that the electors may be seekers of public weal and not self-seekers. The qualifications mentioned in the Outline Scheme are as "the outward symbols of the inward grace." They are such as ordinarily go with the wise and self-denying and philanthropic

nature. The reasons for suggesting them may be mentioned in greater detail as below.

(*a*) Legislators should be permanent residents of the country for which they are to legislate ; but their creed, caste, class, colour, race, or sex should not as such, be regarded either as a qualification or as a disqualification. Without permanent residence in the country, sympathetic understanding is not possible ; while taking account of creed, caste, etc., in the elections, imports into the resulting legislature the vicious spirit of conflicting interests and party-politics in place of the virtuous spirit of each caring for all. But if, because, at present, there is much creed and caste and class jealousy existent in the country, it should seem necessary that some exceptions should be made, there is provision for communal representation. It is to be trusted, however, that once the scheme begins to work, the whole atmosphere will change so that these jealousies will disappear, and it will be realised by all that civic well-being is independent of creeds and sectarian beliefs, as has been realised in Japan.

(*b*) At forty, persons have well passed middle age and usually have children of their own and thus experience of the household life. This will make reasonably probable that the legislator possesses intimate knowledge of human nature in its more common and important aspects, knows what responsibility for the well-being of others means, and has sober and mature judgment. But he should have also retired from all competitive bread-winning or money-making, and should be living on his past earnings or on a ' pension.' So, he would feel financially independent ; his outlook upon life, his attitude towards his fellow-being, would have changed from that of selfish taking to that of unselfish giving ; and he would have all the leisure needed for his public duties.

It may be that many persons are not able to retire from their business or profession at forty. But we do not want many. Exceptions will be able to. And we want exceptionally selfless men for this essential and highest kind of public work. Twenty-one persons in ten thousand are not too many to expect. If the country cannot provide even so much self-denial, it may as well give up all attempt at Swaraj. But the country *has* been showing capacity for self-denial ; and there is no need to be doubtful. Moreover, if few people are in a position to give up business or profession at forty, many *can* and *ought to*, at forty-five, or fifty, with considerable benefit to the whole moral tone of themselves and their community. And if the Panchayat members are fifty years or more, there is no harm done, but rather more mature wisdom and experience secured. After all, even under the current managements, the deliberative and legislative and guiding assemblies of most nations and communities are composed of grey-haired persons. A younger and physically more vigorous and active age is wanted in the executive offices, where action is required more than thought. It has to be remembered that the old *have been young*, and *know* what the young know ; but the young *have not* been old, and

do not know what the old know ; though it is devoutly to be prayed that they may all become very, very old and learn all that the old know, except the pains of old age! It may be that many persons tend to become mentally inactive also, after fifty-five or sixty. But between forty-five and fifty-five is ordinarily, a very good age for the kind of deliberative and legislative work we have in view here. And there are cases, though rare, in which the mind is thoroughly capable and active, and the body healthy, right up to seventy or more. But it may be worth while to fix a maximum age-limit also, say sixty or sixty-five, as the minimum is forty.

Provision may also be made for exceptions. It may be that these high age-limits will sometimes exclude really brilliant younger men. Our conception of the legislator requires not *brilliance* but *wisdom*. Brilliance comes and goes, and plays false and proves tinsel, and makes messes, but wisdom lingers. Wisdom is matured knowledge *plus* philanthropy, patriarchal benevolence. Brilliance may well wait and mature into a softer, steadier, soberer light and do its duty so much the better *after* attaining the forty years. If it is substantial, it will not get extinguished by waiting a few years. Yet, for cases in which the work of the Panchayat concerned is likely to suffer if any particular person is shut out because of the age-limit, provision may be made for exceptions, as said.

(*c*) We want another qualification in our Panchayat member. He should have done outstandingly good work in *some* walk of life—whether literary, scientific, educational, priestly, medical, artistic, etc., or administrative, official, military, etc., or commercial, agricultural, industrial, financial, etc., or as a labourer and manual worker ; and he should have done this and at the same time acquired a reputation for uprightness and honest dealing and sympathy for fellow-creatures. An aged agriculturist who has tilled his few acres successfully, has raised a good family, is respected and trusted in his own and neighbouring villages, and can express his views clearly, is a wise village-elder, in short, may be a more useful member of a legislature which has to deal with vast agricultural interests like those of India, even though he may be only just able to sign his name, than many brilliant speakers or writers with only a college education that has little touch of reality.*

(*d*) Another desirable condition is that the legislator should not receive any cash remuneration for his work from the public funds.

* The idea underlying Chap. V., 6-7, is that, generally speaking, representation should be "functional," and the members should represent, in adequate numbers for each, either (1) Learning, Art and Science, or (2) Defensive Power, Military Skill and Executive Ability, or (3) Property, Trade, Capital, the Production of Wealth generally, or (4) Industry, Craft, Labour—which four are the main functions of society, corresponding with the four ancient estates of the Indian realm. This idea is called by the names of "functional," "vocational," and "occupational" representation, now, and is beginning to be discussed in the West. The difference between this idea, as understood in Indian tradition and the modern representation of "interests," the "employers," "the employees," "the land-owners," "the cultivators," "the beer-makers," "the bankers," etc., is that these are groups of persons, all expressly regarded as *competing against* each other, whereas the four are the main functions of society as an organic whole, and are regarded as co-operating with each other.

Such cash payment, while perfectly right and even necessary in other fields of work, taints the peculiar fiduciary status of the *legislator*, who should stand in the position of Trustee and Elder to the people. He should therefore meet all his *personal* expenses himself. But, of course, all his *ex-officio* expenses must be met out of public funds. This would invest the legislator with the venerable dignity which naturally belongs to such an Elder. Trust, honour, reverence—these are the proper, the only, and the natural price of patriarchal benevolence and caring; and they usually *are* paid, where the generous instincts and traditions of the community have not been perverted. Also, the giving and receiving of such honour—a reward greater than power and wealth and amusements, for it can be enjoyed not only in life, but also after the death of the physical body, which the others cannot be—is a great nourishment to the heart of both giver and receiver, and is a continuous inducement to benevolent work on the part of the latter (*when it is not mixed up with and corrupted by power and wealth*) and a powerful check against temptations to corruption. The natural corollary of this is that in all public functions, the unsalaried legislator should have rank and precedence above all salaried office-bearers as well as persons engaged in competitive money-earning professions.

It will be readily seen that the idea underlying this condition is that which has been discussed and emphasised before, the idea of spiritualising politics by changing the whole culture and civilisation of society from its present *mercenary* to a *missionary* basis, even as the work of the elder in a family is done for the youngers, not for mercenary motives, but out of 'missionary' benevolence. The right instinct is already there; it has only to be revived. Many western countries do not, or until recently did not, give any salary to their legislators. Aldermen are not paid. Nor are justices of the peace. The theory about the *honorarium* of the barrister is the same. But the prevailing mammonism of western civilisation has corrupted the whole moral atmosphere of human life and penetrated into and vitiated even the most sacred domestic and fiduciary relations. If this atmosphere cannot be purified by the introduction of the missionary and patriarchal spirit in the Panchayats, the Legislators and the Courts of Arbitration, then there is no hope of true Swaraj.

(*e*) It goes without saying that, grade after grade, each Panchayat should have, in its personnel, members possessing between them, all the knowledge and experience needed for dealing with all the different kinds of work which the Panchayat as a whole has to attend to. For making rules for, and dealing with, each main department of work, the Panchayat will have to form a sub-committee out of its own members; and it is obvious that these should have special knowledge of that kind of work.

(*f*) Another important point is this :—There should be no 'standing,' no offering of or canvassing for, himself, by anyone as a candidate for election. The idea of self display and *seeking* election is wholly incongruous with the spirit of philanthropic public service. Favours are sought not burdens. The conception here should be, not that

the electors confer a favour or honour on the elected, but that they place a heavy burden of public work on him ; and it is therefore they who are to be placed under obligation, and should request the electee, instead of being requested by him. *Seeking* election for oneself has an inevitable savour of selfishness of some sort or other about it, which is quite inconsistent with our ideal of the legislator. Of course there will always be possibilities of abuse. But the point to be considered is whether they will be *less* or *greater* than under the current systems, under which the gross abuses of "electioneering", are as much a by-word as commercial and financial "profiteering" and bureaucratic "domineering." And it has also to be remembered that the mere *public acceptance and declaration of the principles* and ideas here suggested will change for the better, the whole tone and atmosphere of politics.

It may be objected that we may make a rule that there must be no canvassing, etc., but—will not persons surreptitiously get others to nominate and canvass for them ? The reply is that obviously we do not profess to be able to abolish all evil. Whoever or Whatever made the Universe has not succeeded in doing so. Human beings can obviously not do better. Indeed, some people think and believe that if evil *were* abolished, *good* would disappear automatically also. But what human beings ought to and can do is, to try to minimise the evil and maximise the good, in a given time, place, and circumstance. We profess only to make suggestions towards this. No doubt, there will be room for underhand doings. But the *other* conditions which we propose must not be overlooked. They will blunt the edge of the temptations to such doings. Thus, legislators will not be entrusted with executive powers, as they are to-day, in the capacity of Ministers or Executive Councillors, etc. Judicial powers will also be separated off from the other two. And the re-formed public opinion will make a different atmosphere altogether. The general recognition of the non-mercenary principle ; and of the principle of the division of the rewards of extra honour, and special official powers, and extra wealth, and more amusements, etc., in correspondence with the division of labour and functions and the difference of the main kinds of temperaments and capacities ; the condition that legislators should not be engaged in any money-making business, which will naturally keep the public eye alert and wakeful upon his purity—all this will make the election something to be accepted only from a sense of duty, as a burden for which the only (but great) recompense is honour, rather than to be eagerly sought for as a means of easy selfish joys, feel of power, and high life.*

* It has been objected that the laying down of such qualifications limits the electors in their choice of persons to represent them. But every election rule does, more or less. Why should there be a minimum age ? Why any disqualifications ? Why, indeed, the system of representation by election at all—if unlimited unregulated freedom of the people is the ideal ? It is true that such qualifications as are suggested above may strike a reader as very curious, even absurd, in modern times, when all human values seem to have been superseded and replaced by the cash value ; but they are in accord with Indian traditions. The Greece of Theseus (*vide* Plutarch's *Lives*) and early Rome, and even the Europe of the Middle Ages, here and there, seems to have had somewhat similar notions about "honour" (see Ford, *Representative Government*, the two chapters on "Securities" and "Further Securities").

Note to Chapter VI.

Separation of Functions.

That Judicial functions should be separated off from Executive functions is admitted even by the Bureaucracy in profession ; though they are avoiding, might and main, the carrying out of their profession into practice. But it is not equally generally recognised that the Legislative function should also be separated off from the other two. Even more radically dangerous than the combination of Judicial and Executive, is the combination of Legislative and Executive. If the Executive-Judge will always *decide* in favour of himself, or of his class or clique, the Executive-Legislator will *make laws* in favour of himself or of his class or clique—a far more radical danger, mischief at the very root.

In the ancient Indian scheme, the man of thought was the Legislator, and the man of action was the Executor of his law. Such a pioneer of reform in India as Raja Ram Mohan Roy has expressed an opinion that the downfall of India began when the Rajas usurped the power of making laws from the Pandits. The ancient *Smritis* are all composed by Rishis, not by Rajas. The Islamic tradition is similar, too. Therefore, no legislator should have direct executive power ; but the Legislature should supervise and control the Executive which should be responsible in every way to the Legislature. This is the very essence of responsible government and self-government as conceived here. Where the chief Executive and the chief Legislative are practically identical, and the members of the former are substantially or heavily salaried as in England, true responsibility ceases, manœuvres and intrigues of party politics become rampant, and legislation cannot be disinterested. In other places the opposite error is observable, *viz.*, that if the Legislative is separated from the Executive, the latter is free of control by the former.*

Note to Chapter VII.

Finance.

These provisions will reverse the present order of things, secure financial autonomy, and provide a safeguard against the disastrous

* Of course, in theory, all the powers of the State ultimately vest in the Legislature ; the power of making laws includes all powers ; and, in emergencies, the Legislature may exercise executive and judicial powers of any and every kind (and has done so in historical instances), through individual members or committees. But this is good for emergencies only, not for everyday administration.

The Swiss system seems to avoid both defects. The President of the Legislature, the Head of the Executive (who has to be the right arm of the Legislature), the relations with England—these matters have been purposely left untouched in the scheme.

The ancient political theory of India seems to have been that, just as the elders of a joint family (1) think out the ways to promote the family's welfare (Yogat, *A-praptasya Prapanam* the securing of new gains) and to prevent its ill-fare (Kshema, *Praptasya Rakshanam*, the protecting and preserving from loss of what has been gained) and (2) have those ways followed by the other members even so, a state, i.e., its sovereign power, the legislature (1) thinks out laws, and (2) has them executed by the salaried Public Service, i.e., the Executive, including all departments, the judicial being only one of them.

extravagance and top-heaviness which are the consequences of excessive centralisation, have plunged Western countries in hopeless indebtedness and bankruptcy, and are ruining India also.

Note to Chapter VIII.

Proprietorship.

The opposite tendencies are patent in politics and economics as throughout human and other nature, in all the aspects and manifestations thereof. The current names for them are Individualism and Socialism. Other names for them are egoism and altruism, the separative ' I ' and the communal ' We,' mutual struggle or struggle for existence, and mutual aid or alliance for existence, competition and co-operation. To endeavour to suppress either, and retain the other only, is a fatal error, due to ignorance of the very elements of human nature, or to blinding arrogance and greed for power and wealth. Bureaucracy and all other ' cracies,' as also the many current schemes of collectivism—one of which is being tried in Russia under the name of Bolshevism—are always committing this disastrous error of one-sided and top-sided excess and exaggeration, and therefore are always committing suicide while causing grievous disturbance and injury to the People. Russian Bolshevism, after a vain endeavour to abolish private property, in the course of which widespread misery of the most awful character has been caused, seems now to have decided to recognise private property, as was inevitable. Safety lies in recognising both these indefeasible and unabolishable aspects of human nature, and in trying to reconcile them wisely. The growth of the sense of separate *Individuality*, the growth of egoistic intelligence, of the institution of monogamous marriage and the sentiments connected with it, of the definition of the family life, of the sense of private property, of the customs of inheritance, of the incentive to productive efforts of an ever more complicated order—all these are interconnected, inter-dependent, flourish or decay together. At the same time, by that paradox of antinominal duality or ambivalence which is the very nature of the universe, their flourishing is possible only in the setting of a Society. Society and Individual, "We" and "I" are interdependent yet opposed. The reconciliation must be found in a National Organisation of Society, such as will give due play to the instincts or forces of individualistic competition (*droh-atmaka-vibhuti*, *prati-spardha*) as well as socialist co-operation (*sambhuya-samutthana*, *sangh-atmaka sambhuti*, *saha-yoga*). Refinement of life is not possible without accumulation of wealth ; and that is not possible without some play of Individualism (*vyashti-budhhi*, *bhed-budhhi*, *swartha*, *khud-garzi*, *khudi*) the sense of private, exclusive, separate possession. But the excess of individualism leads to class-wars and disruption of communities, and (when the spirit of Individualism puts on the mask and the larger form of Nationalism) to world-ruining wars, like the recent or indeed still continuing European

War ; and so it defeats its own ends and commits suicide. To guard against this excess, to set due limits to private accumulations, to ensure even the refinement against degenerating into vulgar loudness, to bring about an equitable distribution of necessaries and comfort—this is the work of the spirit of socialism (*Samashti-buddhi, abheda-buddhi, parartha, isar, aql-i-ijmaai*). The reconciliation is to be found in making the private life simpler and the public possessions richer, by putting ' private ' individuals in charge of ' public ' properties of common use and enjoyment like public parks, museums, zoos, children's and youths' playgrounds, reading-rooms, libraries, monuments, roads, tanks, wells, places of worship, rest-houses, dharmashalas, sarais, almshouses, bathing ghats, hospitals, etc., and inducing them, by the incentives of public honour (and public censure in the opposite case) to lay out their individually-accumulated wealth on these. In this connection the principle of the separation of the four main prizes of life should be very carefully borne in mind. The preservation of the integrity of the central authority (in other words, of the purity of the Legislature), and the inducing of all the individuals, composing the community to put forth the best work that there is in them—these are the main problems of government and social organisation. Modern governments and modern collectivist schemes and experiments are all failing to find a solution for them. As said before, Lenin, in Russia, after extraordinary efforts to abolish private property has realised that capitalism has to be restored (though no doubt, with limitations). He is reported to have found out that the peasants avoid working more than will produce enough for their necessary wants, and are not interested in supporting the ' intellectuals' etc., who are necessary for the State, unless special inducement is applied. Now the simple old traditional solution, in India, of these problems is the separation of the four main prizes of life, viz., honour, power, wealth and amusements (for the man of knowledge, the man of action, the man of acquisitive desire, and the man of unskilled labour, respectively), which constitute the main ambitional inducement to strenuous work of correspondingly different kinds. The possibility of combining them, of securing them all, is the one prime cause of all kinds of social and political corruption. Separate them, and you at once minimise the temptations of the central authority, and at the same time provide an adequate (if not excessive) inducement to every worker to put forth his best. Socio-political reform of the affairs of human beings, if it is to be successfully carried out, must not ignore these facts and laws of the Science of Psychology, *i.e.*, of Human Nature.

By taking due account of these laws and facts, it is possible to minimise the disadvantages and pick out the advantages of all the many forms socio-political organisations, which man has tried of the village community, the city-guilds system, the city-state, the country-state, theocracy and sacerdotalism, autocracy and monarchy and despotism, aristocracy and feudalism and militarism, plutocracy and capitalism, bureaucracy and oligarchy of many kinds, and finally democracy and

collectivism of many shapes and forms, each one only a lop-side exaggeration of one constituent and necessary element in the corporate life of humanity—and synthesise them all anew in a truly beneficent form of Swa-raj, the Raj of the higher Swa, government of the community by *its higher self*, its best and wisest and most philanthropic members.

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GULABDEVI MEMORIAL
TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL
JULLUNDUR

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FOUNDER : L. LAJPAT RAI

REHABILITATON EFFORTS

32

The Pure Donation.

दातव्यमिति यद्दानं दीयतेऽनुपकारिणे ।
देशे काले च पात्रे च तद्दानं सात्विकं स्मृतम् ॥

That donation is pure which is made to one who does nothing in return, with the idea that it is one's duty to give, and with due regard to the place, time and recipient of the donation.

(Gita chapter 17, verse 20)

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33

Appeal By Trustees.

The Gulab Devi Tuberculosis Hospital, uprooted from Lahore in the fateful year of 1947, is now being rehabilitated in Jullundur. The foundation stone, of the hospital was laid by our Health Minister in the Central Government, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, in Febuary last year. But its building work has been delayed due to financial difficulties .

The hospital, founded by that illustrious son of India, Lala Lajpat Rai, in sacred memory of his mother Shrimati Gulabdevi, needs no introduction. Opened by Mahatma Gandhi in 1934, the hospital continued to serve the victims of tuberculosis in a spirit of dedication for full thirteen years until the partition. The growth of the hospital was a romance in self-help, for it was built brick by brick from public charities and without any help from the Government. Its assets on the eve of partition exceeded Rs. 15 lakhs in land, buildings and equipment, and they are mainly left in Pakistan.

As trustees of the hospital, we have considered the institution a sacred charge from Lalaji. The duty of reviving it has been heavily weighing on us ever since the partition. A modest beginning has now been made by the opening of a tuberculosis clinic in the heart of Jullundur City as an outpatient department of the hospital. The clinic has all the

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scientific equipment considered necessary for the treatment of tuberculosis, including X-ray, surgical theatre, laboratory and dispensary, and it is already serving the people of Jullundur and areas surrounding it.

But it has been felt that service rendered by the outpatient department can considerably be increased if it is attached to a hospital where patients can be segregated and treated under proper conditions. Our urgent need, therefore, is of suitable hospital buildings, consisting of general and special wards, an adminstrative block for X-ray, surgical theatre, laboratory and dispensary, staff quarters and essential equipment needed for a modern hospital. All this is estimated to cost about ten lakhs.

The reestablishment of an uprooted hospital in these hard times is no easy job. We are, however, embarking on the venture in the hope that an institution dedicated to the cause of suffering humanity never dies far want of support.

It is our fervent hope that the work of building the hospital will not be delayed, and people from all walks and parts will generously contribute their utmost towards its reconstruction. We have already completed the preliminary work of planning various hospital buildings and technical staff has been engaged for supervising their construction. For the progress of our scheme we eagerly look forward to the people for a very warm-hearted response.

Contribution in cash or kind will be gratefully. received and thankfully acknowledged.

Remittances may kindly be made to the Secretary, Gulabdevi Memorial Hospital Trust, Jullundur or to our current account with our bankers, the Punjab National Bank Ltd., Civil Lines, Jullundur City.

Board of Trustees
Gulab Davi Memorial Hospital

(Col.) D. H. Rai, I. M. S (Rtd) President.

(Dr.) Nihal chand Sikri	(Dr.) Gopi Chand Bhargava.
(Dr.)Bhagat Ram Khanna.	(Dr.) Maharaj Krishan Kapur
Saraswati Rai.	Kumari Lajjawati.
Bharat Bhushan.	Baldev Rai
Premvati Thapar.	Mohan Lal, Secretary.

The First Donation.

Extracts from President Dr. Rajender Prasad's letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

Thank you for your letter dated the 12th September, 1952, forwarding therewith an appeal for funds from the Trustees, Gulabdevi Memorial Tuberculosis Hospital, Jnllundur.

I am glad to see that the appeal has been endorsed by the State Government, and in view of the good work done by this Institution, I have much pleasure in sending herewith a sum of Rs. 500/- as a token donation for the institution.

Perhaps a separate endorsement from me will be no longer necessary, and I am returning the papers as wanted.

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Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's Message.

I am glad to lend my support to any appeal that is made to the public on behalf of our war against tuberculosis.

The Gulabdevi Memorial Tuberculosis Hospital used to do excellent work in Lahore. I was happy that after Partition this institution could be revived in Jullundur. It is, as the Board of Trustees say, a sacred trust and deserves the generous help of public.

TB. is a veritable menace today in our country and unless there is joint endeavour in combating the disease, the outlook is indeed gloomy. I, therefore, sincerely trust this appeal will elicit from the public the generous response that it merits.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
Minister for Health, India.

Message from Punjab Governor.

Raj Bhawan,
Simla.
September 10 1952.

I have seen the appeal for funds issued by the Trustees of the Gulabdevi Tuberculosis Hospital, Jullundur. The Chief Minister and other Ministers of the Punjab have associated themselves with this appeal. It is a great pleasure to me to associate myself with the appeal issued by the Trustees. The cause is a most deserving one and I commend it to all our citizens, with the confident hope that they will respond generously to the appeal for funds.

Sd: C.M. Trivedi.
GOVERNOR : PUNJAB (I)

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Punjab Minister's Support.

It gives us immense pleasure to be associated with the appeals for funds issued by the trustees of the Gulabdevi Tuberculosis Hospital for its rehabilitation in Jullundur.

All hospitals, dedicated as they are to the cause of eradicating human sufferings, deserve universal support. But the Gulabdevi Hospital, founded by illustrious Lala Lajpat Rai, has a special claim as an uprooted institution on his grateful countrymen. The efforts of the trustees deserve the utmost of support from all parts and section of the country.

It is our fervent hope that the appeal of the trustees will meet with an enthusiastic response, from all sides and its rehabilitation will not be delayed for wants of funds.

Bhim Sain Sachar,
Chief Minister.

Lahri Singh
Minister for Irrigation & Electricity.

Partap Singh,
Minister for Development & Revenue

Gurbachan Singh Bajwa,
Minister for Capital Project & P.W.D.,

Ujjal Singh,
Finance Minister.

Shri Ram Sharma,
Minister for Local Self Govt. & Civil Supplies

Jagat Narain.
Minister for Education Health& Transport.

Sunder Singh,
Minister for Labour, Stationery & Printing

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Requirements & Estimated Costs.

Our ambition is to build and equip a hundred bedded hospital and we have planned accordingly. The hospital will consist of 4 general wards, 10 private wards, 6 family wards and 4 cottages, an adminstrative block including separate units for X-ray, surgical theatre, laboratory, dispensary and office and a committee room cum library. As the medical, nursing and technical staff is expected to stay on the hospital premises, suitable accommodation has been provided in the plan for the medical superintendent, medical officers, technicians, nurses and other subordinate staff. We hope to give the patients and the staff all the amenities and comforts expected of a modern hospital.

The total cost of building and equipping the hospital is estimated at Rs. 10 lakhs, We are anxious to start the hospital as soon as we are in position to complete essential buildings. We venture to place our requiremens before the generous public in the earnest hope that they will be promptly met in their entirety.

—: o :—

A-Building

	Rs.
4 general wards of 14 beds each	
Cost per ward	66000
Cost per bed	4700
8 singal bedded rooms.	
Cost per bed.	1200

	Rs.
10 private wards,	
Cost per ward.	7800
6 Family wards.	
Cost per ward.	16800
Operation theatre.	47000
X-ray block.	20500
Laboratory.	5600
Dispensary.	6200
Committee room and Library.	8700
Office Block.	13000
64 Rooms in main hospital block	1000 to 1500
120 Rooms in staff quarters	
4 Cottages.	
Cost per cottage.	11000
4 Quarters for Medical Officers.	
Cost per quarter.	15500
2 blocks subordinate staff quarters	
Cost per quarter.	15600
2 blocks of servants quarter.	
Cost per block	13000
Nurses hostel	38000
Total cost of building.	800000

B-Equipment.

I **Ward equipment**	
Including iron beds, lockers, stools, spitting mugs, linen etc for 100 beds	32000
Cost per bed	320

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II Medical equipment	
(a) X-ray and Ultra-violet Department	35000
(b) Operation theatre.	25500
(c) Laboratory.	10400
(d) Dispensary fittings.	2000
Total	78900
III Office Equipment.	
Furniture, iron safe, typewriter.	3500
IV Nurses hostel equipment.	2000
V General	
Ambulance Car, Linen, Sterilizer, Library, garden equipment etc.	32200
Total cost of equipment	142600
Reserve for contingencies.	57400
Total cost on buildings and equipment.	1,000,000

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Tuberculosis in India

Says the planning Commission Report :—

There are **5,00,000** deaths every year in India due to tuberculosis and 2½ millions persons are suffering from tuberculosis and 2½ million persons are suffering from active tuberculous disease. *(Page 198, Para 14)*

According to the present trend of thought the number of beds required for the treatment of tuberculosis are calculated on the basis of at least one bed for each annual death. The annual deaths from tuberculosis are about 500,000. The other calculation is to have one bed for each 1000 population.

India should have about 3½ lakhs beds for its population and Punjab 12½ thousand beds.

But we have for all states of India 10,134 beds and for Punjab barely 263 beds!

Much remains to be done.

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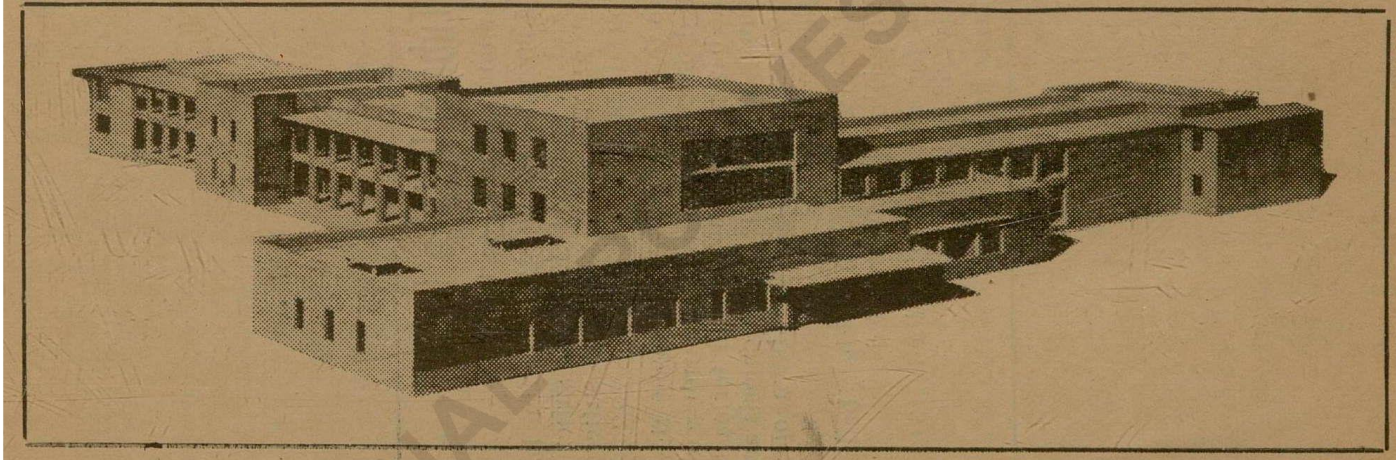
MODEL OF
MAIN HOSPITAL UNIT



Designed By
Shri R. N. Dogra, Executive Engineer, P. W. D, Punjab

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LIGHT ON LEAGUE-UNIONIST CONFLICT

SAJJAD ZAHEER

P.D Tandon Papers
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First Edition, July 1944.

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TEN ANNAS.

(45)

LIGHT ON LEAGUE-UNIONIST CONFLICT

I. THE ISSUE

Ever since the sharpening of the Muslim League-Unionist controversy in the Punjab, patriotic opinion in the country seems to be confused over this issue. There are some Congressmen who think that it is Malik Khizr Hyat Khan and the Unionists who stand for united nationalism, for unity of the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab, while the League ignoring the interests and wishes of non-Muslims wants to break the unity of the Punjabi people which is supposed to have been achieved within the Unionist Party. Even patriots of the eminence of Mr. Rajagopalachari and Dr. Khan Saheb have given Press statements supporting this view. Congress Press, with certain notable exceptions, like the *Bombay Chronicle,* has followed the same line. The fact that Mr. Jinnah did not succeed in bringing the Muslim Unionist Members and Ministers of the Punjab Legislative Assembly under the discipline of the Muslim League has been characterised as "Jinnah meets his Stalingrad." The implication seems to be that the failure of Mr. Jinnah to bring the Muslim Unionists under the discipline of the League, whose members they all profess to be—means a triumph of the forces of democracy and freedom and a defeat of something evil and arbitrary. Then there are others who, as between the League and the Unionists consider the latter to be the lesser of the two evils. "Better reactionaries who like the Unionists believe in working unitedly with the Hindus and Sikhs, than narrow communalists like the Muslim Leaguers"—this seems to be the line of reasoning of many a Congress patriot.

There are of course many Congressmen who do not agree with the above propositions, who see the Unionist Party in its true colours, *i.e.,*—an organised group of British imperialism's henchmen, a screen behind which is hidden the arbitrary rule of the Punjab Governor and the bureaucracy. But the fact that there is a difference of opinion in the patriotic camp regarding the real nature of the Unionists is of serious consequence. Congressmen, in and outside the Punjab, are not

able to formulate a definite and clear-cut pólicy which would inspire and lead Congress masses in the Punjab, which would help them to unite with non-Congress patriots, build a united national front, to break the deadlock, turn the tables against the bureaucracy, and to install a real all-Parties' Peoples' Ministry in that Province.

Why has the present confusion occurred at all? Ever since the formation of the Unionist Party in 1935, as far as the Congress and other anti-imperialist organisations were concerned there were no two opinions about this party. Combining as it did a handful of the most reactionary and selfish elements from among the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, it was no secret to the people of the Punjab or for that matter to the entire Indian people that the Unionist Party served not them, but itself and the imperialists. It represented the most powerful anti-national combination in the Punjab—deriving its strength not from popular support but from the bureaucracy. How is it that this fact which was a commonly accepted axiom of patriotic opinion, is now doubted and almost forgotten; and judging from the tone of certain patriotic journalists—Khizr Hyat is painted as the Punjab's Patriot No. 1., and the Unionist Party as the last rampart of nationalism in the Punjab? Clearly, the interests which stand to gain by spreading this confusion in the patriotic ranks, are the same which want to maintain the present political deadlock in the country. They are the same which maligned the Congress, in and outside India, as a pro-Japanese organisation; they are the same which keep behind the prison bars the country's best patriots; they are the same which, as it suits their purpose, champion alternately the geographicl unity of India and the cause of minorities.

The Punjab is bureaucracy's stronghold. There alone its policy of dividing the patriots has succeeded in nullifying all the democratic aspects of the 1935 Constitution. There alone *Police Raj* has continued naked, unashamed and unabated for the last seven years. Civil Liberties have been suppressed, patriots and patriotic parties harassed and persecuted, the people generally exploited and oppressed. All this has been done through the agency of the Unionist Ministry. What greater satisfaction could there be for the bureaucracy than to see that a section of patriotic opinion, the same which consistently opposed the Unionists for the last seven years of their rule—has suddenly begun to side with them at a time when

their hold over the Punjab is being challenged by the second biggest political party in the country—the Muslim League ! No patriot can view this situation with equanimity. It is necessary to look behind the thick smoke-screen of Unionist and bureaucratic propaganda, to examine the past and present record of the Unionists and to see whether they at all deserve to have a place in the Indian patriotic camp.

II. HOW THE PLOT WAS HATCHED

The Unionist Party was founded in 1935 by the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. A brief review of the political career of this gentleman will throw light on its real aims and objects. He was a leading barrister and practised in Lahore. He took part in the Muslim League and Congress activities and was President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee in 1918-19. However, when the war (1914-1918) ended and a new popular upsurge swept the country, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain (as he then was) like so many other Congressmen, who later came to be known as liberals, stepped aside. During the Martial Law days he left the Punjab and came back only when peace was restored in the Province.

Soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. But the horrors of Martial Law in the Punjab had set the whole country ablaze. The Congress and the Muslims (led by the Khilafatists and the League) boycotted the new Councils. The non-co-operation and Khilafat movements started. It was precisely at this moment that the bureaucracy chose Mian Fazl-i-Hussain—together with the late Lala Harkishan Lal to become Ministers. Henceforth Mian Fazl-i-Hussain made himself indispensable to the British Government. He occupied this *gadi* till 1930 and was soon after raised to the post of Viceroy's Executive Councillorship. What was it which characterised his administration—during the ten years that he was a Minister ? Everyone knows that it is precisely during this period that communalism—both Hindu and Muslim—reached its peak in the country and that the Punjab was one of the most communally ridden provinces in India. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was the leader of Muslim communalists. It was he and his Punjab colleagues who while they opposed the Congress on the one hand, opposed all sections of progressive Muslims on the other, i.e., the Khilafatists (led by the Ali Brothers), the

Ahrars, the Muslim Nationalists (led by Dr. M. A. Ansari), and the Muslim Leaguers (led by Mr. M. A. Jinnah)—and did their best to frustrate all attempts at Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Unionist Conspiracy

We find that in 1935, on his retirement from the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain comes back to the Punjab, makes a *volte face* and forswears communalism. In a famous pamphlet which he published anonymously about this time, he called for the formation of a non-communal Party in the Punjab as the only solution of its ills. This conversion of one of the leaders and instigators of communalism surprised many people, but there was a purpose behind it. The new Constitution was about to be introduced. A much wider franchise than in the previous Constitution had been given to the people. It was clear that in the Punjab, as elsewhere in the country, the only way in which reactionaries could possibly hope to have a majority in the new Legislative Assemblies was by all of them—belonging to various communities—pooling their resources together. In the old Legislative Councils—they could depend on the official and nominated bloc, on the narrow and limited franchise, on the fact that Executive Councillors were appointed by the Governor and were not responsible to the elected members of the Council. This was not possible under the new Constitution. Moreover the Congress had decided to contest the elections. In the Punjab Ahrars (an offshoot of Muslim Congressmen) had grown quite popular among the Muslims. The workers' and peasants' movement had also grown—specially among the Sikhs and the Youth. How was this "menace" to be met except by uniting all the vested interests, all the anti-Congress, the anti-Kisan and Worker, the anti-Akali, anti-Ahrar, anti-Muslim League elements in one solid bloc of reaction? This is precisely what the bureaucrats also wanted. They hated the introduction of even this very limited democracy in India. All over the country Governors and their Secretariats were busy planning and plotting for the defeat of democratic popular elements in the forthcoming elections. The "Delimitation Committees" formed to fix the exact boundaries of each constituency were being made—in consultation with all the anti-national elements—to suit the convenience of reactionary pro-Government candidates. Thus in the Punjab, Government, in consultation with Sir Fazl-i-Hussain fixed con-

stituencies in such a way as would be helpful to the large landed-interests whom the officials hoped to keep under their thumb.

Unite all the anti-national reactionaries in one bloc, use the Government machinery (Delimitation Committee, official favour and pressure) to get them elected to the Assembly—such was the aim of the founder of the Unionist Party, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. But shrewd politician that he was, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain went a step further to achieve his aim. He also aimed at causing disruption in the progressive national camp. He hoped that if the progressive Muslims (Ahrars, Ittihad-e-Millat, Muslim Congressmen, Muslim League) are disunited amongst themselves, and that if these together are not united with Congress, then the Unionists—or what would be more correct to call them the "United Reactionary Party"—might after all win through. The success therefore depended upon four factors:

Firstly, the unity of anti-national reactionaries in the Punjab—big landlords, titleholders, retired military officers, the Captains, the Majors, Lieutenants, Zaildars (village headmen), numberdars (revenue collectors), rich moneylenders—all creatures of imperialism who believe only in preserving their ill-begotten privileges, and to whom patriotism is anathema and democracy hateful.

Secondly, support of the imperialist bureaucracy. This was to be given by fixing constituencies to suit members of the Unionist Party by using the district magistrates, the police and other big and small officials to bring their influence to bear in favour of the Unionist candidates by favouring their supporters and threatening and harassing the opposite candidates.

Thirdly, the Punjab being a Muslim majority province by ensuring that Muslims are not able to unite among themselves on the basis of a progressive national programme.

Fourthly, to see that no National United Front is forged between the progressive Muslims, Congressmen and the Akalis. Such a combination would have meant the unity of overwhelming majority of the Punjab people, it would have meant the triumph of democracy and the defeat of bureaucracy and its henchmen. This, therefore, was the supreme "danger" to be avoided at all costs.

Such then was the plan of reaction backed by imperialism in the Punjab. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was however not destined to see it fulfilled. He died in 1936, and his erstwhile protege

—whom Sir Fazl had successfully manoeuvred out of the Punjab—as a possible rival—was hastily sent back to that Province from Bombay, where he had taken residence as Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan was a loyalist of the very first order. He and his ancestors owed their very existence as landlords to favours of the British masters while Fazl-i-Hussain had a nationalist past and was known in his own limited sphere to fight for the rights of Indian officials when discrimination was shown against them, Sikandar Hyat's loyalty to the foreign rulers was complete, his subservience to them unquestioned. He, therefore, fitted in the picture nicely and assumed the leadership of the newly formed Unionist Party.

1937 *Assembly Elections*

He busied himself with organising the election campaign of the Unionist Party on the success of which depended the entire future of the loyalist landlords' and toadies' plan. The effort of Mr. Jinnah to unite the progressive Muslims—the Ahrars, the Congress Muslims, the Leaguers, the Itihad-e-Millat—proved to be abortive. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain had, of course, already refused to join this combination. It should be recalled here that the Muslim League was fighting the election on the basis of a fairly progressive popular programme—its election manifesto followed the Congress in many of its aspects. Further in the Central Parliamentary Board of the League—many leading Muslim Congressmen, like Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema had also joined in. And in many provinces (e.g., U.P.) there was an implicit understanding between the Congress and the League to support each other in the election campaign. Thus in his great election tour, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, advised Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of the League candidates. Except for two or three places Congress did not put up any candidates against the Muslim League. Hence the chances of Congress-League coalition after the elections were not to be ruled out. Therefore the reactionaries could not possibly allow the Muslim League to win in the Punjab.

Not only Sir Fazl-i-Hussain himself refused to have anything to do with the League, he saw to it that the success achieved by Mr. Jinnah in uniting the Ahrars, the Ittehad-e-Millat and the League was short-lived. Unionist intrigues suc-

ceeded. The various constituents of the Muslim League Parliamentary Election Board in the Punjab fell apart shortly after its formation. The progressive camp was disrupted. The strongest Muslim Party in the Punjab at this time, the Ahrars, were the object of a virulent campaign of calumny started directly by Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. They were accused as having deserted the Muslim cause when they did not participate in the satyagraha started for the restoration of Shahidganj to the Muslims from its Sikh owners. On the election day itself forged documents alleged to have been written by one Ahrar leader to another stating their disinclination to get entangled in the Shahidganj issue—were distributed in thousands to inflame the Muslim voters against them. This forged letter was meant to be an electioneering weapon as the Zinoviev letter in England. Ahrar and Muslim progressives were defeated and out of a total of 90 Muslim members in the Punjab legislature as many as 80 joined the Unionists.

The election " campaign " of the Unionists and the formation of the Parliamentary Unionist Party is a supreme example of political opportunism. In some of the constituencies the Unionists did not give their ticket to either of the two contesting candidates. Both were asked to go and " fight out " the elections. Whoever won was to be taken into the Unionist Party. In some other constituencies the Unionist ticket was given to all the candidates. Thus in actual fact many of the elected candidates joined the Unionist Party subsequently. They had no serious political programme on the basis of which they were to work in the legislature, their object was to pursue their own selfish interests and to serve as tools of the imperialist bureaucracy.

After the elections and the formation of the Ministry, headed by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan the strength of the different parties in the Punjab Legislative Assembly was as follows :—

Unionists (including Christians, Harijans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians)	101
Hindu Nationalists	9
Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia's Party	13
Akali	10
Congress	28
Ahrars	2
League	1
Independent Muslims	3
TOTAL	167

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The Unionists, Hindu Nationalists (Mahasabhites) and Sunder Singh Majithia's Party (anti-Congress, anti-Akali landlord-moneylender Sikhs) joined together to form the Ministerialist Coalition. Thus the Ministerialist strength in the Assembly was 122 and that of the Opposition 45. Subsequently there were a few defections from the Ministerialist group when 4 Harijans, 2 Christians and three or four Muslim Unionists joined the opposition.

Why Did Reaction win?

Why did reaction score such a big victory in the Punjab? Every patriot was puzzled. In the United Provinces, the big landlords, a section of Cawnpore industrialists, rich money lenders, Liberals, Mahasabhites and other toady elements had banded together, exactly like the Unionists, and formed the National Agriculturist Party. The U.P. Governor and the local bureaucrats pinned their faith in them and helped them in every way. They gave battle to Congress during elections but the patriotic upsurge of the U. P. Kisans just swept them off the board. Congress emerged triumphant.

In Bombay, the National Democratic Party of the Hindu Sabhites and other reactionaries; in Madras the Justice Party similarly got a sound beating. In the N.W.F. Province even the ban on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan could not stop the Pathans from rallying round the Congress and defeating the big landed interests. In Bengal, Congress and progressive Muslim groups won a considerable victory. In C.P., Orissa, and Behar Congress swept the polls.

Thus, barring Assam and Sindh—where it was a picture of disunity of Hindu and Muslim progressive parties, rather than a victory of reaction—nowhere in India do we see such a gloomy picture of reaction's overwhelming success as in the Punjab. What did this mean? It meant that this great fertile land of 28 million people—this land of magnificent patriotic and revolutionary traditions was to be governed, not by the true representatives of the people but by the successors of Michael O'Dwyer, by an irresponsible and autocratic bureaucracy, hiding behind the Unionist screen.

Reaction's victory in the Punjab was possible because a majority of its people—the Muslim people—could not be rescued from the grip of big landed-interests and henchmen of the bureaucracy, because they could not be united on the basis

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of a progressive democratic platform as the town and village masses of the adjacent U. P. were under the banner of the Congress. Clearly, if 16 million Muslims of the Punjab out of a total population of 28 millions are not roused, organised and made conscious of their rights, politics in the Punjab would continue to be at a low level and the entire Punjabi people would be victim of political chicanery and arbitrary rule.

The key to the Punjab politics, therefore, lies in the Muslim politics of that Province, for had not the Unionists got the solid backing of 80 out of a total 90 Muslim members in the Assembly, had there been a progressive Muslim party in the Assembly, or had the Muslims rallied under the Congress banner (as in the N.W.F.P.) the picture there would have been quite different.

Congress had a solid backing among Hindus, and Congress, Communist and Akalis combined represented the majority of the Sikhs. If, therefore, the Muslims could be rallied on a democratic national basis, we would have had a unity of the progressive Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs—and rout of reaction, *rather than Muslim, Hindu and Sikh reactionaries uniting and forming a Ministry of theirs.*

We have already seen that the plan of reaction was to see that progressive Muslims in the Punjab do not unite, and, further, that they do not ally themselves with other non-Muslim anti-imperialist groups. We have also seen that this plan was successful.

III. MUSLIM POLITICS OF THE PUNJAB

What were the causes of disunity among the progressive freedom-loving Muslims and why were they not able to put up a united front against the Unionists?

In the Punjab, as elsewhere in North India, the awakening among the Muslims in modern times took the form of a movement for social reform and education. The movement of modern enlightenment started by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had its effect in the Punjab as well. The *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam* (Society for the support of Islam), founded in the last decade of the last century took up the task of Muslim education. Islamia colleges and schools were founded by the Society. It was in the annual sessions of this Anjuman that IQBAL

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recited his immortal poems. Other prominent persons who participated in its activities were Mian Shah Din (who later became a Judge of the Lahore High Court) Mian (Sir) Mohammed Shafi, Mian (Sir) Fazl-i-Hussain, Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin Kasuri. A new middle class—educated in the Government and Islamia Colleges, and the Aligarh University was arising among the Muslims which soon began to express the growing political consciousness of the Punjabi Muslims. Thus when the Muslim League was founded, from the Punjab, Mian Mohammed Shafi, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan took prominent part in it.

Two Trends in the League

We know that the Muslim League, took rapid strides towards radicalism between 1907 and 1912. It adopted the creed of self-government in 1913 and the progressive Muslims had come to dominate its policy by this time. The out and out loyalists led by the Agha Khan and Syed Amir Ali, could no longer keep it from moving towards unity with the Congress. The effect on Indian Muslims of the imperialist aggression on Islamic countries ; the Pan-Islam movement as an expression of the anti-imperialist consciousness of the Muslim nations of the Middle East ; the growth of political movement in India generally ; the annulment of the Bengal partition ; the shooting in Cawnpore on an unarmed Muslim crowd, had deeply stirred the Indian Muslims.

A Medical Mission was sent to Turkey led by Dr. M. A. Ansari and backed and supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali and his two papers, *Comrade* (English) and *Hamdard* (Urdu). Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his weekly *Al Hilal* was rousing the Indian Muslims to adopt forward national policies. From Lucknow the Urdu daily *Muslim Gazette* containing articles by *Maulana Shibli Naumani* and from Lahore, Zafar Ali Khan's *Zamindar* were giving a powerful impetus to this new radical trend.

At the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Agra, in 1914, there was a tussle between the new radical group inside the League, represented by Mohammad Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Mahmud and Dr. Kitchlew and the loyalists who were alarmed at the rapid development of the League towards radical politics, its growing desire of unity with the Congress. The loyalist reactionary

wing was led by *Mian Mohammed Shafi*—who threatened to secede from the League together with a majority of the Punjab delegates. At the annual session, however, he was defeated. Thus right from the beginning of Muslim awakening in the Punjab, two trends are clearly visible. They are sometimes united in one organisation, nevertheless, the struggle between them continues all the time.

With the Khilafat and the non-co-operation movements, this loyalist wing of the Punjab Leaguers, already discredited in the All-India Muslim League receded into the background. The leaders of the Khilafat movement, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Kasuri, Chaudhari Afzal Haq, Maulana Ataullah Shah Bukhari, became popular national leaders of the Punjab. The League and the Khilafat Committees merged into one and both united with the Congress. Punjabi people, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, were roused to a high pitch of anti-imperialist fervour and marvels of patriotic sacrifice were performed by them. Imperialism and reaction were shaken to their very roots. It was precisely during this time that Sir Muhammed Shafi was appointed to the post of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and Sir Fazl-i-Hussain became a Minister in the Punjab under the new dispensation.

Let us note here what were the main points of difference between the progressive group of Muslims and the reactionaries. The progressives believed in the objective of self-Government for India—in common with the Congress, plus in the tection of the special Muslim rights. And in order to achieve this objective, they believed in the unity of the League with the Congress. The reactionaries, on the other hand, while shirking to accept the objective of self-Government even whole-heartedly, wanted to have nothing to do with the Congress. But they could not stop the unity trend growing. In 1915—after Agra Session of the League—League and Congress held their sessions at the same time at Bombay. Mr. Mazhar-ul Haq presided over the League Session. Here a resolution was moved by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to set up a Commitee to draw up a scheme of reforms for India and to negotiate with the Congress so that a joint scheme might be prepared. The Committee was duly set up and got to work.

The Pact concluded at Lucknow in 1916 between the Congress and the League—Mr. M. A. Jinnah being the President

of the League Session—was the culmination of this process begun already in 1912. Ever since this time till 1922—through the non-co-operation and the Khilafat days—Hindu-Muslim unity continued to grow—and the reactionary groups were thrown in the background. In the Punjab, as we have seen, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Sir Mohammed Shafi joined the Government. The Khilafat leaders led the Muslims in the Punjab as elsewhere. For some time, the League was merged in the Khilafat Committee.

Reactionary Forerunners

The decline of the non-co-operation and the Khilafat movements brought about disintegration in the national ranks. Congress was split into No-Changers and Swarajists, and very soon one wing of it went out and joined the Hindu Mahasabha. In the Punjab, particularly, an important section of Hindu Congressmen led and inspired by the veteran Congressman Lala Lajpat Rai, inclined more and more towards the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Sangathan movement was started. As a result, the influence of Congress on the Muslims declined. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain took full advantage of this. Taking the issue of communal percentage in the Government services, he fixed the ratio for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs on the basis of their population in the Punjab. This was to the detriment of the Hindu educated classes, because they, being educationally more advanced than the Muslims had occupied many of the Government jobs. A new Muslim trading class was also rising. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain now came forward as the champion of Muslim rights—although in reality he was only championing the cause of a very small minority of the Muslim people. Communal tension grew in the country as a whole—in the Punjab more than elsewhere.

As far as the Muslims were concerned, the disintegration and confusion in their camp was far worse than in the Congress. The Congress managed to keep its organisational unity; the conflict between the No-Changers and the Swarajists was soon made up. Not so with the Khilafat Committee or the Muslim League. While the bulk of the Muslims did not join the Congress organisationally, neither the Khilafat Committee nor the revived Muslim League, nor the Congress Muslims nor the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, could claim to have a dominating influence over them in the period between 1922-1936.

The Nationalist Muslims themselves split into two groups —the Congress Muslims and the Khilafatists—on the issue of the Nehru Report. The group which favoured the acceptance of this Report was led by Dr. M. A. Ansari and those who rejected it were led by Maulana Mohammed Ali. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was trying to re-unite all these groups in the Muslim League and formulate the Muslim demands in such a way as would be acceptable to all the progressive Muslims and be the basis of settlement with the Congress. In 1928 these efforts seem to bear some fruit. At the Madras Congress, held under the Presidentship of Dr. M. A. Ansari, the Congress and the League again came very near each other and Committees were appointed by both the organisations to work out the details of the Hindu-Muslim settlement. Further, on the issue of the Simon Commission, Congress and League again united to organise the boycott of the Commission. The decision of the Muslim League to boycott the Simon Commission and settle with the Congress, caused a split in the Muslim League. As in 1914, Sir Mohammed Shafi, having retired from the Viceroy's Executive Council, now again led the reactionaries among the Muslims. He was backed by the Agha Khan. He broke away from the Muslim League and organised a separate League in the Punjab which favoured co-operation with the Simon Commission. It was this section of the seceding Leaguers which later developed into the *Muslim Conference*—opposing the Congress Muslims, the Khilafatists, and the Muslim Leaguers. The League took action against Sir Mohammed Shafi and his Punjab followers and the following resolution was passed in its Session held at Calcutta in December 1927:—

> "The All-India Muslim League regrets that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League has flagrantly defied the authority of the parent body of the All-India Muslim League, and deems it essential as a matter of disciplinary principle that the Constitution and authority of the League should be maintained and upheld. In the circumstances, the only course open to the League is to disaffiliate the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and it resolves that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be disaffiliated, and further calls upon the Muslims of the Punjab to constitute a Provincial Muslim League truly representative of the Punjab."

It is significant that this resolution was moved by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, and supported, among others by Maulana

Mohammad Ali. The General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League was Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew.

Progressive Trends

Now, the Punjab, being a Muslim majority province, suffered the most from this disintegration in the Muslim patriotic camp. Here the field was left clear for the reactionary wing among the Muslims to re-assert itself. The National movement led by the Congress, in the Punjab was dominated by Hindu trader and money-lender interests. It was incapable of rousing and organising the great mass of the Muslim or the Sikh peasantry. It continued to remain essentially a town movement led and dominated by the Hindu middle-classes. It did not penetrate the countryside, as the Congress did in the United Provinces —and assume the character of a vast democratic peasant movement. Congress in the Punjab tended to lean politically on the Hindu Mahasabha—thus alienating the Muslim people still more. The Sikh peasantry, on the other hand, was roused by the Gurudwara and the Akali agitation and became more and more Congress-minded.

At the same time, a left-wing was also growing, drawing its inspiration from the Ghadar and the Communist Parties, and combining with the revolutionary left wingers of the Naojawan Bharat Sabha. But while the former extended its mass influence mainly among the Sikh peasantry, the latter was confined in the main to the town non-Muslim youth. So that, this entire leftist upsurge, beginning roughly since 1928 expressing itself through the Naojawan Bharat Sabha, the Socialist Party, the Kirti Party, the Communist Party, Kisan Sabhas and the trade unions, remained confined in the countryside to the Sikh middle peasantry, and in the towns to Hindu and Sikh lower middle classes and a small fringe of the industrial working-class. *The immense bulk of the Muslim peasantry—peasant proprietors and Muzaras, small landholders and tenants and landless labourers—of the Western and Central Punjab, remained largely untouched by this entire political agitation and movement. And it is precisely this mass Muslim area which became the stronghold of the Unionists.*

The failure of the Punjab Congress to inspire and draw in the 16 million Muslims in the anti-imperialist democratic movement as it had done in the U.P., the weakness of the Left movement; and the disruption and disintegration among

the progressive Muslims themselves—these were the root causes why the Muslims of the Punjab as a whole, fell a prey to the machinations of Unionist reactionaries. These were the reasons why bureaucracy's scheme of putting in its stooges in power in the Punjab was successful in 1936.

The Ahrars

Here let us take note of the Ahrar movement and why it failed singularly to organise the Muslims of the Punjab on a democratic basis. The Ahrars were an off-shoot of the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat movements. Its leadership—Maulana Habibul Rahman of Ludhiana, the late Chaudhary Afzal Haq, Maulana Ataullah Shah Bukhari—were all of them Congressmen and Khilafatists. Their early differences with Congress arose—as with so many other Congress Muslims—over the question of separate and joint electorates. Factional differences between this group of Muslim Congressmen and the other group led by Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri were also responsible for their going out of Congress. At the Karachi Congress, they were annoyed with Congress High Command. None of the Congress Muslims of this group was taken as a member of the Congress Working Committee. According to Pandit Jawaharlal this resulted in the group going out of the Congress.[1]

Soon the Ahrar Party was formed and while the Second Round Table Conference was on and Mahatma Gandhi was away in London—the Ahrars launched a Civil Disobedience movement in Kashmir. This increased their general influence among the Muslims. After its collapse—we find the Ahrars going forth as champions of orthodox Islam against the neo-Islam of the local prophet of Qadian, who they alleged, was a tool of British imperialism. They had already entered the lists to campaign against the Arya Samajist author[2] of an Urdu book—*Rangila Rasool*—containing a scurrilous attack on the prophet of Islam.

They set out to correct the Shia sect of Muslims for some of their alleged un-Islamic practices. With

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[1] *Autobiography* : Dr. Mohammed Alam, subsequently Muslim Leaguer and now a Unionist and aspirant to a Government job was taken in the Working Committee instead. He belonged to a faction rival to the *Ahrars*.

[2] He was subsequently murdered.

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all this, they spoke in a strong anti-Imperialist strain ; and of original Islam, of the rule of the poor, and against capitalism and landlordism. So during the period 1930-35, their influence among the lower middle-classes of the Punjab Muslims increased considerably. Even in the Muslim belt of the Western Punjab, like Multan, Muzaffargarh, Mianwali, Campbellpur, Gujrat, they built up a certain amount of influence in the rural population. But here too, the Ahrar leadership was characterised by its opportunism. It never formulated nor took up any concrete programme for the betterment of the peasantry as a whole who formed the bulk of the Muslims of the Punjab ; they rather concentrated on religious revivalism mixed with vague leftist phrases.

In 1935 Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and the Unionists considered them to be their serious rivals. The Unionists were clever enough to see the weakness of their rivals. So they manipulated a religious issue in such a way as to involve the Ahrars in it. This was the demand put up by certain Muslims for the restoration to them of the Shahidgunj Gurudwara (which was claimed to have been a mosque at some distant date). The plan was to seize it by offering Civil Disobedience. It is said that Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was one of the secret instigators of this agitation—his object being to involve the Ahrars in it. These latter, were put in a dilemma : if they participated in the Shahidganj agitation and offered Civil Disobedience, they would be put in prison and would not be able to participate in the impending General Elections ; if they did not, then their own rank and file—fed on religious agitation—would turn against them and their rivals in the election campaign would accuse them of having deserted the Muslim 'cause.' The Ahrars decided to hold aloof from the Shahidganj agitation, so that they could participate in the elections. The Unionist plan succeeded and the most rabid communal agitation was let loose against the Ahrars—who lost heavily in the elections. The elections over, the Ahrars set out to make up for this *debacle* and regain their hold over the Muslims. They now started afresh a Civil Disobedience movement by sending *jathas* to capture Shahidganj. By this time the question had been decided by the decision of the Privy Council which confirmed its possession by the Sikhs. The Ahrars had the satisfaction of exposing those stooges of the Unionists, who after the elections had quietly withdrawn from the Shahidganj campaign ; however, they did not realise that

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in this process, they made themselves thoroughly ridiculous and exposed involuntarily, their own opportunism.

Their decline as a popular movement begins from this period. Because of their inability to organise the Punjabi Muslims—on the basis of any definite democratic programme containing their positive demands; because of their use of religion as a demagogic weapon; because of the rank opportunism of some of its leaders, this Party containing some of the bravest anti-imperialist Muslim political workers of the Punjab, could not perform the task of uniting the Muslim people on a progressive basis, could not achieve the unity of the Muslim and non-Muslim Punjabis, could not withstand the onslaught of imperialist bureaucracy and its Unionist henchmen.

The present state of Ahrar politics is tragic. Some of its leaders beginning as anti-war and pro-struggle enthusiasts have landed themselves in the lap of Unionists and are being used by them to campaign against the League. It is reliably understood that Maulana Habib-ul-Rahman, strongly disapproves of this pro-imperialist alliance of the Ahrar leaders; consequently he is not being released from jail by his Unionist jailors. There is strong discontent among the Ahrar ranks who are leaning more and more towards the League in the Punjab. In U. P. some provincial Ahrar leaders like Maulana Abdul Qaiyum of Cawnpore have already joined the League. Maulana Daud Ghaznavi—in prison—also disapproves of the present alignment of his erstwhile colleagues.

IV. A UNION OF INCOMPATIBLES

The triumph of the bureaucracy and the Unionists in the Punjab did not and could not mean that the movement for democratic freedom in the Punjab had come to a standstill or had ceased to grow. The General Elections heralded a big anti-imperialist upsurge of the entire Indian people—on the crest of which Congress ministries were installed in eight Indian provinces. Congress influence increased tremendously. Workers' and Peasants' movement spread all over the country. In the Punjab, Kisan Sabhas became well-organised and powerful. Inside the Congress, radical trends became stronger. There was talk of forging a united national front for struggle against the proposed Federation of the Government of India

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Act and for the achievement of full freedom. The expansion of Civil Liberties and weakening of bureaucracy in Congress Ministry provinces helped the growth of this popular upsurge.

Simultaneously, with this development which was taking place more or less under the general influence of Congress, another development was taking place. This was the revival and re-organisation of the Muslim League, round which more and more Muslims were gathering. Never since the Khilafat days had such an awakening been witnessed among the Indian Muslims. In its 25th Annual Session held at Lucknow in October 1937 a new enthusiasm and a new spirit was visible among the delegates and the audience. This was shown in the change in the creed of the League which was now : *"The establishment in India of Full Independence, in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution."*

This was shown in the adoption of a democratic economic programme for the people—including reduction in rent for the peasants ; minimum wages and maximum working day for industrial workers and lessening of the burden of indebtedness. This was also shown when the fee for annual membership of the League was reduced to As. 2.

Two things stand out as the essence of the demands of the Indian Muslims during this period :—

Firstly, from brother majority peoples of India, led by the Congress, the demand of equality ; the demand that in the future Indian federation, all provinces, including the Muslim provinces, shall be autonomous ; the demand that there shall be no domination by the majority of the minority or in other words, by the larger and more powerful national groups of the smaller and less developed Muslim peoples.

Secondly, the demand of full freedom, or complete independence from the imperialist control. *It is because the Muslim League—among all the other Muslim organisations—voiced these basic national sentiments most clearly that it began to draw into its ranks ever larger and larger number of Muslims.*

It was in such a situation that the Unionists of the Punjab led by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, decided to join the Muslim League (Oct. 1937)—but on their own terms. They all offered to become members of the League, provided that in the Punjab Legislative Assembly the Unionist Party and the Unionist

Ministry were to continue as before. Clearly, here was an anomaly in the situation—for Sir Sikandar was also expected to organise the Muslim League Party—consisting of the Muslim Unionists and other non-Unionist Muslim Leaguers. How this duality was to function, was not made clear. But the whole arrangement, in practice and actual fact, worked entirely to the advantage of the Unionists and to the detriment of the League. Sir Sikandar Hyat and other Unionist bosses never organised the Muslim League Party in the Assembly as they had undertaken to ; they went a step further and did all they could, to hinder the growth of the Muslim League as an organisation in the province. Through their hold over the Ministry—they were able to control the Provincial Muslim League, which was never organised either on a district or even a provincial basis. Sir Sikandar was reported to have said that "in provincial matters he was a Unionist, but in all-India affairs a Muslim Leaguer."

Mohammad Iqbal's Warning

This remark of Sir Sikandar, gives us a clue to the question why the Unionists who had refused to join the League before the elections, chose to do so in October 1937. Sir Sikandar and his colleagues Sir Chhotu Ram and the bureaucracy said that the general democratic upsurge of the masses was not going to leave their stronghold—the Punjab—untouched. They needed some sort of a popular name to cover their anti-democratic regime, some method, whereby without actually yielding to democratic control they could claim to be acting on behalf of a popular organisation.

Now, the League as an organisation was practically non-existent in the Punjab in 1937. So, if the Unionists could somehow manage to sit tight on it, and not let it grow democratically ; if they could somehow put on the label of Muslim Leaguers without being obliged to work as such, without either conforming to its programme or submitting to the democratic will of the Muslim people, it suited their requirements perfectly. This is exactly what happened.

Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, a person who earnestly desired the development of the League in the Punjab and who was, for some time, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League saw through this game and wrote thus to Mr. Jinnah in a confidential letter November 10, 1937—i.e., soon after the Lucknow

Session of the League :—

"After having several talks with Sir Sikandar and his friends I am now definitely of the opinion that Sir Sikandar wants nothing less than the complete control of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board. . . .He also wishes that the finances of the League should be controlled by his men. All this to my mind amounts to capturing of the League and then killing it. Knowing the opinion of the province as I do I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact has already damaged the prestige of the League in this province ; and the tactics of the Unionists may damage it still further. Perhaps you know that on his return from Lucknow Sir Sikandar constituted a Zamindara League whose branches are now being made in the province" (Letter of Iqbal to Jinnah, pp. 30-31).

Pressure Politics

The question arises why did Mr. Jinnah and the leadership of the Muslim League allow this deception, or what they themselves now characterise as a "fraud" to be practised on them ? It is difficult to believe that the League leadership did not know the exact state of affairs in the Punjab. No one believes the story that the real situation—that the Unionists were bogus Leaguers and were hindering the growth and development of the League on democratic lines,—suddenly became apparent to Mr. Jinnah only in March 1944. What Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, told Mr. Jinnah in November 1937, i.e., one month after Sir Sikandar and the Unionists joined the League, was being told to him by many a Leaguer from the Punjab. Moreover, facts told their own story. The complete subservience of the Unionist Ministry to the bureaucracy, and the positive hindrances put in the way of League organisation by the Unionists were far too apparent.

The League leadership did not take steps to remedy this state of affairs in the Punjab for two reasons. Firstly, the independent base of the League in the Punjab was practically non-existent in the earlier period. True the Muslim masses, the middle-class intelligentsia, and a section of the liberal landlords were moving rapidly towards it and coming under its general influence, but there was hardly any body of political

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workers and organisers who could organise and do elementary progapanda for the League. Undoubtedly if the League leadership had set itself the task of appealing to the people directly, on the basis of a democratic programme, it would have had very great response from them and a cadre would have been found to do the organisational job. This was apparent in the tumultous welcome which Mr. Jinnah got whenever he went to the Punjab during this period. At the famous "Pakistan" session of the League at Lahore in 1940, the estimated audience was one lac. But such an appeal was never made.

This brings us to the second point. The League leadership considered the political struggle for freedom to be a triangular tug-of-war betwen the League, the Congress and the Government. In this game of pressure politics it imagined that the more the Ministries controlled by the League, the better would be its bargaining power vis-a-vis the Congress and the Government. The simple democratic reality—that power does not come from Ministries but from the people—that it is a conscious and organised people which gives strength to a political organisation and increases its power and prestige—this was ignored.

The Unionist Ministry was tolerated by the Muslim League so that it might be used as a pawn on the chess-board of Indian politics. The result for the Punjab, for the Muslim League and for the country was disastrous.

Having given its label to the Unionists, the League in the public mind, was identified with them. It was not possible to distinguish the League from the Unionist Ministry. The anti-national policies of the Unionists, their total subservience to the bureaucracy, their attacks on Congress and other anti-imperialist organisations and their workers, their suppression of civil liberties, was thought of as having the sanction of the Muslim League. This was one of the reasons why relations between Congress and League were strained during the period of Ministries (1937-1940) and unity between them could not be achieved through which alone freedom of India as a whole and Pakistan was possible. Only democratic practice, democratic growth and experience brings different peoples together, and it becomes a lever for forging unity between them on the basis of equality and freedom.

But here the Muslim people of the Punjab were fettered by the Unionists ; the Muslim League top, nursing the delusion

that it could utilise them and their Ministry to win equal status from Congress, and freedom from imperialism turned a deaf ear to the complaints which the democratic elements in the League itself were making against the Unionists. This policy was bound to end in a fiasco.

The actual results were exactly the opposite of what the leadership desired. League in the Punjab was weakened; the demand for the recognition of equal status from Congress which could only be won by the League leading and organising the democratic activities of the people and extending its hand of fraternal unity with Congress, could not be won; and bureaucracy, instead of yielding, continued to rule the Punjab with impunity. The Muslim people and their organisation the League; the Punjab and the country as a whole suffered as a result of this shortsighted policy. Only imperialism and the Unionist landlords, big moneylenders and contractors and a handful of toadies benefitted.

V. REALITY BEHIND THE CONFLICT

However, there could be no stability in this situation. With the outbreak of the war in September 1939, the question of Indian freedom at once came to the forefront. Congress and Muslim League both demanded freedom before they could participate in the war-effort of British Imperialism. It was on this issue that the Congress Ministries resigned and the movement of individual Civil Disobedience began. The offer made by Lord Linlithgow in August 1940 to Congress and League of accepting position in the expanded Executive Council, was rejected by both. Now an effort was made by the bureaucrats to get the Muslim Leaguers to join the official war machine, even though the League as an organisation had rejected the Government offer. League Prime Ministers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam and the League-Unionist Under-Secretary of the Punjab Government, were nominated to the "National Defence Council." Another Muslim Leaguer—Sir Sultan Ahmed—was taken on the Viceroy's Executive Council. The League leadership's answer to this disruptionist attack on its organisation was to ask all its members to resign forthwith from their new offices. All except Begum Shah Nawaz, and Sir Sultan Ahmed, thought it fit to comply with the instructions of the League and resigned—the two who did not were

expelled from the League. Sir Sikandar Hyat, Premier of the Punjab, was one of those who had to resign from the National Defence Council, much against his will.

Thus friction between the League and those pro-imperialist elements like the Unionists who had entered the organisation for their own selfish and reactionary ends continued to grow. The basic reason for this was the growing anti-imperialist consciousness and the freedom urge of the Muslim people and the Indian people as a whole, coming into conflict with all those elements which tried to check or hinder its development. Practically at every meeting of the Muslim League Council some member or other raised the question of the League in the Punjab and how its development was being deliberately thwarted by the Unionists.

Thus it was the pressure of public opinion which made the League leadership take the step of demanding resignations of its members from the Defence Council ; it was the fear of this very opinion which forced the Unionist Premier of the Punjab to bow to this demand of the League. But we can well understand what a blow this must have been to the imperialist bureaucrats. Their plans of roping in Muslim Leaguers to their chariot wheels were unsuccessful. The bureaucrats could now see that such reactionary elements in the League which had been deliberately planted there by themselves—could no longer have it their own way. The democratic will was asserting itself. Imperialism's fear and hatred for the League was now next only to that for the Congress.

Rift Sharpens

With the attack on the U.S.S.R. by the Nazis (June 1941) followed in December of the same year by Japanese aggression in the East and the direct threat to India a new perilous situation was created. Congress expressed anxiety about the situation and demanded power so that in alliance with the U.S.S.R., China, Britain and the U.S.A., India might defend herself and participate in the struggle to save the world from Fascist domination. Public opinion in Britain and America and other Allied Countries demanded settlement with India. As a result the Cripps offer was made. But mainly because disunity between the Congress and the League still existed it was possible for the reactionary bureaucrats and die-hard imperialists to

deny the Indian people a Provisional National Government which they all demanded. Henceforth it became the deliberate policy of the die-hard imperialists—of Amery-Linlithgow-Maxwell & Co., to stick to power by somehow or other maintaining the deadlock. In August 1942, they threw the Congress leaders in prison.

The robber hordes of Japan stood poised on Indian frontiers ready to invade; Calcutta, Chittagong and stations in Assam were repeatedly bombed. The morale of the people was at its lowest ebb. Sabotage was rife. There was a terrible strain on communications and industrial production. To cap all this, hoarding, black-marketing, bureaucratic mismanagement, and discord among patriotic parties led to a most devastating famine in one of India's richest provinces—Bengal. Other parts of the country were also in the grip of famine. Never in her long history has our country faced a graver peril.

It was inevitable that such a situation would rouse India's best patriots to action. Help was rushed to Bengal. To meet the serious food situation, united food committees, of Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Communists and other organisations began to be formed in various parts of the country. In the Punjab itself a united committee to aid Bengal was formed, presided by Raja Narendra Nath—the Hindu Mahasabha leader, Muslim Leaguers, Congressmen and Communists were on this Committee.

The realisation grew that the barest safety and existence of all demanded an all-round unity which would force the bureaucrats to yield and lead to the estalishment of a Provisional National Government. More and more Congressmen began to feel that the Muslim demand for self-determination in their homelands was a just and a democratic demand and must be conceded so that Congress and League might unite and present a united front to the incompetent imperialist rulers who were quite unable to cope with the situation, and so that unitedly India might be fed and defended. Similarly in the Muslim League too the sentiment grew that self-determination or Pakistan—was to be won only by uniting with the brother patriots of the Congress, that the League and Congress could attain their respective objectives only if they united.

In Bengal and Bihar Muslim League leaders raised their voice for the release of Gandhiji while he was on fast. The Muslim League press, with few exceptions, also made this

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demand. Mr. Jinnah from the platform of the All-India Muslim League session held at Delhi, in April 1943 declared :

> "Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans."

Thus experience of life itself was moving the Muslim people towards unity with Congress. The more the League turned towards unity ; the more it worked for solving the food crisis in co-operation with other parties ; the more clearly and positively it declared that self-determination or Pakistan, involved the freedom both of Muslims and Hindus—the greater was its hold over the Muslim people, the nearer it came to Congress, the greater became the possibility of breaking the deadlock and turning the table against the bureaucracy.

Deadlock-Mongers' Plan

This the bureaucracy did not like. How could the deadlock be mantained if League and Congress turned towards each other ; if on the basis of accepting the right of self-determination of the Muslim people, both united and jointly demanded National Government ? It could not be. And so just for the same reason Congress leaders were thrown into prison ; just for the same reason that lying propaganda painting Congress and Gandhiji as pro-Japanese was done by imperialist agents ; just for the same reason that Gandhiji was not allowed to meet Mr. Jinnah while in prison and is not allowed to see the Members of the Working Committee now, for the very same reason the imperialist rulers want to hit at the League.

The growing influence of the League means growth of democracy among the Muslims ; it means in the Punjab the end of bureaucratic hold and the breaking of the deadlock ; the unity of all progressive Muslim, Hindu and Sikh Punjabis ; the end of the Police Raj and the dismal tradition of Michael O'Dwyer. So long as the League leadership acquiesced in the Governor's hold, exercised through the Unionists on the Punjab Government, the bureaucracy tolerated it. It even used its name to cover its own misdeeds.

But when with growing mass influence of the League, the

demand of the Muslim people became insistent that its Ministry must be controlled by its national organisation and not by the autocratic Governor, the conflict inherent from the very beginning between the League and Unionist Party which broke out from time to time during the regime of Sir Sikandar Hyat himself, became more frequent and more acrimonious after his death in December 1942.

At the death of Sir Sikandar the question arose as to who was to succeed him. We all remember that when Congress accepted offices, the Prime Ministers in the various legislatures were chosen by the Congress Parliamentary Board, in consultation with the Congress Assembly Party and the Provincial Congress leaders. In the Punjab, however, the League supposed to be the premier party in the Legislature, was not consulted ; neither the League leadership had a say in the matter. The Governor did as he thought fit. The League was presented with a *fait accompli* and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan was appointed the Prime Minister of the Punjab.

Soon afterwards the question was raised once again in the meeting of the League Council held in March, 1943, of organising a properly functioning League Parliamentary Party in the Punjab Assembly. The new Prime Minister was cornered and he solemnly promised that he would do so. He did not do it until November (1943). However, this was a mere formality. Sir Chhotu Ram, who after Sir Sikandar's death, was the real leader of the Unionists openly declared that he would have nothing to do with the League and that Unionist Party would do for the Punjab. The young and enthusiastic League Minister, Shaukat Hyat Khan (son of Sir Sikandar) was sharply pulled up by the Governor and the Cabinet for saying that the Punjab Ministry was a League Ministry.

The League was supposed to be the premier party in Assembly, it was supposed to command the allegiance of all the Muslim Unionists, i.e., of about 80 M.L.A.'s and yet the Ministry could not be called a League Coalition Ministry ! Behind this conflict of names, was hidden a bigger reality. So long as the League acquiesced in whatever the Unionists chose to do in its name, the Unionists, that is to say, the Governor and his fellow bureaucrats had no objection to Unionists being *also* called Muslim Leaguers ; but when it was a question of submitting to the democratic discipline of a rapidly growing People's Party and of carrying out its policy and acting according to its instructions, it could not possibly be tolerated by the

bureaucracy. It is precisely this conflict long brewing—which finally came to a head in March-April 1944.

The Present Conflict

Mr. Jinnah when he visited Lahore in March, and then in April 1944 demanded from Malik Khizr Hyat and the Unionists that: (1) Every member of the Muslim League in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes allegiance to the Muslim League and not to the Unionist or any other political party (2) The present name of the Coalition, Unionist, should be given up (3) The name of the Ministerial Party should be the "Muslim League Coalition Party." It is necessary to see what lay behind this demand, and why at the instigation of the Governor it was rejected by Malik Khizr Hyat and the Unionists. Clearly if the Unionists had agreed to this they would have had to abide by the discipline and policy of the Muslim League, which for the last six and a half years they had successfully flouted. Above all it would have meant that the Muslim Ministers were to be answerable to the Muslim people of the Punjab and their organisation, they would have had to submit to a *popular control*. The Governor could not have carried on in the usual autocratic manner. The possibility of a People's Ministry supported by League, Congress, Akali and Communists * would have arisen. A big blow would have been dealt to the policy of deadlock. Therefore, Mr. Jinnah's request had to be turned down at all costs.

It is futile to go into the legalistic quibblings in regard to the so-called Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. What is necessary for patriots is to understand the basic reality of the situation. The policy adopted by the League leadership in 1937 in allowing Sir Sikandar to join the League on terms which allowed him and the Unionists loopholes through which they could carry on without properly submitting to the League while benefitting by its label, was a wrong policy. It was a policy which, as we have seen, led ultimately not to strengthening but weakening of the League. It was adopted because the League was weak in 1937; it had still to become the mass organisation which it became six years later. The sooner this policy was

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* The Communists have a big mass influence among the Sikhs of the Punjab. There are five Communist M.L.A.'s in the Punjab—all of them Sikh.

scrapped, and a more popular and democratic policy was adopted by the League the better was it to be for the League, for the Punjab and for the country as a whole. Because the League, had become much stronger in 1944 it was possible for it and its leader to demand from the Unionists that they submit to the discipline and carry out the policy of the Party to which they claimed to belong. But as was to be expected, the loyalty of the Unionists and their Premier to the Governor was greater than to the Muslim people and their national organisation. He chose to stick to his imperialist masters, and was expelled from the League.

VI. THE REAL FACE OF THE UNIONISTS

There are people, who are taken in by Unionist propaganda against the League, and imagine that in expelling Malik Khizr Hyat from the League an injustice has been done to him ; that he is the aggrieved party ; that he stands for unity of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, whereas the League stands for " communalism ". It is also argued that if the Unionists represent the big landlords and toadies, the Muslim League represents them no less and in addition it is " communal ". Some imagine that in refusing to agree to the demand of the League leader Malik Khizr Hyat acted in a patriotic manner for he dealt a blow to the Muslim League from which it will never recover. It will sober down Mr. Jinnah and the League leadership who having " lost a Ministry " in the very heart of Pakistan, would no longer be able to stand in the way of national unity.

What we have said about the origin and development of the Unionists should make it clear to every Indian that to think in this manner is to ignore the basic reality—that behind the League-Unionist controversy in the Punjab, is really hidden the essential conflict between the imperialist bureaucracy and its head the autocratic Governor on the one hand and the rising democracy of Muslim Punjab on the other.

Is it right for patriotic Indians to disapprove of the League action, because it purges from its ranks imperialist agents and bureaucracy's stooges ? How do the Unionists promote the cause of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh unity in the Punjab ? Is it forgotten that this Party was founded precisely to prevent Congress, progressive Muslims and Akalis from uniting, and to prevent the growth of anti-imperialist forces, and that its suc-

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cess and continued existence signifies the defeat of democratic, progressive, anti-imperialist Punjab? Does unity mean the unity of anti-national and anti-League big Muslim landlords and reactionaries; anti-Congress and pro-Government Hindus led by Sir Chhotu Ram and Sir Manohar Lal; and of Sikhs of the group of the late Sir Sundar Singh Majithia—a name anathema to all Sikh patriots for his anti-Akali and anti-patriotic activities? Such is the core of the Unionists—and their coalition ministry! The Unionists and their Ministry far from uniting the people, divide them; they suppress their democratic organisations and sow seeds of dissension and discord between them.

Police Raj

What has been the attitude of the Unionist Ministry towards the Congress, the Akalis, the Kisan Sabhas, the Communists and the Ahrars in the seven years of its existence? Even during the pre-war days when civil liberties were expanding in the rest of India, in the Punjab they were suppressed more violently than in the pre-Unionist days. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs—all groaned under an intolerable *Police Raj*—the like of which had ceased to exist in the rest of the Indian provinces. Even when Sir Nazimuddin, the Home Minister of the Bengal League Ministry, after meeting and coming to an agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, was releasing hundreds of ex-terrorist prisoners, the Punjab Government was adamant and would not release even those prisoners who had publicly abjured terrorism and come within the fold of the Congress.

Bhagat Singh's companions—Jaidev Kapur, Gaya Prasad and Shiv Kumar—have spent years in the Andamans; altogether they have served more than 14 years in prison; one of them is now a declared T. B. patient; if they were ordinary prisoners they would have been released—but they continue to be kept in prison. They have, of course, not only declared their opposition to terrorism years ago—they have declared their strong anti-fascist belief, their readiness to work unconditionally for the defence of the motherland against the Japanese aggresssors. But to the Unionists this does not mean anything. They do what the police bosses want them to.

Of late the Unionist press has announced with great fanfare that Congressmen are going to be released. Some have been released, but most of these have been interned in their villages

and mohallas. The question, however, arises why were Punjab Congressmen put in prison at all? There was no sabotage there, no disturbances; not even civil disobedience except in a handful of individual cases. Yet hundreds were thrown in prison; and *are still kept in prison or in internment.* Why?

Why is Mian Iftikharuddin, President of Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and an M.L.A., not being released? Anti-fascist to the very core, it is well known that he believes in organising the defence of the country against the Japanese under all circumstances and in doing nothing which would weaken or hinder directly or indirectly the defence of the nation; a staunch friend of the Soviet Union, a tireless worker for Hindu-Muslim unity; one who would have thrown himself heart and soul in rousing the Punjab to help Bengal in its distress. The Unionist Ministers know all this very well. Yet they keep him behind the prison bars.

Maulana Habib-ul-Rahman of Ludhiana, the Ahrar leader, —old and venerable of the Khilafat days, is thrown into prison for years together, his health has broken down—such were the sufferings that he had to undergo—but he is not released.

The old veteran, Baba Gurmukh Singh, more than 80 years of age, a declared and well-known Communist, is not released. Hundreds of other Congressmen, Akalis, Communists and Kisan Sabha workers continue to be incarcerated by this "non-communal" ministry.

Press Gagged

The Unionists have done everything possible to suppress the liberty of the press. During the war, of course, the hand of imperialism has fallen heavily on this branch of our national life on a countrywide scale. But here is the Unionist record of pre-war days.

On 20th of November, 1939, Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Congress M.L.A., brought forward a motion of censure against the Punjab Government for "abusing the Press Emergency Powers Act, 1931, in demanding securities from a large number of newspapers and presses." He said that the Government had demanded securities from over 300 newspapers and 67 presses, the total amount being Rs. 2,200,000. He declared that this was an attempt to throttle the press and proved that the Government was not democratic but bureaucratic. Mr. Gupta

stated further, that in 99% of cases securities were demanded when papers filed declarations. He wanted to know how action could be taken before guilt was proved.

Before provincial autonomy was established the average amount of security demanded in a year was about Rs. 19,450 *as compared with Rs.* 1,11,000 *per year after the inauguration of provincial autonomy* (*Annual Register,* 1939, *Vol. II, p.* 188). This proves that the Unionists were excellent servants of their imperialist masters. The need for using repressive laws had increased in the 1936-39 period because there was an all-round democratic upsurge among the people and the Punjab was not an exception. A Party, whose very existence was based on the denial of democracy, could react only in the manner in which it did, i.e., to intensify its anti-democratic activities in order to suppress the growing popular movements.

This is not the only way in which free expression of opinion is sought to be suppressed. The Unionists corrupt a section of the press by giving lavish subsidies to certain Urdu newspapers —*Inquilab, Shahbaz* and *Ehsan.* These papers used to receive Rs. 13,000 per annum, not from the Unionist Party funds—which would be legitimate—but from *public funds.* Since the present controversy between the League and the Unionists, even this sum was considered insufficient to buy the support of these papers for the Unionists. So the amount has been raised from thirteen to twenty-four thousand rupees a year. Even then the Editor and the Staff of one of these papers—*Shahbaz*—preferred to follow the voice of their conscience and support the League rather than tow the line of the Unionists. Thereupon the entire editorial staff were forthwith dismissed by the rich Unionist owner of the *Shahbaz.*

The line of propaganda followed by these Unionist newspapers, addressing the Muslim public of the Punjab, is most revealing. It is quite different from that meant for the Congressmen which is done through the pro-Unionist Hindu Sabha press of the Punjab and in the public statements of Malik Khizr Hyat. Not a word is mentioned about the non-communal nature of the Unionists. What is emphasised is the " outsider " Mr. Jinnah and the " selfish " leaders of the Punjab League, who have broken the solidarity of the Punjab Muslims and thus thrown them at the mercy of the Hindus and Sikhs who would benefit by this disunity of the Mussalmans.

It is like Amery complaining of the " outside " interference

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of Congress High Command in the working of the Congress ministries. It is like Savarkar or Bhai Parmanand bemoaning the fate of Hindus at the hands of the pro-Muslim Gandhi and the Congress! Mask of "non-communalism" for the Congress and Sikh patriots; mask of "Muslim solidarity" for the Muslim people—this is how the Unionists attempt to hoodwink both.

Hoodwinking the Kisan

The most important plank of Unionists' propaganda inside the Punjab, itself, is their claim to stand for the interests of rural Punjab. Sir Chhotu Ram is the originator of this propaganda. He is never tired of telling the Punjab zamindars that he is their protector against the depredations of the dishonest people who live in towns and who, according to him, are the natural enemies of the rural folk. There is hardly a speech which he has delivered in the last seven years of his ministry in which he has not denounced the Congress, in which he has not raised the issue of Jats and non-Jats. Led by him the Unionists have attempted to organise the *Jat Sabha* and the *Zemindara League* as organisations with the definite purpose of opposing the Congress, the Muslim League and the Kisan Sabha. It is clear that the plan of Sir Chhotu Ram and men of his ilk is to get the support of the upper and middle-class landholders of the Punjab by giving them a certain amount of relief from rapacious moneylenders. But at the same time they have delivered the vast majority of the rural population—the poor peasant and the *muzara* (tenant) bound hand and foot to the bigger zemindars, while nothing at all has been done for the landless labourers, the *Kammin*. And he raises the *towns* versus *village* issue precisely to dupe and mislead the rural population, he raises clownish issues like unity of the Jats and unity of the Rajputs so that the entire people may not unite in their respective political (Congress and League) and class (Kisan Sabha) organisations and thus unitedly strive for political freedom and economic betterment of the Punjab as a whole.

Corruption

What methods are the Unionists using to fight the Muslim League, now that they have broken away from the League. Lately, they have issued confidential instructions to all the

District Magistrates of the Punjab :—

(1) To dismiss all those Government servants who are themselves or whose dependants are interested in the League.

(2) To cancel contracts of all those contractors who are in the League or who have sympathies with the League.

(3) To threaten Muslim M.L.A.s with reprisals if they dare leave the Unionist ranks and join the League ; and if they do so inspite of these threats, to withdraw all privileges and concessions which they might be enjoying. This is already being done, e.g., in Sialkot and Ferozepur.

(4) To reward those M.L.A.s who are with them.

(5) As far as possible not to allow the Muslim League to hold meetings. At Lahore, Amritsar, Jullunder, Gurgaon, Section 144 was promulgated prohibiting meetings, precisely for this purpose.

These are the people whom the Muslim League is out to fight and these are the methods which it wants to end. To say that landlords like Mamdot and Daultana lead the League in the Punjab, and since they too are landlords there is not much to choose between two groups, is to forget that Mamdot and Daultana and the League leadership are answerable to the Muslim *people* of the Punjab. not to the Governor or the small band of big landlord and Government proteges. As the League grows, as Muslim masses flock into it and it gets more and more organised, it will be they, and not the few landlords, who would control its policy. Liberal patriotic landlords have an important role to play in our country. It is these who are now, under pressure of mass awakening, flocking to the League, just as many landlords in the U.P., Bihar and Bengal have gone in the Congress. Is the Bihar Congress reactionary and pro-imperialist because landlords form a majority of its M.L.A.s and hold important offices in it ? Is the Punjab Congress reactionary because its President, Mian Iftikharuddin, is a big landlord ?

The task of every patriot is to welcome and help this democratic growth which at long last is now taking place among the Muslims of the Punjab. The last stronghold of imperialist bureaucracy in India is invaded by the League. Let us all help the people of the Punjab to capture it.

*Hoarders' Company Ltd.**

If there was any doubt that the economic policy of the Unionists was as fraudulent as their political policy, the food crisis of 1943 and the Bengal famine left no such doubt. It is clear to every thinking man that in an extraordinary war situation like the present, only by strict control of food-grains and their just and equitable distribution in the country can the present crisis be tided over. The All-India Muslim League, in its annual session held at Delhi in April 1943, passed a resolution demanding rationing and control. In Bengal and Bihar provincial and district Muslim Leagues not only did the same but actively worked in Joint Food Committees shoulder to shoulder with Congressmen, the Communist Party and other organisations of the people.

The Unionist Ministers, however, opposed both rationing and control, tooth and nail. They claimed it was unfair to the grain producer to deprive him of the profits of a free market. But were they speaking for the ordinary grain producer of the Punjab countryside or for the big landlords and the big grain merchants of the town? The fact is that a large majority of the peasants have to sell their surplus produce in the market, either to the big landlords or to the agents of the big grain merchants, *not at a high but at a low price.* Since free trade means control of the market by big dealers, they always contrive to lower the price immediately after the crop is cut and brought to the market. Only those who have a big surplus, and who do not need ready money, can afford to hold back their produce; the great majority of producers have to sell at the rate fixed by the big dealers who buy it cheap, then hoard it and by causing artificial scarcity, raise the price and sell it at exorbitant rates or force the Government to buy it at the price which they dictate. Thus by opposing price control and rationing, the Unionists were really voicing the demands of hoarders and profiteers of whom there were so many in their own party.

And this was being done at a time when Bengal was in the throes of a most deadly famine and thousands were dying weekly. Hoarding and profiteering of food grains was pro-

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* For a detailed analysis of the food situation in the Punjab see *Food in the Punjab* by Dr. G. Adhikari, People's Publishing House, Bombay.

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tected and encouraged in the Punjab by its rulers while over in the East, men women and children died for want of food.

At last, even the Government of India had to move and force the Punjab Ministry to accept the principle of price control and rationing. But has the policy been put into practice honestly ? On the 22nd of June, the Punjab Government announced the postponement of rationing in Lahore for the fifth time. ROMESH CHANDRA of the *Central People's Food Committee,* writes in the *People's War* of July 9, 1944 :

> " Already two months are over since the new harvest came in. The stocks of the poor and the middle kisan will cease to come on the market by the end of August, latest. After that the stocks will be in the hands of the big landlords and traders. The Unionist Ministry, organised vanguard of the biggest landlords in the Punjab, fought control tooth and nail right in the open, as long as they could. Today they are still fighting control, but in a more subtle way—by fighting procurement."

This is how the kisan is being cheated of a fair price, the towns put in a precarious food situation and the deficit provinces of India deprived of the surplus food produce of the Punjab. In the same article quoted above the most astounding revelation is made that

> " Last year 6½ lac tons of food grains, including 2½ lac tons of wheat remained in the Punjab over and above our normal needs—remained getting spoiled in the godowns —while men and women were dying in Bengal. That old crop, weevilled and rotten, is now coming out of the godowns. Applications are being received for permits to send the diseased grain for poultry farms as it is unfit for human consumption. Who did this ? The landlord and trader hoarders of the Punjab."

Think of the thirty-five lacs who died in Bengal, and then judge these Unionists who through their policy aided and abetted this hoarding. They are guilty men, with consistent anti-patriotic and anti-national record, and deserve to be thrown out of our public life. They have no place in the patriotic camp.

VII. THE WAY FORWARD

Every Punjabi patriot, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh, must ask himself the question : how to rid his fair homeland of this nightmarish regime ?

We have seen that the basic cause of the Punjab having to undergo this ordeal of lies is the fact that the 16 million Muslims of the Punjab, were harnessed with a political leadership which was completely subservient to the bureaucracy and that there was no unity between the patriotic Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs and their political organisations.

Now at last, the general political development in the country and the war situation have led to a great upsurge among the Muslims as a whole—including the Punjabi Muslims.

Organisationally this new freedom consciousness is expressing itself through the Muslim League. More and more Muslims gather round its green banner, demanding autonomy and sovereignty (Pakistan) for their homelands and for India as a whole.

The bureaucracy senses danger in this new development ; just as it does in the movement led by the Congress.

Khizr on the Run

Hence the conflict in the Punjab. On the one hand Muslims refused to be bamboozled by the Unionists who appear more and more in their true colours as humble servitors of their imperialist masters. On the other hand, the bureaucracy wants to stick on desperately to its policy of maintaining the deadlock, of depriving the people—the Congress and the League —of real power. It feels that it is losing its grip over the situation.

A clear and sharp differentiation is taking place among the Muslims. The Fazl-i-Hussain, Shafi, Sikandar Hyat tradition, which delivered the Punjab Muslims and thereby the entire Punjab, bound hand and foot to imperialists, is at last being wiped out. Khizr Hyat is on the run.

The pressure of Muslim public opinion is such that more and more Muslim M.L.A.s are leaving the Unionists and joining the Muslim League. What is more important is that the Muslim people are flocking in their thousands to the League as an organisation. New League Committees are being set up all over the Punjab. Even Ahrar and Khaksar rank-

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and-filers, in spite of their opportunist leadership, are joining the League.

A big blow has thus been dealt to imperialist autocracy in the Punjab. All patriots, specially Congressmen and Akalis, must welcome it.

For Food And Defence

Above all, it is the duty of the Muslim League in the Punjab to chalk out a programme and a policy and act in such a manner as would win them the confidence not only of the Muslims but of all Punjabis. They must through their *actions today* prove that Pakistan means justice, prosperity and freedom for all Punjab. They must see that the Muslim people of the Punjab desire not merely a change in the label of the present ministry but a change for the better in their political, economic and cultural conditions.

The League must take up the cause of the down-trodden *Muzara* (tenant) who, although he cultivates the soil, has no security of tenure anywhere in the Punjab. They must take up the cause of the peasant proprietors and be the protector of their just rights. They must appeal to the patriotism of the entire village including even the big landlords—to go in for the Grow-More-Food campaign on the basis of mutual help and co-operation. They must clearly state that they stand for rationing, price control and a procurement policy based on a just price to the grain producer. They must campaign for it in co-operation with other popular organisations and serve the people through Joint Food Committees. They must fight the hoarder and the profiteer and tolerate none in their own ranks.

They must campaign unitedly with other parties for unstinted aid to stricken Bengal. They must declare that they stand foresquare behind the one million soldier-sons of the Punjab who are today fighting against the Axis and for their country's freedom in various fields of battle. They should press for the All-India Muslim League declaring itself wholly and unreservedly for the defence of the motherland against the Japanese aggressors.

They must categorically declare that they stand for ending the *police raj* in the Punjab ; for restoring civil liberties ; for the release of all anti-Fascist Congress, Communist and Akali patriots. They must, as the premier political party in the Punjab, stretch out their hand of fraternal co-operation to

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Congressmen, Akalis and Communists of the Punjab who together with the League represent an overwhelming majority of the Punjabi people.

Build the League

Not the mere popularising of a slogan, howsoever correct and attractive it may be; not mere abstract resolutions, howsoever fervent they may sound; but the mobilisation today of the people, for food, for better conditions of living, for breaking of the deadlock and the installation of a People's Ministry led by the League—this is what will build the support of all patriots and turn the tables against the Unionists. No Muslim Leaguer should forget the lesson of the Khilafat and the Ahrar movements. Both of these ultimately floundered because their leaders were not able to translate the general freedom urge of the Muslim people into concrete terms, i.e., into working out a programme for the fulfilment of their immediate needs and building a stable organisation on that basis. If the League leaders commit the same mistake in the Punjab and do not go beyond the stage of abstract agitation, their reactionary opponents may well win, and the Punjab may be in for another decade of political black-out.

It is the patriotic duty of the Punjab Congressmen and patriotic Akalis to actively help such a democratic development in the Muslim League of their Province. They must realise that the destiny of the great Punjab people—the people of the valiant Maharajah Ranjit Singh, and Bhagat Singh and of the immortal Iqbal, can only be achieved in the fraternal alliance of its people, based on the recognition of the just rights of all. They must realise that the great Congress tradition of building unity by recognising the rights of Muslims is the very corner stone of our struggle for freedom.

Unite With Congress

As these lines are being written (July 10, 1944), the great news comes of Gandhiji categorically recognising the rights of Muslims to be free and sovereign in their North-Western and Eastern homelands. There is no doubt that the little differences which still remain between the Congress and the League will soon be made up. Therefore, let the Punjab Congressmen declare their solidarity with the Punjab Muslim Leaguers in

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their struggle against the common enemy—the imperialist bureaucracy and their Unionist stooges. Let them work out in alliance with each other a democratic programme of immediate help and relief to the Punjab people—alike in the economic and political field. There is no doubt that they would find a ready response from the Leaguers.

Settle With the Sikhs

What about the Sikhs? Are the great sacrifices which the Sikh people have made for the freedom of the country; and the battles which they fought to build the great Akali movement, to end in the ignominious Sikandar-Baldev Singh Pact? Surely, if the Sikh people want national self-determination they must extricate themselves from the mire of "Unionism" and convince their brother Muslim people of the Punjab that they (i.e. the Muslims) and their organisation, the League, should recognise the Sikh people's right of self-determination consistent with their own Pakistan. It is possible to do so, as the example of the U.S.S.R. clearly shows. Not by opposing the Muslim League and Pakistan, but only by forging fraternal alliance with them, can the national destiny of Sikhs in a free Punjab be realised.

Unity to End Deadlock

Today the bureaucracy rules the Punjab with the support of the Unionists. There is disunity among Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Akalis and Communists. Not its inherent power, but the disunity of our people is bureaucracy's strength. The fact that the Muslim League—the second great patriotic organisation of our people—has withdrawn its tacit support from the Unionists has staggered the bureaucrats. In order to parry this blow they are trying to rally all the reactionaries behind them. But above all they hope to maintain their hold over the Punjab people by causing confusion among the patriots themselves; by sowing seeds of discord between brother and brother. They dismiss a Minister arbitrarily because he dares to side with his national organisation; they issue instructions to the District Magistrates to bring every possible pressure on League M.L.A.s to desert the League; they threaten Muslim League workers with prosecution; they declare Section 144 to stop the League from carrying on its propaganda. Still

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the League influence continues to grow, for the democratic urge of a whole people can never be suppressed by these methods. Therefore, a great and a glorious prospect opens up for the Punjab. With the Muslim base of Unionist reaction shattered, the League, Congress, Akalis and Communists have only to unite to turn the tables against their opponents. The jerry—built Unionist structure will fall, and on its ashes will arise a People's Punjab—the free home of India's bravest fighters for freedom and her most valiant defenders.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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Retain
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Read These Books

A CASE FOR CONGRESS-LEAGUE UNITY

By Sajjad Zaheer

ANNAS EIGHT

The author, who is a well-known Communist leader and a brilliant Urdu writer, in a series of articles answers all the questions about the Muslim League. He traces its history from the time of its inception in the year 1906 right up to the latest phase of its growth under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Does the League stand for Indian freedom? What is Pakistan—weapon in the hands of reactionaries to split India, or a just demand of Muslim nationalities born of their urge to be free.

Do the Muslim masses desire Unity?—under this heading he surveys the Delhi Session of the Muslim League, April 1943. In November 1943, he attended the meeting of Muslim nationalists in Delhi and gives their typical reactions to a Congress-League settlement. In a brilliant report he reviews the December 1943 Karachi Session of the League and shows that democratic trends within it are striving to serve the people and help build unity. Finally, the appendices set forth the whole Pakistan resolution adopted in Lahore in 1929, the Lucknow 1937 resolution "Full Independence," the progressive Food Resolution of November 7, 1943 of the Bengal League and important extracts from Congress and Communist documents on Congress-League unity.

PAKISTAN AND NATIONAL UNITY (*2nd Edition*)

By G. Adhikari

ANNAS TEN

"The Communists are always talking about Congress-League unity but where is the basis for this unity? This is a common question asked by all patriots. This pamphlet gives in a clear and concise form the Communist proposal which can be the basis for unity between the Congress and the League, which alone can help us to achieve national freedom. The first edition was sold out within a month of its publication.

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[*Reprinted from 'The Leader' dated the 4th March, 1946*]

HINDI AS NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

A summary of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's speech

Allahabad, March 2.—At a recent gathering of members and workers of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the University of Calcutta, who was on a visit to Allahabad in connection with University work, gave a talk on the history of the Hindi language, dealing particularly with the evolution of Urdu as a younger and a Muslim form of the language and with the present problems which are facing Hindi with the promulgation of Mahatma Gandhi's view on the biliteralism of Hindustani or Hindi in two scripts, its native Devanagari and the foreign Perso-Arabic.

Prof. Chatterji said that the present position of Hindi (using Hindi as a wide term covering the important forms of the Western Hindi speech, and including Braj-bhasha, Nagri-Hindi or High-Hindi and Musalmani-Hindi or Urdu) was not the result of any recent propaganda but was the natural final outcome of a cultural situation which had been present all through in India ever since the Aryan language was established in North India and had become the vehicle of Indian civilization, as a composite creation in which both Aryan and non-Aryan speaking peoples (pure and mixed Aryan, and 'Dravidians' and 'Austrics') took part. The ancient *Madhyadesa* or the 'Midland', the tract of country roughly corresponding to the eastern Punjab and the eastern U. P. of the present day, was the heart of Aryandom, where a synthesis of

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Aryan and non-Aryan cultures under the auspices of Brahmanical Hinduism took place before the days of Budhha ; and it was the speech of this tract (as of a sort of central area) which has always dominated Indian life and culture and has always been accorded precedence by the greater part of India in Indian affairs throughout the centuries, successively as classical Sanskrit, as Sauraseni Prakrit, as Pali (Pali, Dr. Chatterji explained, was really based on the early Sauraseni speech of the Midland and was not the speech of Magadha—this is the most recent and most authoritative view on the subject) as Sauraseni Aprabhransa, as Brajabhasha and finally as Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani, Khari Boli, Urdu). He then dwelt at length on the origin of Urdu as as a distinct literary form of Hindi—how the beginnings of Urdu as we know it were to be [illegible] the literary efforts in the various western Hindi and Punjabi dialects which were established in the Deccan among Marathi, Telugu and Kannada speaking peoples by Muslim and Hindu soldiers and adventurers, aettlers and sojourners, in that part of India, from the 14th century onwards. In this connection he referred in eulogistic terms to the researches of Pandit Chandrabali Pande of the Nagri Parcharni Sabha of Benares, as published in a number of books in Hindi, on the origin and early development of Urdu and on the exact relationship between Hindi of the present day and Urdu. Dr. Chatterji did not agree with the view which appears to have been put forward with greater enthusiasm than accuracy recently from some quarters, that Sanskritized Hindi was a later phenomenon than Persianized and Arabicized Urdu. The early Muslim writers of 'Hindi' in North India and of 'Dakni' in the Deccan used a language which was singularly unlike present-day Urdu in its vocabulary and its general atmosphere—its was a genuine Indian speech, racy of the soil, and not an artificial imitation of Persian. A greater acquaintance with the early Dakni writers is necessary to enable us to see things as they were. As a 'colonial speech', Dakni became established in the courts of the Muslim ruling houses in the

Deccan which took their rise on the ruins of the Bahmani empire, particularly at Rijapur and Golconda, and it was there in the hands of some Muslim scholars and princes (the most illustrious of whom in the literary field was Sultan Qutb Quli Shah of Golconda, a contemporary of Akbar the Great) that slowly Dakni took up an orientation towards Persian, particularly during the 17th century. The influence of Dakni reacted upon the dialect of Delhi, the language current in the exalted court and camp of Mogul Emperors, and North Indian Urdu was born during the first half of the 18th century when the poet Wali, known as *Baba-i-Rekhta* or the father of Rekhta (*i.e.* of Hindi with Perso-Arabic words *scattred* in it) came to Delhi and settled there, to become the founder of the first school of Urdu poetry in North India (after 1720). The movement started when North Indian Muslim writers discovered what may be called the 'Islamic possibilities' of their language (emulating the example of Dakni) for saturating the Indian speech with words and ideas from Persian poetry. A number of Muslim aristocrats of foreign birth or origin unfamiliar with the literary and lingustic traditions of the country took a leading part in this Persianizing movement. There were protests from even some Muslim writers of Hindi at this movement seeking to restrict the genuine Hindi tradition: witness, *e. g.* a poet like Nur Mohammad the author of the *Anurag-Bansari* (c. 1710). The Hindus, when not connected with the court or the offices of the Mogul State, remained uninterested. In this way, Persianized Urdu was set up as a *Kunstsprache*, as the Germans say, as a literary and a poetic speech, in an exclusive courtly atmosphere, during the second half of the 18th century. In Dr. Chatterji's opinion, it was wrong to say that Persianized Urdu was the joint creation of the Hindu and Muslim *people*, i.e. of the *masses* removed from the court, or that it developed in the *bazars* when the Turki and Irani foreigners who invaded India were first settled in Delhi and elsewhere in the 12th century. In the 18th century, a new literary "coterie speech" like Urdu into which the fragrance from the rose-garden of

Persian Sufi poetry could be wafted through a Persian vocabulary, became a venue of escape from the actualities of life : it was a necessary spiritual and aesthetic compensation for a good many Muslims of fine sensibility and culture when political power was passing away from the hands of a small Muslim minority into those of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the British in the 18th-19th centuries. Such a speech from its very nature was not a spontaneous creation of the people—though doubtless through Islam and through the law courts and administrative departments a good number of Persian and Arabic words found their way into the life of the people ;—and these words all have an honoured place in Hindi (high-Hindi), as these have become thoroughly naturalized and are understood by all.

Dr. Chatterji then passed on to the position of the Hindi language *vis-a-vis* Urdu and the Hindustani movement. Urdu, Dr. Chatterji said, was created in India, and Urdu literature, particularly Urdu poetry, was a fine flower in the garden of Indian poetry, and it should flourish in its own beauty and with its own perfume. But it should not be attempted to be imposed upon those to whom it does not come naturally. The Persianized vocabulary of Urdu is not understood by four-fifths of India, outside of the Punjab and the western parts of U. P. : it is a real hardship for the vast majority of people living in the Eastern U. P., in Bihar, in Bengal, in Orissa, in Assam, in C. P., in Central India, in Rajputana, in Gujarat, and in the Maratha country, not to speak of the Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam tracts. With regard to the recent *dictum* of Mahatma Gandhi that it is necessary for a good Indian to learn Hindustani or Hindi in both the scripts of Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, Dr. Chatterji expressed his considered and firm dissent. He pleaded for a realistic approach to the problems of script and language. It was easy to talk glibly about the duty of good Indians to learn as many languages and alphabets as possible, but it was an exceedingly

difficult thing in actual life to induce people to learn a strange script, particularly when it has no economic or cultural use for him, and when it is in its nature a very cumbrous and complicated system of writing at that. The script and language problems were not the same all over India; the situation in the Punjab and the Western U. P. was quite different from that in Bengal and in Tamil Nad, for instance. In Bengal, we manage with a little smattering of what may be called *Bazar Hindi* and generally the Bengali *intelligentsia* does not feel interested in Hindi or Hindustani as an interprovincial speech. Not that we in Bengal have not been impressed or influenced by the great things of Hindi literature : Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas are honoured in Bengal as being among the greatest poets and saints of India, and there are enthusiastic admirers of them in Bengal who love to read them in the original. Rut there is no appeal from Hindi of the present day as a culture-language; and when the curse of Babel is mitigated by a little Bazar Hindi, when English does not work, in our inter-provincial contacts, the average Bengali intellectual does not care to think any further. But in Bengal, we find Hindi in Devanagari characters easy to acquire; the script is so very much like the Bengali, and a good many of us learn it while reading Sanskrit at school. Further, the Sanskrit vocabulary of high-Hindi is understood by us. So if the Bengal people can be won over to Hindi or Hindustani, it should be easy to do that through Hindi written in Devanagari. A larger and larger number could in this way be made to feel interested in Hindi ; and actually, this has been the case. But the new movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi, will, in the speaker's opinion, jeopardize the prospects of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language in Bengal. Already those who were persuaded to read Hindi in the Devanagari script are turning back in dismay when they are told that they must learn also the Perso-Arabic script : those who are connected with the teaching and spread of the *rastrabhasha* are meeting with this difficulty.

Dr. Chatterji was definitely of opinion that the imposition of the two scripts simultaneously would bring no good, and it would harm rather than benefit the position of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language of India by scaring away large masses from it who would otherwise have gladly approached the speech from the angle of high Hindi in the Devanagari script.

Apart from the practical difficulties, Dr. Chatterji also thought that there was no linguistic, cultural or nationalistic justification (although a lot has been reiterated and sometimes reiterated vehemently on nationalistic and patriotic grounds) to impose the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu upon the Indian body-politic, and all in the name of Indian unity. Dr. Chatterji made it clear that he was not hostile to the Perso-Arabic script as such. He had acquired it when he was 17 or 18, [illegible] intermediate student at college, and that was some 38 years ago. He was emphatically of opinion that it should continue to be the proper script for Urdu so long as Muslim sentiment desired it. But he was simply voicing an opinion which, he thought, was quite widespread that the learning of this script by those who were not born to its manner, so to say, would be an unnecessary imposition; leading to a harassing waste of time, energy and money and possibly also temper.

Devanagari as National Script

Dr. Chatterji's own personal preference was for the Roman script, not only as a way out of the impasse that is being created but also on the merits of the Roman script itself. He was convinced that the Roman script would ultimately come in, and India's independence would help to usher it in. The Roman script was a matter of convenience like the European clock, for instance : and the Roman letters, arranged in the scientific way of the Indian Devanagari alphabet, would give us an almost perfect script, as things stand. But just at the present moment sentiment is strong against the Roman script, because of its English association. Public opinion ought to be educated in this matter.

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For the present, failing the Roman as the ideal, Dr. Chatterji could think of no other script except the Devanagari as the national script for India. But he would not press the matter now, as he knew that that would be trespassing on the domain of religious and cultural sensitiveness.

Simplified Basic Hindi or Hindustani

But he was of emphatic opinion that if Hindi and Urdu were to merge into a single style or speech, there must be a single script as a *sine qua non*. His ideal of a national language for India was a Simplified or Basic Hindi or Hindustani, written in the Roman script, keeping all its naturalised Arabic and Persian words, accepting all new words necessary in Islamic contexts from these sources, but frankly going to Sanskrit for culture words when new words could not conveniently be built up with native Hindi elements or borrowed from English and other European languages. We hear a great deal about BASIC ENGLISH in these days. It is English simplified according to a definite plan, but its vocabulary retains its British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial character. The name BASIC is made up of the initials of these English words, British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial. Dr. Chatterji suggested that the future Basic Hindi or Hindustani of India should have its ideal indicated by the following Hindi or Hindustani words the initials of which when combined will make the word BASIC for us in its Hindi (Hindustani) or Indian context: *viz.*—

Bhartiya or Bharti (Indian, or Pan-Indian).

Adhunik or Aj-kal-ki (Present-day)

Sanskrit-mayi or Sankrit-wali (Sankritic).

Islamik or Islami (Islamic) and

Chalu (Current) Hindi or Hindustani.

'Compromise Speech'

There were questions after Dr. Chatterji's discourse. Dr. Chatterji said in reply to a question that as a condition

precedent to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and similar other bodies cooperating with any committee, official or otherwise, set up to go into the question of evolving a common style or speech out of Hindi and Urdu, certain matters of principle must first be accepted on all sides, matters of principle that are based on scientific data; otherwise all attempts at arriving at what may be called a 'compromise speech' will fail. He further ridiculed the idea of seeking to build up a national language for a vast and civilized country like India seeking to forge ahead in the world under modern conditions with the vocabulary of school children, and of peasants and industrial workers with a rather primitive outlook upon life, eschewing the store-house of a great language like Sanskrit, with its thirty centuries of close inter-relation with the life and culture of India.

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Aims at securing

'A suitable home in healthy environment for every citizen of India.'

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1. To provide a common meeting ground for organisations and individuals engaged and interested in housing and to provide closer contact between those working on different aspects of the problem.

2. To collect all available data on Housing and to act as clearing house for relevant information.

3. To publicise and evaluate new ideas in the field of housing by means of exhibitions, films, lectures and Central and Regional conferences.

4. To promote education and research into the various aspects of the housing problem and make the results of such research readily available.

5. To create conditions favourable to greater building activity in the country to fight the existing housing shortage prevailing amongst the poor and lower middle classes :—

(i) By promoting the formation and extension of housing associations and chief construction agencies throughout the country ;

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(iii) By reducing the cost of building low cost houses.

6. To act as a liaison between non-official housing organisations and the Government.

Shri P. D. Tandon

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APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To

The General Secretary,
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I .....

have read the aims and objects of the Association and I desire to become Life/Ordinary/Associate member. I herewith send you the sum of Rs as my subscription.*

I also undertake to promote the activities of the Association to the best of my ability.

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Name in full :

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*Life members	Rs. 100/-
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By educating public opinion on the housng problem.

By organising primary branches of the Association, Housing Societies, and Cheap construction agencies.

While Life and Ordinary members shall have full rights of membership, the Associates shall be entitled to be members of the Primary, and District Housing Associations.

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(*There is no Religion higher than Truth*)

THEOSOPHICAL FREE TRACTS

No. 11 21st December 1947

"THE CASE AGAINST VACCINATION"

It is hard for the medically and technically ignorant public to believe that the medical profession in general could defend immunization by inoculation and vaccination if it were "a grotesque superstition" or an "amazing empirical stunt," as it has been called by the eminent Dr. Charles Creighton and Mr. George Bernard Shaw. The average person "guesses" that "scientific opinion" is more reliable than the views of a minority called "anti's," however honest and intelligent these may be.

But vaccination and inoculation are no longer merely medical questions; they have increasing political and social significance which involves individual liberty and national health. When men of the highest mental calibre are forced, after investigation, to conclude that "the penal enforcement of vaccination is a crime" —all conscientious laymen should at least read both sides.

Vaccination—or cowpox inoculation, as it was at first called—was introduced by Edward Jenner in 1796. At that time the public of Europe were ready to embrace any specific which promised freedom from the scourge of smallpox, and its almost equally fearsome remedy: smallpox inoculation. Jenner promised this double freedom, and the people, doctors included, eagerly accepted his promise with little or no investigation. Jenner claimed the vaccinated persons "were for ever after secure from the infection of smallpox." He further asserted: "Cowpox admits of being inoculated on the human frame with the most perfect ease and safety." These assertions were soon belied by the bitter experience of many patients, and the deaths of not a few. Even the Royal College of Physicians admitted in 1806 that there had been "bad consequences."

It is now clear that the public were deluded into accepting the statements of Jenner that a disease of cows called cowpox (arbitrarily declared by him to be "smallpox of the cow") afforded protection against smallpox. Later Jenner admitted that ordinary cowpox offered no protection against smallpox, yet vaccination was carried on with it notwithstanding.

The hasty assumption and the glowing promises of Jenner were falsified by experience even in his life-time, but too late. Already the State and the medical profession were implicated. Jenner had made a fortune, and in 1808 he and his friends induced Parliament to vote a sum of £3,000 a year for the formation of a National Vaccine Establishment under the control of a Board appointed by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in London.

The next few years witnessed an increasing distrust of vaccination on the part of the public, due to its many failures and the tragic evidence that it was by no means the harmless proceeding at first claimed. Had not the profession so completely committed Parliament, the next few years might have seen it fall into utter disrepute.

It was the promise of immunity after one vaccination that induced the British Government to pass the first compulsory vaccination Act. This Act of 1853 was the signal for the commencement of a popular campaign against the principle of compulsion. From this time to the appointment of the Royal Commission for investigating the whole matter, the fight for freedom from compulsory vaccination was increasingly fierce. Thousands of parents defied the law, submitting

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to fine and imprisonment rather than being false to conscience and imperiling the health and life of their children. Over 8,000 tragic cases to illustrate the terrible results of vaccination were reported to the Royal Commission.

The Royal Commission's recommendation of a Conscience Clause in the Bill was at first rejected. By 1898, however, the storm of protest was so great that, after experiencing many vicissitudes, the Conscience Clause was inserted and became law.

The public endowment and the enforcement of vaccination were manœuvred through Parliament on the unsubstantiated theories and false assertions of leading doctors who led the profession to declare with one voice as being fact that which had never been proved in practice and which had been falsified by experience. The compulsory law of England rested on these false assertions until last November, 1946!

At the present time doctors are strongly pushing their claims to control the health of the people, and an admission that they were wrong in regard to vaccination would greatly weaken their position. This effort is being so boldly made in the U. S. A. that recently the Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, Inc., has been organized to protect individual liberty as it relates to the art of healing, and to inform the public on controversial matters. England also has its British Health Freedom Society.

England and Australia have demonstrated to the world that smallpox can be successfully controlled without mass vaccination. The statistics are available. The majority of parents of Great Britain have for many years past exempted or witheld their children from the operation.

Perhaps the most telling recent development is the admission of the Editor of *The Lancet*, a leading British medical journal, that vaccination has its limitations, and his courage in publishing the records of the complete failure of vaccination to protect the Allied troops in Egypt from smallpox and the failure of even recent successful vaccination to avert fatal hæmorrhagic smallpox.

But what about immunization by vaccination as a science? After more than a century of experience of the practice it is true to say that it is unscientific, useless and dangerous.

HOW UNSCIENTIFIC?

1. The "germ theory of disease," on which the practice is based, science is now in the process of discarding, together with the view that germs are specific, definite and unchangeable in their nature and effects.

2. No scientific evidence exists that cowpox and smallpox are identical diseases.

3. Science has never stated what is the precise origin and nature of the virus used for vaccination; and there is no way whatever to determine the whole content of a serum injection, bacteriologically speaking.

4. Neither Jenner, nor any one since, has defined vaccination in any scientific manner; and there is no legal definition of it.

5. The English and French schools of medicine have exactly opposite theories as to why vaccination "protects." They cannot both be right!

HOW USELESS?

1. It has been proved repeatedly by experience that vaccination does not immunize against any form of smallpox; nor does it prevent epidemics.

2. It is not determined how long a vaccination may "protect" against smallpox; nor when "protection" ceases. When smallpox is contracted after vaccination it is surmised that the lymph was "too old"—"too new"—"inert" or that the operation was "not properly done" etc., etc.

3. There is no way of knowing when or if a vaccination has been properly done; there is no definition of a "properly done" vaccination.

HOW DANGEROUS?

1. Mortality amongst smallpox victims who have been vaccinated is higher than amongst the unvaccinated.

2. Today there is greater risk of illness and fatality from vaccination than from smallpox. In England and Wales in the 33 years ending Decemebr, 1937, only 118 children under five died

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of smallpox, but 291 died of vaccination. In 1942 twelve people were killed by vaccination and none died from smallpox. In Scotland, smallpox killed eight and vaccination ten persons; another fifteen developed post-vaccinal encephalitis, the dreaded sleeping-sickness.

3. Efforts are still being made to "improve" vaccine and vaccination and make them, "more safe." This proves that the medical profession admits their dangers. Yet governments issue vaccine for use on the people—in some cases even making vaccination compulsory!

4. Other diseases follow in the train of vaccination, some more fearsome and fatal than smallpox. Some of these are: Post-vaccinal myelitis (infantile paralysis), post-vaccinal encephalitis, post-vaccinal jaundice, tetanus and syphilis.

5. The cause of cancer is still unknown and some authorities are stating that it may be caused by a filterable virus, and the fecundation of normal cells by a foreign protein is not impossible. The increase of cancer has been synchronous with the increase of vaccination. This is a solemn thought. Diabetes, infantile paralysis and sleeping sickness have also become real menaces only since the rage for inoculation began.

But why should a practice proved so uncertain be advocated at all by the medical profession which includes many noble men and women whose desire is to devote their lives to the service of humanity? Why is it supported; why is it not exposed?

The training for doctors is begun in youth and the doctrines of the older professionals are firmly implanted in student days. Anti-vaccination books are excluded from orthodox medical college libraries and curriculums. Young people become "qualified" only to find their professional status bound up with the belief in vaccination. They cannot break away from it without jeopardizing their careers. Is it any wonder, then, that a small minority only have the perception and the courage to oppose it?

While many physicians—undoubtedly ignorant of the facts—are sincere in their belief in vaccination, it is significant that agitation for *compulsory vaccination* emanates chiefly from those who administer or manufacture vaccine. Actually, however, the medical profession has two opinions on the subject, not one. Most "anti's" were once in favour of, and turned against vaccination after some tragic experience in the practice which led them to study both sides of the question. Also, many doctors in favour of vaccination are not in favour of *compulsory vaccination*, which is the great danger of the present moment.

It is as illogical as it is wrong for those who believe in vaccination to try to make it compulsory for those who do not. Consider: The vaccinated, being "protected," should have no fear of the "unprotected"! And, on the other hand, the less it protects the more infamous is compulsion! Against the great gains to be obtained by the disestablishment and disendowment of the practice there is only a business loss to count. The people's health, the pocket-book of the tax-payer, individual integrity and liberty, the principles of democratic government and scientific freedom, will all gain.

Now must be considered some ominous facts and trends which have come to the fore during the past twelve months:—

1. Many attempts were made to persuade the B. B. C. to permit both sides of controversial matters, such as vaccination, to be discussed; but without success.

2. The World Health Organization, which replaces the Health Organization of the League of Nations, will be composed of representatives of the pro-vaccinist Government Health Departments of every country. This seriously endangers what should be the inviolable right of each individual of any nation to decide how his own body (and the bodies of his children) should be treated; especially since medicine is admittedly so far from being in any sense an exact science.

3. Errors in the League of Nations Health Organization Hand-Book which misrepresent the facts in regard to vaccination have been pointed out to the authorities, but alteration has not yet been made.

4. The difficulties for travellers are increasing enormously. The day seems to be approach-

ing when every traveller by air or sea will be required to have a vaccination—and several inoculation—certificates before embarking. To quote from a section in *The Vaccination Inquirer*, July-August, 1947, discussing a possible requirement of international vaccination certificates for travellers: "That something is on foot is certain, and the League's (The National Anti-Vaccination League's) Council has warned some hundreds of our supporters of the impending danger."

5. Misrepresentation of entrance requirements of countries is being given to travellers by travel agencies, steamship and air-line companies and government officials at embarkation points to induce travellers to be vaccinated and inoculated. "To save trouble and possible quarantine on arrival at destination"—is one argument used, whether justifiably or not.

6. The Bhore Health Survey and Development Committee Report was very disappointing. Instead of emphasizing constructive plans along modern lines, which have already been so successful in several Western countries, to raise the health of the Indian people to higher levels by extensive sanitation measures, education in hygiene and a more nourishing and plentiful food supply, it stresses more the supplying of vaccines and medicines. Is it so difficult to realize that "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure"?

In contrast to the above six points the following facts will be seen to make more evident than ever the tyranny and illogicality of the threat of compulsory vaccination and inoculation:

1. Under the National Medical Service Bill passed by Parliament November 6, 1946, the English Vaccination Acts have been entirely repealed. This Bill goes into force in July, 1948.

2. In the British Army and Navy vaccination and inoculation are voluntary. Soldiers and sailors may refuse (and many have done so) both vaccination and inoculation—although civilian clients of many transportation companies cannot so refuse! But in this connection it appears from recent newspaper correspondence protesting vehemently against compulsory vaccination for travellers that the P. & O. and the British India Steam Navigation Co. lines do not require their passengers to have vaccination and inoculation certificates.

3. Vaccination and inoculation are entirely voluntary for the R. A. F.; and British civil servants throughout the U. K. also have the right to refuse the operation.

On September 8, 1947, the Indian Government lodged two protests with the World Health Organization Interim Commission against the restrictions imposed on travellers from India to British Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong and Iraq. The sinister significance of the fact that Eastern countries are now beginning to require vaccination and inoculation certificates as conditions of entry should be recognized. Vast quantities of vaccines and serums are manufactured and stored, and fortunes are at stake if they are not sold somewhere. More and more the most advanced Western countries are successfully controlling smallpox and other filth diseases and epidemics through sanitation. The Western market for vaccines has, therefore, lessened drastically in the last fifteen years. Costly advertising campaigns are required to sustain it at all. But most Eastern countries are backward in sanitation and education. *This makes them a cheap and easy market for the vaccine and serum manufacturers.* There is no good reason, however, why this conscienceless exploitation of thousands of ignorant, trusting human victims should go on. Knowledge and statistics are available to the educated who lead and govern the masses, and whose duty it is to protect them also.

It has been found that the presence or absence of classical or virulent smallpox has no relation whatever to the vaccination laws in any country, but that it does bear a direct relationship to the progress of the various countries in regard to sanitation and general living conditions. Smallpox is endemic in India and should be banished by extensive sanitary measures which will be a permanent asset and protection to the nation. Mexico, Italy and the Philippines have all had disastrous epidemics of smallpox, notwithstanding the stringent laws for vaccination and re-vaccination of their whole populations. The following vividly illustrates what has just been stated:—

In England from 1931-1940 only 36 per cent. of infants were vaccinated; in Australia and New Zealand less than 1 per cent. Yet smallpox is practically extinct in both countries and they have no vaccination entrance requirements. Only ten States in the U. S. A. require vaccination of infants, yet smallpox has been virtually wiped out in the country. On the other hand, in Mexico, backward in education and sanitation, vaccination is compulsory for all, but the fatalities from smallpox over a ten-year period (1921-1930) were *3200 per cent.* greater in Mexico than in the U. S. A. !

International Sanitary Conventions have lately been agreed upon by a number of countries, among them India. And although these conventions provide the alternative of quarantine in place of vaccination and inoculation, few countries since the war seem willing to arrange for this. Besides, this provision does not solve the practical everyday problems that keep cropping up. For instance: When you want your children admitted in a school or college; when you seek employment in a government department or even in some private firms; when you want to visit a place of pilgrimage or to go to a district where an epidemic is said to be raging—you are faced with the problem : Vaccination.

Obviously this state of things will continue as long as Allopathy dominates as the State system of medicine. Yet what could be more absurd and unreasonable than having such an alien system imposed by the Government of free India on the Indian people, millions of whom are naturally and traditionally opposed to it ! Consider: All Hindus must abhor vaccines and serums for the cruelty to animals involved in their production and their pollution of the human body when injected into it; lovers and protectors of cows also, since the manufacturing process particularly involves torture to cows and calves; admirers of Gandhiji and the principle of non-violence must be repelled by them for the same reasons; and forcing them on the people must be disapproved by all who are politically opposed to State compulsion and unwarrantable interference with individual rights. Added to these are the citizens who adhere to other systems of medicine such as Nature-Cure, Homœopathy, Ayurveda, Unani, etc.

The following quotations and considerations on Sanitation have also particular and important significance for India. The first is from the Report on Sanitary Measures in India, 1879-80 :—

> Smallpox in India is related to season and also to epidemic prevalence : it is not a disease, therefore, that can be controlled by vaccination in the sense that vaccination is a specific against it. As an endemic and epidemic disease, it must be dealt with by sanitary measures, and if these are neglected smallpox is certain to increase in epidemic times.

Report of the Army Commission of the Punjab for 1879 :—

> ...the whole Indian experience points in one direction, and this is that the severity of a smallpox epidemic is more closely connected with sanitary defects, which intensify the activity of other epidemic diseases more than is usually imagined, and that to the general sanitary improvement of towns and villages must we look for the mitigation of smallpox as of cholera and fevers.

Report for 1884-85 on Sanitary Measures of the North-West Provinces and Oudh :—

> Notwithstanding the existence of an active vaccination service, smallpox swept over the Province just as if there had been none....If sanitary work be neglected no more dependence against smallpox epidemics can be placed on vaccination than can be placed on quarantines against invasions of cholera.

In recent years no such frank admissions of the failure of vaccination to control smallpox epidemics can be found in Indian Reports, although it was stated in the Indian Public Health Commissioner's Annual Report for 1936 that vaccines, serums, drugs, etc.—" are no substitute for sanitary dwellings, fresh air, pure water and abundant and wholesome food. These are the foundations on which alone the superstructure of individual and communal health can be built. "

Everything on the subject points to the fact that it is Sanitation which is the solution to a great portion of India's grave health problem. And it is to be earnestly hoped that at this opportune moment the administrators of the Government of free India will inform themselves fully and without prejudice in regard to the subject-matter of this memorandum. Those who

have undertaken the responsibility of serving the people should not fall prey to the advertising propaganda of those who profit by the sale of vaccines and serums, thus sacrificing the health, and a fair portion of the wealth, of a great country, to these modern Molochs.

Reform could well begin with the repeal of the Bombay Vaccination Act, 1877, which imposes compulsory vaccination on the children of Bombay in spite of unquestionable statistics to prove that vaccination is specially dangerous to children! To quote an authority, "There are official records of over 6,900 cases (of smallpox) and 1,100 deaths in fully vaccinated children under ten."

Finally, some of the most recently received English and American publications cite the following grim facts and opinions: The *News Letter* (June-August, 1947) of the Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, Inc., exposes and opposes the U.S.A. Public Health Service's "assumption" that persons visiting Europe have been exposed to smallpox and their requirement accordingly that such persons "be vaccinated even though there is not a case of smallpox present in any of the countries or ports visited." This is called a trick to compel vaccination and adherence to a particular medical practice; not an effort to protect individuals or society but an "indirect method of compelling by Federal regulation a large number of persons to be vaccinated."

In England the Ministry of Health gives "Guidance" to local health authorities that they may bring heavy pressure to bear on parents to have their children vaccinated. "Some areas will employ loud-speakers to frighten the public" and try to force vaccination on the people after the present compulsory law ceases to have effect (July, 1947).

Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, Inc., Bulletin No. 417 is headed:—"A Rising Tide of Opposition Against Repeated Attempts to Scare the Public to Submit to Vaccination." The opposition is to the compulsory measures instituted as a result of the "fear campaigns" urging mass vaccination, "only made possible by withholding vital information from the public at the time such fear campaigns are being staged."

In common justice, the public is entitled to full information on the current situation and about the possible harmful effects of inoculation and vaccination; also about the added danger when vaccination fails to prevent smallpox.

The New York Herald Tribune (June 12, 1947) reports that the latest New York "vaccination drive left 33 cases of encephalitis...(inflammation of the brain) the most serious complication of vaccination....six died." In an article by Dr. E. M. Josephson in *The Aryan Path* (December, 1947) other aspects and results of this latest "fear campaign" are dealt with. Dr. Josephson also explains, with supporting statistics, the close relationship between adequate nourishment and immunity to disease as well as the ill results of vaccination. He warns that vaccination of the under-nourished is found to be much more risky than vaccination of the well nourished. This information should be widely circulated for the public welfare, and given immediate and serious consideration in under-nourished India at the present time, along with the problem of sanitation.

The principles of Theosophy stand against dirt, against vaccination and inoculation and against compulsion.

The above may be reprinted fully or in part, but it is requested that the source be acknowledged and a cutting sent.

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HINDI AS NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

A summary of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's speech

Allahabad, March 2.—At a recent gathering of members and workers of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the University of Calcutta, who was on a visit to Allahabad in connection with University work, gave a talk on the history of the Hindi language, dealing particularly with the evolution of Urdu as a younger and a Muslim form of the language and with the present problems which are facing Hindi with the promulgation of Mahatma Gandhi's view on the biliteralism of Hindustani or Hindi in two scripts, its native Devanagari and the foreign Perso-Arabic.

Prof. Chatterji said that the present position of Hindi (using Hindi as a wide term covering the important forms of the Western Hindi speech, and including Braj-bhasha, Nagri-Hindi or High-Hindi and Musalmani-Hindi or Urdu) was not the result of any recent propaganda but was the natural final outcome of a cultural situation which had been present all through in India ever since the Aryan language was established in North India and had become the vehicle of Indian civilization, as a composite creation in which both Aryan and non-Aryan speaking peoples (pure and mixed Aryan, and 'Dravidians' and 'Austrics') took part. The ancient *Madhyadesa* or the 'Midland', the tract of country roughly corresponding to the eastern Punjab and the eastern U. P. of the present day, was the heart of Aryandom, where a synthesis of

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Aryan and non-Aryan cultures under the auspices of Brahmanical Hinduism took place before the days of Budhha ; and it was tne speech of this tract (as of a sort of central area) which has always dominated Indian life and culture and has always been accorded precedence by the greater part of India in Indian affairs throughout the centuries, successively as classical Sanskrit, as Sauraseni Prakrit, as Pali (Pali, Dr. Chatterji explained, was really based on the early Sauraseni speech of the Midland and was not the speech of Magadha—this is the most recent and most authoritative view on the subject) as Sauraseni Aprabhransa, as Brajabhasha and finally as Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani, Khari Boli, Urdu). He then dwelt at length on the origin of Urdu as as a distinct literary form of Hindi—how the beginnings of Urdu as we know it were to be traced to the literary efforts in the various western Hindi and Punjabi dialects which were established in the Deccan among Marathi, Telugu and Kannada speaking peoples by Muslim and Hindu soldiers and adventurers, aettlers and sojourners, in that part of India, from the 14th century onwards. In this connection he referred in eulogistic terms to the researches of Pandit Chandrabali Pande of the Nagri Parcharni Sabha of Benares, as published in a number of books in Hindi, on the origin and early development of Urdu and on the exact relationship between Hindi of the present day and Urdu. Dr. Chatterji did not agree with the view which appears to have been put forward with greater enthusiasm than accuracy recently from some quarters, that Sanskritized Hindi was a later phenomenon than Persianized and Arabicized Urdu. The early Muslim writers of 'Hindi' in North India and of 'Dakni' in the Deccan used a language which was singularly unlike present-day Urdu in its vocabulary and its general atmosphere—its was a genuine Indian speech, racy of the soil, and not an artificial imitation of Persian. A greater acquaintance with the early Dakni writers is necessary to enable us to see things as they were. As a 'colonial speech', Dakni became established in the courts of the Muslim ruling houses in the

Deccan which took their rise on the ruins of the Bahmani empire, particularly at Rijapur and Golconda, and it was there in the hands of some Muslim scholars and princes (the most illustrious of whom in the literary field was Sultan Qutb Quli Shah of Golconda, a contemporary of Akbar the Great) that slowly Dakni took up an orientation towards Persian, particularly during the 17th century. The influence of Dakni reacted upon the dialect of Delhi, the language current in the exalted court and camp of Mogul Emperors, and North Indian Urdu was born during the first half of the 18th century when the poet Wali, known as *Baba-i-Rekhta* or the father of Rekhta (*i.e.* of Hindi with Perso-Arabic words *scattred* in it) came to Delhi and settled there, to become the founder of the first school of Urdu poetry in North India (after 1720). A movement started when North Indian Muslim writers discovered what may be called the 'Islamic possibilities' of their language (emulating the example of Dakni) for saturating the Indian speech with words and ideas from Persian poetry. A number of Muslim aristocrats of foreign birth or origin unfamiliar with the literary and lingustic traditions of the country took a leading part in this Persianizing movement. There were protests from even some Muslim writers of Hindi at this movement seeking to restrict the genuine Hindi tradition: witness, *e. g.* a poet like Nur Mohammad the author of the *Anurag-Bansari* (c. 1710). The Hindus, when not connected with the court or the offices of the Mogul State, remained uninterested. In this way, Persianized Urdu was set up as a *Kunstsprache*, as the Germans say, as a literary and a poetic speech, in an exclusive courtly atmosphere, during the second half of the 18th century. In Dr. Chatterji's opinion, it was wrong to say that Persianized Urdu was the joint creation of the Hindu and Muslim *people*, i.e. of the *masses* removed from the court, or that it developed in the *bazars* when the Turki and Irani foreigners who invaded India were first settled in Delhi and elsewhere in the 12th century. In the 18th century, a new literary " coterie speech " like Urdu into which the fragrance from the rose-garden of

Persian Sufi poetry could be wafted through a Persian vocabulary, became a venue of escape from the actualities of life : it was a necessary spiritual and aesthetic compensation for a good many Muslims of fine sensibility and culture when political power was passing away from the hands of a small Muslim minority into those of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the British in the 18th-19th centuries. Such a speech from its very nature was not a spontaneous creation of the people—though doubtless through Islam and through the law courts and administrative departments a good number of Persian and Arabic words found their way into the life of the people ;—and these words all have an honoured place in Hindi (high-Hindi), as these have become thoroughly naturalized and are understood by all.

Dr. Chatterji then passed on to the present position of the Hindi language *vis-a-vis* Urdu and the Hindustani movement. Urdu, Dr. Chatterji said, was created in India, and Urdu literature, particularly Urdu poetry, was a fine flower in the garden of Indian poetry, and it should flourish in its own beauty and with its own perfume. But it should not be attempted to be imposed upon those to whom it does not come naturally. The Persianized vocabulary of Urdu is not understood by four-fifths of India, outside of the Punjab and the western parts of U. P. : it is a real hardship for the vast majority of people living in the Eastern U. P., in Bihar, in Bengal, in Orissa, in Assam, in C. P., in Central India, in Rajputana, in Gujarat, and in the Maratha country, not to speak of the Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam tracts. With regard to the recent *dictum* of Mahatma Gandhi that it is necessary for a good Indian to learn Hindustani or Hindi in both the scripts of Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, Dr. Chatterji expressed his considered and firm dissent. He pleaded for a realistic approach to the problems of script and language. It was easy to talk glibly about the duty of good Indians to learn as many languages and alphabets as possible, but it was an exceedingly

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difficult thing in actual life to induce people to learn a strange script, particularly when it has no economic or cultural use for him, and when it is in its nature a very cumbrous and complicated system of writing at that. The script and language problems were not the same all over India; the situation in the Punjab and the Western U. P. was quite different from that in Bengal and in Tamil Nad, for instance. In Bengal, we manage with a little smattering of what may be called *Bazar Hindi* and generally the Bengali *intelligentsia* does not feel interested in Hindi or Hindustani as an interprovincial speech. Not that we in Bengal have not been impressed or influenced by the great things of Hindi literature : Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas are honoured in Bengal as being among the greatest poets and saints of India, and there are enthusiastic admirers of them in Bengal who love to read them in the original. Rut there is no appeal from Hindi of the present day as a culture-language; and when the curse of Babel is mitigated by a little Bazar Hindi, when English does not work, in our inter-provincial contacts, the average Bengali intellectual does not care to think any further. But in Bengal, we find Hindi in Devanagari characters easy to acquire; the script is so very much like the Bengali, and a good many of us learn it while reading Sanskrit at school. Further, the Sanskrit vocabulary of high-Hindi is understood by us. So if the Bengal people can be won over to Hindi or Hindustani, it should be easy to do that through Hindi written in Devanagari. A larger and larger number could in this way be made to feel interested in Hindi ; and actually, this has been the case. But the new movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi, will, in the speaker's opinion, jeopardize the prospects of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language in Bengal. Already those who were persuaded to read Hindi in the Devanagari script are turning back in dismay when they are told that they must learn also the Perso-Arabic script : those who are connected with the teaching and spread of the *rastrabhasha* are meeting with this difficulty.

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Dr. Chatterji was definitely of opinion that the imposition of the two scripts simultaneously would bring no good, and it would harm rather than benefit the position of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language of India by scaring away large masses from it who would otherwise have gladly approached the speech from the angle of high Hindi in the Devanagari script.

Apart from the practical difficulties, Dr. Chatterji also thought that there was no linguistic, cultural or nationalistic justification (although a lot has been reiterated and sometimes reiterated vehemently on nationalistic and patriotic grounds) to impose the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu upon the Indian body-politic, and all in the name of Indian unity. Dr. Chatterji made it clear that he was not hostile to the Perso-Arabic script as such. He had acquired it when he was 17 or 18, as an intermediate student at college, and that was some 38 years ago. He was emphatically of opinion that it should continue to be the proper script for Urdu so long as Muslim sentiment desired it. But he was simply voicing an opinion which, he thought, was quite widespread that the learning of this script by those who were not born to its manner, so to say, would be an unnecessary imposition; leading to a harassing waste of time, energy and money and possibly also temper.

Devanagari as National Script

Dr. Chatterji's own personal preference was for the Roman script, not only as a way out of the impasse that is being created but also on the merits of the Roman script itself. He was convinced that the Roman script would ultimately come in, and India's independence would help to usher it in. The Roman script was a matter of convenience like the European clock, for instance : and the Roman letters, arranged in the scientific way of the Indian Devanagari alphabet, would give us an almost perfect script, as things stand. But just at the present moment sentiment is strong against the Roman script, because of its English association. Public opinion ought to be educated in this matter.

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For the present, failing the Roman as the ideal, Dr. Chatterji could think of no other script except the Devanagari as the national script for India. But he would not press the matter now, as he knew that that would be trespassing on the domain of religious and cultural sensitiveness.

Simplified Basic Hindi or Hindustani

But he was of emphatic opinion that if Hindi and Urdu were to merge into a single style or speech, there must be a single script as a *sine qua non*. His ideal of a national language for India was a Simplified or Basic Hindi or Hindustani, written in the Roman script, keeping all its naturalised Arabic and Persian words, accepting all new words necessary in Islamic contexts from these sources, but frankly going to Sanskrit for culture words when new words could not conveniently be built up with native Hindi elements or borrowed from English and other European languages. We hear a great deal about BASIC ENGLISH in these days. It is English simplified according to a definite plan, but its vocabulary retains its British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial character. The name BASIC is made up of the initials of these English words, British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial. Dr. Chatterji suggested that the future Basic Hindi or Hindustani of India should have its ideal indicated by the following Hindi or Hindustani words the initials of which when combined will make the word BASIC for us in its Hindi (Hindustani) or Indian context: *viz.*—

Bhartiya or Bharti (Indian, or Pan-Indian).

Adhunik or Aj-kal-ki (Present-day)

Sanskrit-mayi or Sankrit-wali (Sankritic).

Islamik or Islami (Islamic) and

Chalu (Current) Hindi or Hindustani.

'Compromise Speech'

There were questions after Dr. Chatterji's discourse. Dr. Chatterji said in reply to a question that as a condition

precedent to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and similar other bodies cooperating with any committee, official or otherwise, set up to go into the question of evolving a common style or speech out of Hindi and Urdu, certain matters of principle must first be accepted on all sides, matters of principle that are based on scientific data; otherwise all attempts at arriving at what may be called a 'compromise speech' will fail. He further ridiculed the idea of seeking to build up a national language for a vast and civilized country like India seeking to forge ahead in the world under modern conditions with the vocabulary of school children, and of peasants and industrial workers with a rather primitive outlook upon life, eschewing the store-house of a great language like Sanskrit, with its thirty centuries of close inter-relation with the life and culture of India.

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Prof. Chatterji said that the present position of Hindi (using Hindi as a wide term covering the important forms of the Western Hindi speech, and including Braj-bhasha, Nagri-Hindi or High-Hindi and Musalmani-Hindi or Urdu) was not the result of any recent propaganda but was the natural final outcome of a cultural situation which had been present all through in India ever since the Aryan language was established in North India and had become the vehicle of Indian civilization, as a composite creation in which both Aryan and non-Aryan speaking peoples (pure and mixed Aryan, and 'Dravidians' and 'Austrics') took part. The ancient *Madhyadesa* or the 'Midland', the tract of country roughly corresponding to the eastern Punjab and the eastern U. P. of the present day, was the heart of Aryandom, where a synthesis of

Aryan and non-Aryan cultures under the auspices of Brahmanical Hinduism took place before the days of Budhha ; and it was the speech of this tract (as of a sort of central area) which has always dominated Indian life and culture and has always been accorded precedence by the greater part of India in Indian affairs throughout the centuries, successively as classical Sanskrit, as Sauraseni Prakrit, as Pali (Pali, Dr. Chatterji explained, was really based on the early Sauraseni speech of the Midland and was not the speech of Magadha—this is the most recent and most authoritative view on the subject) as Sauraseni Aprabhransa, as Brajabhasha and finally as Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani, Khari Boli, Urdu). He then dwelt at length on the origin of Urdu as as a distinct literary form of Hindi—how the beginnings of Urdu as we know it were to be traced to the literary efforts in the various western Hindi and Punjabi dialects which were established in the Deccan among Marathi, Telugu and Kannada speaking peoples by Muslim and Hindu soldiers and adventurers, aettlers and sojourners, in that part of India, from the 14th century onwards. In this connection he referred in eulogistic terms to the researches of Pandit Chandrabali Pande of the Nagri Parcharni Sabha of Benares, as published in a number of books in Hindi, on the origin and early development of Urdu and on the exact relationship between Hindi of the present day and Urdu. Dr. Chatterji did not agree with the view which appears to have been put forward with greater enthusiasm than accuracy recently from some quarters, that Sanskritized Hindi was a later phenomenon than Persianized and Arabicized Urdu. The early Muslim writers of 'Hindi' in North India and of 'Dakni' in the Deccan used a language which was singularly unlike present-day Urdu in its vocabulary and its general atmosphere—its was a genuine Indian speech, racy of the soil, and not an artificial imitation of Persian. A greater acquaintance with the early Dakni writers is necessary to enable us to see things as they were. As a 'colonial speech', Dakni became established in the courts of the Muslim ruling houses in the

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Persian Sufi poetry could be wafted through a Persian vocabulary, became a venue of escape from the actualities of life : it was a necessary spiritual and aesthetic compensation for a good many Muslims of fine sensibility and culture when political power was passing away from the hands of a small Muslim minority into those of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the British in the 18th-19th centuries. Such a speech from its very nature was not a spontaneous creation of the people—though doubtless through Islam and through the law courts and administrative departments a good number of Persian and Arabic words found their way into the life of the people ;—and these words all have an honoured place in Hindi (high-Hindi), as these have become thoroughly naturalized and are understood by all.

Dr. Chatterji then passed on to the present position of the Hindi language *vis-a-vis* Urdu and the Hindustani movement. Urdu, Dr. Chatterji said, was created in India, and Urdu literature, particularly Urdu poetry, was a fine flower in the garden of Indian poetry, and it should flourish in its own beauty and with its own perfume. But it should not be attempted to be imposed upon those to whom it does not come naturally. The Persianized vocabulary of Urdu is not understood by four-fifths of India, outside of the Punjab and the western parts of U. P. : it is a real hardship for the vast majority of people living in the Eastern U. P., in Bihar, in Bengal, in Orissa, in Assam, in C. P., in Central India, in Rajputana, in Gujarat, and in the Maratha country, not to speak of the Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam tracts. With regard to the recent *dictum* of Mahatma Gandhi that it is necessary for a good Indian to learn Hindustani or Hindi in both the scripts of Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, Dr. Chatterji expressed his considered and firm dissent. He pleaded for a realistic approach to the problems of script and language. It was easy to talk glibly about the duty of good Indians to learn as many languages and alphabets as possible, but it was an exceedingly

difficult thing in actual life to induce people to learn a strange script, particularly when it has no economic or cultural use for him, and when it is in its nature a very cumbrous and complicated system of writing at that. The script and language problems were not the same all over India; the situation in the Punjab and the Western U. P. was quite different from that in Bengal and in Tamil Nad, for instance. In Bengal, we manage with a little smattering of what may be called *Bazar Hindi* and generally the Bengali *intelligentsia* does not feel interested in Hindi or Hindustani as an interprovincial speech. Not that we in Bengal have not been impressed or influenced by the great things of Hindi literature : Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas are honoured in Bengal as being among the greatest poets and saints of India, and there are enthusiastic admirers of them in Bengal who love to read them in the original. But there is no appeal from Hindi of the present day as a culture-language; and when the curse of Babel is mitigated by a little Bazar Hindi, when English does not work, in our inter-provincial contacts, the average Bengali intellectual does not care to think any further. But in Bengal, we find Hindi in Devanagari characters easy to acquire; the script is so very much like the Bengali, and a good many of us learn it while reading Sanskrit at school. Further, the Sanskrit vocabulary of high-Hindi is understood by us. So if the Bengal people can be won over to Hindi or Hindustani, it should be easy to do that through Hindi written in Devanagari. A larger and larger number could in this way be made to feel interested in Hindi ; and actually, this has been the case. But the new movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi, will, in the speaker's opinion, jeopardize the prospects of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language in Bengal. Already those who were persuaded to read Hindi in the Devanagari script are turning back in dismay when they are told that they must learn also the Perso-Arabic script : those who are connected with the teaching and spread of the *rastrabhasha* are meeting with this difficulty.

Dr. Chatterji was definitely of opinion that the imposition of the two scripts simultaneously would bring no good, and it would harm rather than benefit the position of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language of India by scaring away large masses from it who would otherwise have gladly approached the speech from the angle of high Hindi in the Devanagari script.

Apart from the practical difficulties, Dr. Chatterji also thought that there was no linguistic, cultural or nationalistic justification (although a lot has been reiterated and sometimes reiterated vehemently on nationalistic and patriotic grounds) to impose the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu upon the Indian body-politic, and all in the name of Indian unity. Dr. Chatterji made it clear that he was not hostile to the Perso-Arabic script as such. He had acquired it when he was 17 or 18, as an intermediate student at college, and that was some 38 years ago. He was emphatically of opinion that it should continue to be the proper script for Urdu so long as Muslim sentiment desired it. But he was simply voicing an opinion which, he thought, was quite widespread that the learning of this script by those who were not born to its manner, so to say, would be an unnecessary imposition; leading to a harassing waste of time, energy and money and possibly also temper.

Devanagari as National Script

Dr. Chatterji's own personal preference was for the Roman script, not only as a way out of the impasse that is being created but also on the merits of the Roman script itself. He was convinced that the Roman script would ultimately come in, and India's independence would help to usher it in. The Roman script was a matter of convenience like the European clock, for instance : and the Roman letters, arranged in the scientific way of the Indian Devanagari alphabet, would give us an almost perfect script, as things stand. But just at the present moment sentiment is strong against the Roman script, because of its English association. Public opinion ought to be educated in this matter.

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For the present, failing the Roman as the ideal, Dr. Chatterji could think of no other script except the Devanagari as the national script for India. But he would not press the matter now, as he knew that that would be trespassing on the domain of religious and cultural sensitiveness.

Simplified Basic Hindi or Hindustani

But he was of emphatic opinion that if Hindi and Urdu were to merge into a single style or speech, there must be a single script as a *sine qua non*. His ideal of a national language for India was a Simplified or Basic Hindi or Hindustani, written in the Roman script, keeping all its naturalised Arabic and Persian words, accepting all new words necessary in Islamic contexts from these sources, but f[illegible]ly going to Sanskrit for culture words when new words could not conveniently be built up with native Hindi elements or borrowed from English and other European languages. We hear a great deal about BASIC ENGLISH in these days. It is English simplified according to a definite plan, but its vocabulary retains its British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial character. The name BASIC is made up of the initials of these English words, British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial. Dr. Chatterji suggested that the future Basic Hindi or Hindustani of India should have its ideal indicated by the following Hindi or Hindustani words the initials of which when combined will make the word BASIC for us in its Hindi (Hindustani) or Indian context: *viz.*—

Bhartiya or Bharti (Indian, or Pan-Indian).

Adhunik or Aj-kal-ki (Present-day).

Sanskrit-mayi or Sankrit-wali (Sanskritic).

Islamik or Islami (Islamic) and

Chalu (Current) Hindi or Hindustani.

'Compromise Speech'

There were questions after Dr. Chatterji's discourse. Dr. Chatterji said in reply to a question that as a condition

precedent to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and similar other bodies cooperating with any committee, official or otherwise, set up to go into the question of evolving a common style or speech out of Hindi and Urdu, certain matters of principle must first be accepted on all sides, matters of principle that are based on scientific data; otherwise all attempts at arriving at what may be called a 'compromise speech' will fail. He further ridiculed the idea of seeking to build up a national language for a vast and civilized country like India seeking to forge ahead in the world under modern conditions with the vocabulary of school children, and of peasants and industrial workers with a rather primitive outlook upon life, eschewing the store-house of a great language like Sanskrit, with its thirty centuries of close inter-relation with the life and culture of India.

THE LEADER PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW.

MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COURT.

No. 1.

Saturday, September 29, 1945, at 2-30 P.M.

PRESENT:

Lt.-Col. Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor (*in the Chair*), Dr. B. Sahni, Prof. N. K. Sidhanta, Rai Bahadur Pt. Sukhdeo Behari Misra, Mr. R. S. Rastogi, Dr. W. Burridge, Rai Bahadur Dr. Raghunandan Lal, Dr. C. P. Misra, Mr. Ajit Prasada, Dr. V. S. Mangalik, Dr. Rama Dhar Misra, Dr. B. B. Bhatia, Dr. T. Nath, Dr. Satyapal Gupta, Dr. R. C. Shukla, Dr. R. N. Misra, Dr. S. S. Misra, Dr. Athar Rasheed, Mr. K. A. S. Iyer, Syed Masud Hasan Rizavi, Dr. T. Prasad, Dr. H. G. D. Mathur, Dr. (Miss) Mary Thomas, Dr. S. N. Mathur, Dr. P. D. Mukerji, Rai Bahadur Capt. K. S. Nigam, Dr. S. Bose, Pt. Brijnath Sharga, Pt. Gaya Prasad Shukla, Mr. B. K. Dhaon, Mr. B. K. Mathur, Mr. Gyanendra Nath Srivastava, Mr. Tribhuwan Nath Varma, Mr. B. K. Gurtoo, Mrs. H. S. Gupta, Mrs. Raj Kumari T. Prasad, Mr. M. L. Agarwala, Mr. Pushkar Nath Bhatt, Dr. Vidya Dat Ram, Dr. H. A. Hanson, Miss K. D. Khanna, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. G. Walford, Mr. Rajendra Nath, Mr. Gyanendra Narain, Mr. K. M. Shameem, Mr. N. K. Halwasiya, Mr. S. K. Narain, Pt. A. D. Thakur, Dr. K. C. Pandey, Mr. V. K. N. Menon, Dr. A. V. Rao, Mr. H. P. Chowdhury, Dr. Ram Ballabh, Dr. P. D. Shukla, Mr. V. N. Shukla, Dr. Abdul Aleem, Prof. Kali Prasad, Mr. Gaya Prasad Dikshit, Mr. C. D. Chatterji, Dr. Rama Shanker Tripathi, Mr. B. N. Chatterji, Dr. V. S. Ram, Dr. A. M. Khan, Mr. R. R. Sreshta, Dr. A. N. Singh, Prof. B. N. Srivastava, Mr. B. N. Das Gupta, Dr. S. K. Banerji, Mr. Saligram Chaturvedi, Kr. Surath Bahadur Shah, Rai Bahadur Kr. Guru Narain, Mr. N. C. Chaturvedi, Rai Bahadur Pt. Prithvi Nath Bhargava, Mr. S. B. L. Mathur, Mr. C. B. Gupta, Khan Bahadur Dr. Mohd. Abdul Hameed, Dr. S. Husain Zaheer, Mr. Raj Kumar Srivastava and Dr. Qutubuddin Ahmad.

Mr. C. B. Gupta, seconded by Mr. B. K. Dhaon, moved the following resolution:—

> "This meeting of the Court of the Lucknow University condemns the action of the U. P. Government in trying to get the Lucknow University Act amended

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so far as it relates to the Medical Faculty by a Governor's Act. In the opinion of this Court, the amending bill as published in the Gazette being of a controversial nature and prejudicial to the best interests of the University and the Province should not be proceeded with and more particularly at a time when there is likelihood of popular Governments responsible to the Legislature coming back in office soon."

The resolution was passed unanimously.

BISHESHWAR DAYAL SETH,
VICE-CHANCELLOR,
Chairman.

SHEO SHANKER,
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR,
Secretary.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

No. 4.

Friday, September 14, 1945, at 6 P. M.

PRESENT:

Lt.-Col. Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor (*in the Chair*), Rai Bahadur Dr. B. N. Vyas, Major-General A. V. Hammond, Rai Bahadur Capt. K. S. Nigam, Mr. B. N. Das Gupta, Prof. N. K. Sidhanta, Prof. B. N. Srivastava, Prof. Kali Prasad, Dr. K. N. Bahl, Dr. A. C. Chatterji, Dr. W. Burridge, Dr. A. N. Singh, Raja Sri Ram Seth, Rai Bahadur Kr. Guru Narain, Dr. B. Sahni, Mr. Mohd. Wasim and Mr. N. C. Chaturvedi.

1. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council dated August 28, 1945, were confirmed.

2. The statement of formal matters was approved (*vide* Appendix).

3. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of two temporary Lecturers in Zoology was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. B. B. Sinha, D.Sc., and Mr. P. D. Gupta, M.Sc., as temporary Lecturers in Zoology each on Rs. 200/- p.m. in the leave vacancy of Dr. M. B. Lal and Dr. S. M. Das respectively.

4. The Council considered the question of granting benefits of Provident Fund to Mr. A. K. Gupta, Lecturer in English, for the temporary period of his service followed by confirmation.

It was resolved that benefits of Provident Fund be allowed to him from August 16, 1943.

5. (*a*) The Council considered applications from the following for the grant of benefits of Provident Fund and leave for the period of their temporary service followed by confirmation:—

(1) Mr. Nurul Hasan, Lecturer in History.
(2) Mr. R. C. Misra, Lecturer in Geology.
(3) Mr. S. D. Sharma, Lecturer in Law.
(4) Mr. K. K. Trivedi, Lecturer in Law.

It was resolved that the applications be granted.

(*b*) It was further resolved that the note under regulation 2 at page 812 of the Calendar for 1944-46 and the subsequent para be renumbered as regulations 3 and 4 respectively, the following be added as regulation 5 and the remaining regulations be renumbered accordingly:—

"Persons holding temporary appointments, if confirmed on a permanent basis, will be entitled to benefits of Provident Fund for the period of their continuous temporary service followed by confirmation."

6. The Council considered an application of Mr. Bhagirath Mishra, Lecturer in Hindi, requesting that the period of his probation may be allowed to terminate on 1st February, 1945, for purposes of permanent service and promotion.

The Council decided February 1, 1945, as the date of termination of his period of probation for purposes of permanent service and promotion.

7. The Council considered a request from Mr. S. C. Varma, Assistant Warden, Meston Hostel, for the construction of two additional rooms in his bungalow.

It was resolved that only one additional room be added to his bungalow on condition that he will pay the additional rent to be determined by the Hony. Treasurer on the basis of the cost of construction of the room (Hony. Treasurer dissenting).

8. On the recommendation of the Academic Council, the Executive Council appointed examiners for the examinations of 1946 in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine, Law and Commerce, for the Diploma examinations in Teaching, Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit and for Proficiency examinations in French and German.

9. On the recommendation of the Academic Council, the Executive Council under Statute 22 decided to confer degrees, diplomas and other academic distinctions at the next Convocation on the persons included in the list of successful candidates based on the results of the examinations published in 1945.

10. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of Lecturer Grade B (Senior Demonstrator) in Surgery, was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. Mahendra Kumar, M.B.,B.S., as Lecturer Grade B (Senior Demonstrator) in Surgery, on Rs. 200 p.m. upto July 31, 1946, or till the return of Dr. Rameash Nigam, whichever is earlier.

11. On the recommendation of the Dean, Faculty of Science, the Council resolved under Statute 17 (1) (*vi*) to nominate Mr. D. N. Wadia, F.G.S., Mineral Advisor to Government of India, Department of Planning, New Delhi, to be a member of the Selec-

tion Committee for appointments to Professorships and Readerships in the Faculty of Science for the purpose of selecting a candidate for Readership in Geology.

12. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Lecturer in Commerce was considered.

The Council appointed Mr. P. D. Saksena, M.A., B.Com., as Lecturer in Commerce on Rs. 200 p.m. upto April 30, 1946.

13. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Lecturer in Political Science *vice* Dr. P. S. Muhar was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. P. N. Masaldan, M.A., Ph.D., as Lecturer in Political Science on his present pay of Rs. 210 p.m. in the grade of Rs. 200—10—310—15—400. The Council further resolved that the period of probation in his case be dispensed with as he has already worked as Lecturer for over two years.

14. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a temporary whole-time Lecturer in Law was considered.

The Council appointed Mr. S. N. Shukla, B.A., LL.M., as temporary whole-time Lecturer in Law on Rs. 200 p.m. in the leave vacancy of Mr. S. S. Nigam, Reader in Law, upto August 21, 1947, or till his return to duty whichever is earlier. The Council further decided that if Dr. R. U. Singh, Professor of Law (on Leave), returns to duty during the leave of Mr. S. S. Nigam, then the services of Mr. S. N. Shukla will terminate.

15. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Reader in Anatomy was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. P. D. Mukerji, L.M.S., as Reader in Anatomy in the grade of Rs. 600—30—900. The Council further decided that the period of probation in his case be dispensed with due to his long service in the University.

16. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Reader in Physiology was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. R. C. Shukla, M.D., as Reader in Physiology in the grade of Rs. 600—30—900.

17. The Council considered a request from Dr. A. C. Chatterji, Warden, Hewett Hostel, for sanitary fittings in his house.

It was resolved that the request be accepted on condition that Dr. A. C. Chatterji pays additional rent to be calculated and determined by the Hony. Treasurer on the basis of actual expenditure incurred for providing the sanitary fittings.

18. The Council considered the demands of furniture from the Hony. Librarian and the Warden, Hewett Hostel, for Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively.

It was resolved to accord administrative sanction to these demands and to refer them to the Finance Committee for provision of funds.

19. The Council considered an application of Shanker, Mechanic, Department of Botany and Geology, for the revision of his grade.

It was resolved that he be placed in the grade of Rs. 75—5—100.

20. The Council considered an application from Mr. Har Charan Sharma, Section Cutter, Geology Department, for revision of his grade.

It was resolved that he be placed in the grade of Rs. 75—5—100.

21. The Council elected Dr. A. N. Singh, Professor of Mathematics, as a member of the Finance Committee upto December 13, 1946.

22. The Council considered an application of Dr. H. S. Andleigh for the credit of examination fees paid by him for the M.D. examination in 1944 to the same examination in 1946.

It was resolved that the application be granted as a special case.

23. The Council considered an application of Dr. H. G. D. Mathur, Part-time Professor of State Medicine, for increasing his allowance from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 p. m.

It was resolved to refer the request to the Academic Council.

24. The Council considered an application of Mr. Ramesh Mohan, Assistant Warden, Habibullah Hostel, for the grant of an allowance of Rs. 50 from May 2, 1945, as he has not been provided with a bungalow.

It was resolved that so long as the Assistant Warden's bungalow be not available to Mr. Ramesh Mohan, he be paid with effect from May 2, 1945, an allowance of Rs. 25 p. m. plus an additional sum of Rs. 10 p. m. for the present on account of rise in prices due to war.

25. The Council considered an application of Mr. H. Gargory, Director of Physical Instruction, for placing him in a suitable scale of pay.

It was resolved that he be placed in the grade of Rs. 200—10—300 after provision of funds by the Finance Committee.

26. The Council considered the recommendation of the Medical Officer, C. C. Dispensary, to pay Rs. 200 each to the doctors who have carried out the medical examination of the students of the University.

It was resolved to postpone consideration of the recommendation pending receipt of (*i*) a further detailed report from the Medical Officer, C. C. Dispensary, as regards the number of Doctors who assisted the Medical Officer in the medical examination of

students, total number of days for which they worked and the number of students examined and (*ii*) the opinion of the Proctor about their remuneration in the light of this information.

27. The Council (*i*) noted that the Vice-Chancellor had granted leave on full average salary on medical certificate for two months to Dr. D. Pant, Reader in Commerce, from July 16, 1945, and (*ii*) sanctioned the officiating appointment of Mr. K. C. Sarkar as Reader in Commerce during the leave of Dr. D. Pant.

28. The Council considered a demand from the Dean, Faculty of Law, for the appointment of a clerk in the grade of Rs. 40—4—60 p. m.

It was resolved to sanction the demand.

29. The Council considered a request from the Superintendent of Works, Canning College Division, for the purchase of ceiling fans at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,000 by re-appropriation from "Cost of Electric Current, Canning College Division, 1945-46."

It was resolved to sanction (*i*) the purchase of ceiling fans at an estimated cost not exceeding Rs. 1,000 and (*ii*) the proposed re-appropriation of funds.

30. The Council considered the question of the application of the decision of the Executive Council, contained in Resolution No. 10, dated April 13, 1945, with regard to the adjustment of the leave account of the inferior staff.

It was resolved that the leave account of the inferior staff be credited on April 13, 1945, with leave earned under the old rules commuted into leave on full pay, subject to a maximum of one month.

31. The Council considered the question of paying T. A. to members of various University bodies and committees appointed by the University authorities from their place of residence outside United Provinces.

It was resolved that (*i*) the following words be inserted in Regulation No. 1 printed at page 817 of the Calendar for 1944-46, between the words "papers" and "who" in line 5 after deleting the word "and" in line 4:—

> "and committees appointed by the University authorities or the Vice-Chancellor."

and (*ii*) the following be added at the end of proviso to Regulation No. 1 printed at page 817 of the Calendar:—

> "But in special cases the Vice-Chancellor may allow travelling allowance to a member of any of the above bodies residing outside United Provinces from and to his permanent place of residence."

It was further decided that the case of Mr. S. K. Roy be disposed off in accordance with the revised regulation.

32. The Council considered an application from Dr. S. H. Zaheer, Reader in Chemistry, for the grant of two years leave without pay from October 29, 1945, in continuation of the Dasehra recess, to accept an appointment as Principal of City Science College, offered to him by the Hyderabad State.

It was resolved that:—

(*i*) Dr. Zaheer be permitted to accept the post of Principal of City Science College offered to him by the Hyderabad State, (*ii*) leave without pay be granted to him for two years from October 29, 1945, (*iii*) his lien be retained on the post in the University during the leave, (*iv*) he be allowed to continue to contribute to the Provident Fund both on behalf of himself and the University during the leave, (*v*) the leave earned by him in the past be allowed to remain to his credit, (*vi*) he be permitted to rejoin the University at any time before the expiry of the leave subject to three months' notice before rejoining and (*vii*) the post of Reader in Chemistry be advertised immediately.

33. The Council considered the report of the Head of the Department of Physics about the work of Dr. Pritam Sen, temporary Lecturer in Physics.

It was resolved that the Vice-Chancellor be authorised to deal with the matter.

34. The Council noted that in accordance with the letter No. TRC(I)/194 dated August 8, 1945, from the Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Labour, Professor E. Ahmad Shah has intimated that he would rejoin the University on November 10, 1945.

It was resolved that (*i*) Mr. E. Ahmad Shah be permitted to rejoin the University on November 10, 1945, (*ii*) Mr. Kali Prasad, Dr. Athar Rasheed and Mr. S. K. Narain be informed that their temporary appointment as Professor of Philosophy and Warden, Butler Hostel, Reader in Philosophy and Assistant Warden, Butler Hostel, respectively will cease from the date Mr. E. Ahmad Shah rejoins the University and (*iii*) Mr. S. K. Narain be asked to vacate the bungalow occupied by him as Assistant Warden in time.

35. The Council elected Rai Bahadur Kr. Guru Narain as a member of the Selection Committee for teaching posts other than Professorships and Readerships in the Faculty of Commerce upto March 26, 1946.

36. The Council considered an application from Mr. S. B. L. Mathur, Lecturer in Physics, requesting that his salary may be fixed at Rs. 210 p.m. from April 1, 1944.

It was resolved that the application be granted.

37. The Council considered an application from certain Lecturers for the grant of a uniform increment of Rs. 50 p. m.

It was resolved that a statement be prepared in respect of all Lecturers showing their grades, length of service and special increments.

38. The Council considered the question as to the date from which the allowance mentioned in Resolution No. 10 dated April 10, 1944, be paid to the Executive Engineer, Lucknow Provincial Division, for working as Adviser in technical matters of the Works Department of the University.

It was resolved that the allowance be paid to him from the date the Superintendent of Works, C. C. Division, started consulting him *viz.* from May 19, 1944, if the Government have no objection to the payment from that date.

39. The Council considered the report of the Head of the Department of Physics about the work of charging of storage batteries.

It was resolved that the Head of the Department be authorised to appoint a suitable person for the proposed work on Rs. 50 p. m. and failing this to pay an allowance of Rs. 25 p. m. to M. Yaqub, Fitter of the Physics Department, to take up the proposed extra work. It was further resolved that the additional expenditure on this account be met from the allotment of the Physics Department under "Storage Batteries."

40. The Council considered the suggestion of the Head of the Department of Urdu and Persian with the recommendation of the Dean, Faculty of Arts, that the Readership in Urdu be not advertised for the present but the appointment of a Lecturer in Persian be sanctioned instead.

The Council decided that (*i*) the post of Reader in Urdu be advertised and (*ii*) that under Statute 17 (1) (*vi*) the Vice-Chancellor be authorised to nominate a person possessing expert knowledge in Urdu as a member of the Selection Committee for appointments to Professorships and Readerships in the Faculty of Arts for the purpose of selecting a candidate for Readership in Urdu.

BISHESHWAR DAYAL SETH,
VICE-CHANCELLOR,
Chairman.

SHEO SHANKER,
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR,
Secretary.

APPENDIX.

Statement of formal matters.

1. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Suraj Baksh as Chowkidar in the Botany Department from August 4, 1945, *vice* Ram Padarath Singh, left. Reported.

2. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Ram Lakhan as Chowkidar, Butler Hostel, from July 18, 1945, *vice* Sant Baksh. Reported.

3. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Ajodhya Prasad as peon on Rs. 12 p. m. from July 1, 1945, in the University Tagore Library, *vice* Mahipal Singh, left. Reported.

4. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Mr. Sheo Shanker as clerk of the Dean, Faculty of Commerce, on Rs. 40 p. m. in the grade of Rs. 40—4—60, from July 26, 1945, *vice* Mr. Chandra Shekhar Misra, resigned. Reported.

5. The Vice-Chancellor granted leave without pay for one year from September 1, 1945, to Mr. Narendra Singh Bisht, Artist, Botany Department, and granted him permission to accept a temporary post of Artist on Rs. 150 p. m. plus war allowance etc. in the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, with permission to retain his lien on his post in the University. Reported.

6. The Dean, Faculty of Medicine, granted extension of leave on medical certificate for 15 days from July 29, 1945, to Mr. Sankta Prasad, Laboratory Assistant, Pathology Department. Reported.

7. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Mr. Ram Das as Junior Laboratory Assistant on Rs. 30 p. m. in the grade of Rs. 30—2—50 on probation for six months in the Chemistry Department, *vice* Mr. Sheo Shanker. Reported.

8. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Nanhey as Chowkidar, Meston Hostel, *vice* Lachman, left. Reported.

9. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Babu Lal as Sweeper, Habibullah Hostel, from July 1, 1945, *vice* Ghafoor, dismissed. Reported.

10. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned an advance of Rs. 2,246-8 to Mr. Shitla Prasad Saksena, Lecturer in Economies (on leave) from the Provident Fund, less the previous outstanding loan of Rs. 745-15-9 for the purchase of a house. Reported.

11. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned refund of the amount standing to the credit of the following in the Provident Fund:—

(1) Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Professor of History.
(2) Mr. Ahmad Ali, Lecturer in English.
(3) Mr. M. Daud, Library Clerk, Faculty of Law.
(4) Miss K. C. Mary, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(5) Miss S. Thomas, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(6) Miss M. S. Singh, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(7) Miss A. Buttress, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(8) Miss M. Mathews, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.

Reported.

12. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Pearay as additional chowkidar in the University Tagore Library from August 1, 1945, on a fixed salary of Rs. 10 p. m. *vice* Saddan, dismissed. Reported.

13. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of a bill amounting to Rs. 4/8/- on account of advertisement charges from the Pioneer Ltd., Lucknow, in respect of an advertisement from the University Tagore Library, under Rule 25 of the Account Code. Reported.

14. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned advances from the Provident Fund to the following:—

(1) Mr. B. K. Malaviya, Pharmaceutical Chemist, Pharmacology Department, Rs. 200 for the marriage of his sister.

(2) Mr. O. P. Gupta, Lecturer in Commerce, Rs. 5,000 for house building purposes. Reported.

15. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of a bill amounting to Rs. 27 from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal being the cost of journals supplied to the University Tagore Library, under Rule 25 of the Account Code. Reported.

16. The Vice-Chancellor approved the following officiating arrangements during the period of suspension of Mr. Fazal Elahi, Assistant Librarian, from the date noted against each:—

(1) Mr. Tara Singh, Cataloguer, to officiate as Assistant Librarian in place of Mr. Fazal Elahi, from July 3, 1945.

(2) Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, Issue Clerk, to officiate for Mr. Tara Singh, from July 3, 1945.

(3) Mr. M. L. Khare, Library Assistant, to officiate for Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, from July 3, 1945.

(4) Mr. Iqbal Krishna Srivastava, Junior Assistant, to officiate for Mr. M. L. Khare, from July 3, 1945.

(5) Ram Chandra to officiate as Junior Assistant in place of Mr. Iqbal Krishna Srivastava from July 3, 1945.

(6) Manik Chand appointed as temporary peon *vice* Ram Chandra on Rs. 12 p. m. from July 24, 1945.

Reported.

17. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned the continuance of the temporary appointment of Mr. S. P. Misra as Lecturer in English in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Ahmad Ali pending consideration of the matter by the Executive Council.

Reported.

18. The Dean, Faculty of Medicine, granted leave on full pay from July 23, 1945, to July 26, 1945, to Mr. Ram Gopal Singh, Third Clerk of his office. Reported.

19. The Dean, Faculty of Medicine, granted leave to Durga Din, Jamadar, for two months and 10 ten days from April 1, 1945. The Vice-Chancellor approved the following officiating arrangements during the leave:—

(1) Mohammad Ishaq to work in place of Durga Din.

(2) Ram Swarup to work in place of Mohammad Ishaq without any allowance.

(3) Cheda appointed as farrash on Rs. 10 p. m. *vice* Ram Swarup from April 1 to May 28, 1945.

(4) Sarju Prasad appointed temporary farrash from June 5, 1945. Reported.

20. The Superintendent of Works, C. C. Division, granted leave from January 2 to January 31, 1945, to Mr. Hari Shanker, clerk of the office of the Electrical Engineer, on medical certificate. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of an allowance at the rate of Rs. 8 p. m. to Mr. Shambhu Nath, clerk of the office of the Civil Engineer, for doing the work of Mr. Hari Shanker in addition to his own duties. Reported.

21. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of a bill of Messrs. Mahadeo Prasad and Sons amounting to Rs. 245 being the cost of furniture supplied to the K. G. Hospital, under Rule 25 (*a*) of the Account Code. Reported.

22. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned a re-appropriation of Rs. 188 from the anticipated savings under the head "Cost of Electric Current-Canning College" 1944-45 for alterations in the loud speakers of the Benett Hall. Reported.

23. The Registrar granted leave on full pay to Mr. A. Miller, Record Keeper, University office, from July 12, to August 4, 1945. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned the following consequential arrangements:—

(1) Mr. Hanuman Prasad to work in place of Mr. Miller from July 12, 1945.

(2) Mr. Kedar Nath to work in place of Mr. Hanoman Prasad from July 19, 1945.

(3) Mahatma Prasad, Record Boy, to work in place of Mr. Kedar Nath from July 19, 1945.

(4) Moid Hasan, Daftri, to work in place of Mahatma Prasad from July 19, 1945.

(5) Jalaluddin appointed temporary Daftri from July 19, 1945. Reported.

24. With the previous approval of the Vice-Chancellor, the Honorary Treasurer invested Rs. 91,000 on account of Provident Fund Cash balance in Fixed Deposit with the Hindustan Commercial Bank Ltd. for a period of two months. Reported.

25. The Government sanctioned payment of a grant of Rs. 4,69,400 for the maintenance of the King George's and the Queen Mary's Hospitals and the T. B. Clinic Hospital during the current financial year. Reported.

26. The Government sanctioned payment of a grant of Rs. 8,65,000 to the University during the current financial year. Reported.

27. The Government of India sanctioned payment of a grant of Rs. 18,129 to the University towards the construction of the I. A. T. C. Building. Reported.

SHEO SHANKER,
for Registrar.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

No. 3

Thursday, February 14, 1946, at 5-30 P. M.

PRESENT:

Dr. W. Burridge, Dean, Faculty of Medicine (*in the Chair*), Rai Bahadur Dr. D. D. Pandya, Rai Bahadur Dr. B. N. Vyas, Dr. P. D. Mukerji, Rai Bahadur Dr. Hargovind Sahai, Dr. K. N. Sinha, Dr. A. Wahid, Rai Bahadur Capt. K. S. Nigam, Dr. T. Prasad, Dr. Miss G. H. Marchant, Dr. S. P. Gupta, Dr. Miss A. D. Engineer, Dr. H. G. D. Mathur, Khan Bahadur Dr. Mohd. Abdul Hameed, Rai Bahadur Dr. Raghunandan Lal, Dr. C. Chatterji, Dr. S. N. Mathur, Dr. V. S. Mangalik, Dr. C. P. Misra, Dr. S. S. Misra, Dr. R. C. Shukla, Dr. N. Subhie, Dr. R. N. Misra, Major A. M. Sheridan, and Dr. Shanti Prakash Gupta.

1. The minutes of the meeting of the Faculty of Medicine dated November 12, 1945, were confirmed.

2. The Faculty elected Dr. C. P. Misra, Professor of Ophthalmology, as Dean, Faculty of Medicine, from May 1, 1946, in place of Dr. W. Burridge, who is due to retire on April 30, 1946.

3. The Faculty re-elected the following as members of the Committee of Courses and Studies from the dates noted against each:—

First M.B., B.S.

Dr. B. B. Bhatia	September 30, 1946.

D. M. R. E.

The Lecturer in Radiology	February 9, 1946.
The Dean, Faculty of Medicine	

D. L. O.

Dr. R. N. Misra	February 9, 1946.
Dr. A. Rahman	

D. G. O.

The Head of the Department of Anatomy	February 9, 1946.
The Head of the Department of Physiology	

4. The Faculty nominated Dr. S. S. Misra as a representative of the Faculty on the Committee for the appintment of examiners for the examinations of 1947.

5. The Faculty recorded the following resolution of the Court dated April 30, 1945, referred by the Academic Council:—

> "That in the opinion of the Court University authorities should take proper steps to allot a certain percentage of marks to the students for physical culture and games and that the same should be taken into account in awarding the division to the student in the result".

6. The Faculty recorded the suggestion of the Government of India together with the replies received from other Universities re: concession to students of other Universities on account of "War services" referred by the Academic Council.

7. A report from the Head of the Department of Pathology about the increase of work in his department necessitating the appointment of an extra Lecturer grade B was considered.

It was resolved to recommend that an additional post of Lecturer Grade B in Pathology be created.

8. On the motion of Khan Bahadur Dr. M. A. Hameed, the Faculty resolved to recommend that a Diploma in Clinical Pathology which will be open to graduates of Medicine of this and other approved Universities be instituted in the University of Lucknow without any financial commitment to the University.

9. The Faculty considered a note (*vide Appendix A*) on the "Revision of Medical Curriculum" by Col. Sir J. N. Duggan, Lt.-Col. A. S. Erulkar and Lt.-Col. D. G. Vad, forwarded by the Secretary, Medical Council of India (*vide* his letter No. F. 12-F 45/126 dated April 24, 1945) together with a copy of the Dean's letter No. 736/1363 dated January 19, 1946, and its enclosures.

It was resolved to postpone consideration of the matter till the report of the Bhore Committee is received by the University.

10. The Faculty recorded letter No. F. 29-A-F-45/1365 dated December 18, 1945, from the Secretary, Medical Council of India, to the Director-General, Indian Medical Servies, re: facilities for admission of the holders of L. S. M. F. or similar diplomas to the M. B., B. S. degree during the War (*vide Appendix B*).

11. On the motion of Dr. R. C. Shukla, the Faculty resolved to recommend to the Academic Council that this Faculty urges on the University the desirability of giving proper publicity to the fact that the latest and unexpected discoveries made in Cambridge in 1936 relating to cerebral nerve cell activities had been predicted from Lucknow in 1934.

12. The Faculty recorded the following resolution passed at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board held at Hyderadad-Deccan on the 11th and 13th December, 1943:—

> "Resolved that the Inter-University Board emphasises the need for adequate facilities for students in maternity and gynaecological work in every medical college attached to a University."

13. The Faculty recorded the following resolution passed at the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board held at Patna on 2nd and 3rd December, 1944:—

> "Candidates who have appeared at examinations and failed in certain subjects, be permitted to appear in the subjects in which they have failed and be declared as having passed the examination if they obtain pass marks in those subjects."

W. BURRIDGE,
DEAN, FACULTY OF MEDICINE,
Chairman.

SHEO SHANKER,
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR,
Secretary.

APPENDIX A.

Revision of Medical Curriculum—A note by Col. Sir Jamshedji. N. Duggan, Lt.-Col. A. S. Erulkar, and Lt.-Col. B. G. Vad.

The need for revision of medical curriculum is felt all the world over and discussions are held and decisions are already being taken in various countries. While profiting by the knowledge and experience of various medical authorities in taking our decisions and submitting these suggestions, we have kept in view the prime needs of our country and the best interests of medical education and medical relief. The main purpose of our undergraduate medical education must be to turn out an efficient and practical general medical practitioner trained and equipped with modern scientific methods. The urgency and medical relief and Indian conditions demand a shortening of the period taken between Matriculation and Final M.B., B.S. examination. Our suggestions would meet this demand without sacrificing any efficiency or cutting down the essential period of training during hospital practice.

We suggest after Matriculation students should be selected for medical education. As the present pass standard of Matric is rather low, particularly in English, only those students should be selected by merit who have secured 50 per cent or more marks in total and

also in English which must continue to remain at least for some years to come, the medium of instruction and examination for medical studies. In many countries in making selections of students for medical course special attention is paid not only to his examination marks, but to his character, aptitude and health.

Medical Course:—(1) Matriculation—50% or more marks in English and total.

(2) Pre-Medical Course—One year. Training in the subjects of Physics, Chemistry and Biology roughly to the standard of the present B. Group of Inter. Science. There should be classes in general English but no examination. At the end of the year, there should be an examination both written and practical in Physics, Chemistry and Biology.

The passing standard being the same as at present. These subjects should be taught with a view to prepare the students for the medical studies.

(3) Pre-Clinical Course—18 months. The curriculum should roughly approximate the present standard of training and examination in the subjects of Anatomy, Physiology and Pharmacology. There should be a University examination at the end of 18 months and after passing the examination the student should be allowed to proceed to his Clinical Course.

These subjects should be taught not with a view to prepare experts in these subjects but with a view to give a broad vision and general knowledge so far as it has some definite relation to further medical studies. Intricate details should be avoided. During this period contact should be established between the student and the patient to give the student a general idea of his future work and make him understand the importance of his subjects as applied to clinical work.

(4) Clinical Course—Three years. At the end of two years there should be a University Examination in Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology and a year after passing the examination, the final examination in Pathology, Bacteriology, Jurisprudence and Hygiene.

(*a*) The first two years should be devoted mainly to the study of Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology and partly to the study of Pathology, Bacteriology, Jurisprudence and Hygiene.

9 months for Medicine—including Children's diseases, Psychiatry, etc.

About 9 months for Surgery.

6 Months for Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology. During this period about 3-4 hours every morning should be devoted for clinical studies and about 3 hours every afternoon for non-

clinical subjects. The time of study for clinical] and nonclinical subjects must vary according to the convenience and needs of each institution.

Practice at Rural Centre (about 6 months).

(*b*) Those have passed the examination in Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology should be sent out for practice in villages and rural areas for a period of about six months. If, however, this period be thought to be too long, it can be reduced but in any case it should not be less than 3 months. The students would be able to treat ordinary cases but where he finds that he cannot treat on his own or feels that it needs more elaborate treatment than can be given at his place, he should communicate with the Medical Officer at the Taluka or District Headquarters for necessary help and action in the matter. The student must keep detailed notes and proper record of his cases which if found satisfactory would allow him to proceed with his studies at the Medical College.

This innovation would serve a double purpose. It would provide a constant and continuous supply of trained persons for medical relief in Rural Areas which today are without any medical aid and are in dire need of the same. This seems to be the only way to solve this problem which has been neglected both by the Government and the Indian Medical Profession. This scheme would benefit the student also by bringing him in contact with the conditions under which he will have to carry on his life's mission, as these conditions are in marked contrast to those he is accustomed to at his fully equipped modern hospital and college. He will gain confidence and realize in what respects he ought to improve his work, and get his difficulties met with in actual practice, solved when he returns to his College.

This scheme of rural practice, however, needs careful planning and full co-ordination and co-operation between Government Educational and Local Authorities and that must take some time before it can be successfully put in operation. In the interim period, therefore, the students at this stage should be distributed to the various wards in the city and detailed for work at free and poor charitable dispensaries. Students should be sent out to the homes of the seriously ill, destitute and poor patients, whom they can examine and treat or report for removal to a hospital as necessary. Though this will not help to solve the problem of rural medical relief, it will undoubtedly provide for the medical students the much desired and necessary training to supplement his hospital and college education.

(*c*) After his return from the rural practice, (or at present his city practice as above mentioned) the student should spend about 6 to 9 months in his hospital and college, giving finishing

touches to his clinical work and studying for his examination in Pathology, Bacteriology, Jurisprudence and Hygiene at the end of that period. The present courses and standard of examination should be maintained.

Conclusion:—At the Medical College more attention should be paid to preventive medicine, tropical and local diseases and practical training.

There must not be any falling off in the standard of medical education and examination. The present curriculum and courses of study need only a new orientation. We have deliberately avoided laying down details as we believe that it is best to give freedom to the institutions to work out their details to suit local conditions within the specified framework. This scheme of Rural Medical Practice would serve a great national and humanitarian cause by providing medical help to the needy rural areas and instilling in the future medical men the spirit of initiative, service and sacrifice which have always been the guiding principles of the medical profession.

APPENDIX B.

Copy of letter No. F-29-A-F-45/1365, dated December 18, 1945, from the Secretary, Medical Council of India, New Delhi, to the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, Simla.

Subject:—Facilities for admission of the holders of L.S.M.F. or similar diplomas to the M.B., B.S. degree during the War.

With reference to your letter No. 5-3/45-P-II, dated the 25th August, 1945, on the subject cited above, I am directed to forward the following recommendations of Executive Committee adopted by the Medical Council of India at its meeting held on the 23rd October, 1945:—

The Executive Committee recommends to the Council that the resolution of the Council dated the 23rd October, 1943, as published in Volume IX of the Minutes (page 10) regarding admission of L.S.M.F. candidates to the degree course be interpreted as follows:—

That instruction in Anatomy and Physiology as contemplated in para (*b*) of the resolution may be given concurrently with instruction in clinical subjects mentioned in para (*c*) of the same resolution.

As such the periods of study required of the Licentiates who desire to proceed for the M.B. examination should be as follows:—

	Category.	*Clinical subjects.*
1.	Ordinary Licentiates.	2 years.
2,	Licentiate commissioned officers of I.A.M.C. who have not undergone 3 months intensive course at A.M.T.C.	2 years.
3.	Licentiate officers who have undergone 2 months intensive course at A.M.T.C.	18 months.
4.	Licentiate officers with D.M.S. and other similar qualifications which involved medical studies for 5 years and have not undergone 3 months intensive course at A.M.T.C.	18 months.
5.	Licentiate commissioned officers of I.A.M.C. with D.M.S. and other similar qualifications which involve medical studies for 5 years and have undergone 8 months intensive course at A.M T.C.	12 months.

That such a practitioner will be permitted to appear for the Final M.B., B. S. Examination of any University recognised by the Medical Council of India, in the following subjects:—

Pathology, Bacteriology, Hygiene and Public Health, Medical Jurisprudence, Medicine including Therapeutics, Surgery including Ophthalmology, Otology, Laryngology, as well as Rhinology, Midwifery and Diseases of Women including Infant Hygiene,

it being understood that Final Examinations will include questions on Applied Anatomy, Applied Physiology and Applied Pharmacology.

No. F-29-A-F-45/1366, dated 18th December 1945.

Copy forwarded for information and necessary action to all the British Indian Universities having a medical faculty.

Sd. K. A. RAHMAN,
SECRETARY,
Medical Council of India.

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ONE COMMON LANGUAGE, ONE COMMON SCRIPT

[*From 'The Leader', dated 25th May, 1945.*]

Sj. Tandon on Fusion of Urdu and Hindi

Allahabad, May 24.—Some Urdu newspapers and Muslim leaders have described Shri Purushottamdas Tandon as an opponent of Urdu. A special correspondent of the 'Bharat' approached Tandonji to ascertain his views. His attention was particularly drawn to the fact that he had been criticised on his speech at Poona in which he was reported to have said that the Urdu language was imposed upon this country by the Muslim rulers.

Clarifying his position Tandonji said: 'I delivered the speech at Poona in Hindi and spoke for over an hour. In a part of the speech I said that, from the national point of view, we should use one of our own languages in interprovincial matters and that that language could only be Hindi and that the use of the English language was harmful. It should be understood that whenever I refer to Hindi in connection with interprovincial affairs, Urdu is always included in it since Urdu is a form of Hindi. I said that English was not the language of the people and when our country becomes free, the English language could not retain its position. The English lauguage was associated only with the present administration. It was not a product of this country but had been imposed upon us. In my speech I gave the instance of the Persian language and said that during the Mughal period, Persian was the court language and although, after the fall of that Empire, it remained so for some time under British rule, yet it had to be abandoned because its roots were not in the soil and it had been imposed upon the people. I also stated in my speech that the admixture of Persian, Turkish and Arabic words in the Hindi language which was current amongst the people created a language which was called Urdu. The reporter in English made the mistake of attributing to Urdu what was said about Persian. Whatever linguistic knowledge I possess could not have permitted me to make the mistake of saying that Urdu was imported from outside. That was said about Persian.

One Script

'Referring to Hindi and Urdu I said that Hindi had originated from the soil of this land and that by a process of mixture of foreign words in Hindi, Urdu had been evolved out of the need of the times and it came into use in and near about Darbars and in the administration. Hindus and Muslims both had a hand in developing both the indigenous Hindi style and the mixed Urdu

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style. On the one hand there were produced Musalman poets in the Mughal times who chose the old indigenous form as the medium of expression for their poetic genius and on the other there were Musalman poets on whom the influence of Persian was strong and who gave the Urdu, born in the market place, a beautiful shape and used it for poetic compositions of a high order. But this language had a foreign outlook and it largely drew its inspiration from Iran and Arab. In this way while the old current of Hindi continued to progress and its evolution was shaped directly by the touch of the soil, the current of Urdu also moved onward but the influence of Hindi which was the source of its birth, continued to diminish and the foreign influence on it went on increasing. I said in my speech that, from a national point of view, it was desirable that Hindi and Urdu should come closer to each other and merge into one to form a common language. Sanskrit and Persian are Aryan languages. Both have a common origin and can coalesce beautifully in evolving one common national language in our country. I had stated this in 1920 at the Agra session of the Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at a time when Hindus and Muslims were more united than today and had repeated the same view in my written address as the president of the Hindi Sahitya Sammellan in 1923. I hold the same view today. My dream is that by the side of provincial languages there will be one national language and one national script. I am in favour of scientifically analysing the different alphabetical systems and scripts current in this country and evolving one alphabet and script out of them. For the fulfilment of this task, representatives of Hindi and Urdu writers should meet and bring about an acceptable fusion of Hindi and Urdu and for evolving a common alphabet and script, experts who have made a special study of the subject should also be consulted. But this can be done only if we refuse to be slaves to tradition and look at these problems from a national point of view.

Wardha Decisions

Mahatma Gandhi recently held a Hindustani conference at Wardha in which two decisions were taken. I am in entire agreement with Mahatmaji about the first decision, namely, that Hindi and Urdu should be fused into one common language. This is the view which, as I have said, I have held for years. But I do not agree with the second decision which requires that every citizen of our country should learn both Hindi and Urdu and their separate scripts. Despite my earnest wish to agree with Mahatma Gandhi, my intellect does not accept that this suggestion is practicable. I do not think that those who speak Marathi, Gujrati, Bengali, Uria and other languages in different provinces will agree to learn both Hindi and Urdu and their two alphabets. I think that the national demand should only be that those who are acquainted with the Nagri alphabet should learn Hindi through that medium and those who know the Persian script should learn Urdu through it. At the same time both should try to have knowledge of common words which are peculiar to the other style. Only this can be the ordinary rule. It is certainly desirable that both amongst Hindu and Muslims

there should be educated persons who can fluently use both the styles and scripts but this cannot be a rule applicable to all.

No Antagonism

'I have repeatedly said that the best thing would be to have one national language and one national alphabet but so long as political reasons or social traditions do not make that possible it is necessary that where both Hindi and Urdu are current there should be no opposition created between them and both should be given equal facilities. Every citizen should have the fullest freedom to educate his children either through Hindi or through Urdu according to his choice, and do his civic work either in Hindi or Urdu. The Government should make it possible for official work to be carried on in both the forms. This will involve some expenditure but that should be regarded as essential. If this principle is carried out honestly, there would be no question of any antagonism between Hindi and Urdu. Particularly in all those departments of the Government which have to deal with the public, the use of both the forms is essential. The Indian Government has done an injustice to Hindi by not giving it a proper place in the Radio Department. Exponents of both Hindi and Urdu should protest against this injustice. At the recent Allahabad session of the Provincial Sahitya Sammelan I said, and repeat it, that if any injustice were done to Urdu, it would be my duty to oppose it. From the national point of view and taking all aspects into consideration it seems to me proper under the present circumstances that the exponents of both Hindi and Urdu should see that no injustice is done to those who use any of the two forms. The encroachments of the English language on our education and other departments of life can be resisted only by the united purpose of the exponents of both Hindi and Urdu.

Hindustani

'To secure a place for Hindi and Urdu as against English, in the Congress constitution, I started my efforts at the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress in 1919. In the year 1925, at Cawnpore, after much opposition on the part of those who attached importance to English, the resolution moved by me in regard to the use of Hindi and Urdu was accepted. In my resolution I used the word "Hindustani" for both the forms. "Hindustani" meant "Hindi and/or Urdu". The word "Hindustani" was used in the same sense in which it was and is being used by the Hindustani Academy. The Hindustani Academy has not planned to evolve any new language, but has recognised Hindi and Urdu styles separately. In the same way the word "Hindustani" in my resolution amending the Congress constitution, simply meant that both Hindi and Urdu forms were permissible. The organ of Anjuman-Tarakki-e-Urdu, "Hamari Zaban" in its issue of March 16 has made a confusion in its interpretation of the word "Hindustani" in the Congress constitution. It seems to imagine that the Congress, at my instance, gave a definition of the word "Hindustani" and that according to that definition "Hindustani" is that language which is spoken in the villages of northern India by Hindus and Muslims. As matter of fact the

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Congress gave no definition of "Hindustani". It only decided to carry on its work in "Hindustani" which meant Hindi and/or Urdu.

Fusion of Hindi and Urdu.

Thus while in the circumstances prevailing today I am clear that Hindi and Urdu should both be given full liberty to develop on their own lines and none of them should suffer from any limitations, my innermost desire is that we may have the wisdom to rise above traditional communalism and with good-will be able to solve the question of the fusion of Hindi and Urdu into one language, using one common alphabet and script."

Printed by Mahadeo N. Joshi, at the Leader Press, Allahabad.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Allahabad.

~~Bengal~~ Provincial Students' Conference

8th SESSION

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati

MYMENSINGH

1st JUNE, '45

SNO·4

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1945

BENGAL PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' FEDERATION

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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STUDENT COMRADES,

While thanking you for the honour you have very kindly done me in asking me to inaugurate your conference, I am really at a loss to understand why of all persons I should have been entrusted with this task—a task that may well be performed only by the intellectual giants and big brains fully entitled to tender you the most appropriate and opportune advice leading to the path of freedom, peace and progress inscribed on your banner. If you needed some sound political guidance and inspiration during these trying hours in our fight for the liberation of our beloved Motherland, you could better approach the political stalwarts in the country who have staked their all for the purpose and whose life is a living emblem of sacrifice inspiring us all. But the choice having fallen rightly or wrongly on me, I am here to bow to your dictates and perform my job to the best of my capacity.

The slavery our blot.

The most galling and dishonouring badge of slavery was fastened forcibly on us some two hundred years back. Our brilliant battle to tear it to tatters and thus banish root and branch this blot of thraldom from our fair land continues since then. It has no doubt, assumed serious proportions at times and, in particular, during the last quarter of a century. During the historic non-co-operation days in 1921, the unexpected happened. The whole country rose to a man at the stirring call of the national Congress to give a determined and sustained battle to British imperialism which considered itself most secure in the country after the most anxious days of 1857 and the partition of Bengal, with its well-equipped paraphernalia of repression and suppression to be let loose at a moment's notice. The result was that it was literally shaken to its foundations, and the then Governor-General, Lord Reading had to admit publicly that he was puzzled and purplexed at what had happened. It is for the first time that both the people and their

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enslavers were made to realise the immense forces latent in the masses that might work wonders of properly roused. It was that glorious fight that created in us self-confidence to achieve our liberation. Since then the nation has undoubtedly fought many a pitched battle to that end. But my head hangs in utter shame when I have to confess that that blot yet remains intact. Rather our chains are being tightened in disguise. I am afraid that unless we, as a nation resolve, without much loss of time, to make collectively and determinedly our Herculean endeavours to render this blot of bondage entirely a thing of the past by the time the war closes, nothing but sore disappointment is in store for us. And the students can do a lot in that direction only if they will.

Ardent Nationalism our Remedy

But this is the toughest of the jobs expected of us all. Prior to the planning of any definite line of action on that score we must not for a moment lose sight of the objective conditions. The war in Europe has ended in unparallelled victory of the Allied Powers. In the Far East too it is to close similarly soon, I am inclined to believe. In the circumstances there is no power on the earth which can easily challenge the might of England in any armed combat or physical clash. It is simply a futile idea and mere day dream even to think of such a clash on our part in the face of the hard fact that we are unarmed and lying, as it were, prostrate as a result of what happened unluckily during the post-August days of 1942 and later on. We have it seems lost all initiatives for the present at least and a sort of paralysis has overtaken the entire nation. Otherwise how can one explaisn our inaction on a national scale in canalising the seething discontent and burning unrest caused by the universal scarcity of cloth and other necessaries, stirring violently to its depth the whole of the country from end to end and leaving no single individual untouched and unmoved? If we could utilise to the full the Jallianwalla tragedy to rouse the entire nation to throw a mighty challenge to our rulers, despite the fact that with the tragedy the rest of the country was only subjectively concerned, how is it that this cloth tragedy, inspite of its being objectively realised by one

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and all in the country, is not taken advantage of to create a mighty mass upsurge that may bend the White Hall to its knees and end the foreign domination? Let there be a serious heart searching on our part to find out the answer and thus chasten ourselves in future. But my simple answer is that in addition to the aforesaid mass paralysis and wide spread demoralisation there is in us as a people an acute want, excuse me, of that uncompromisingly burning nationalism which totally unmindful of the heaviest odds in our way, knows no halt and defeat, and understands and speaks no language but that of tireless action and relentless fire directed against the enemies till he yiels. Ardent nationalism may end, but does not bend. Every fibre of our being must rebel against this subjugation and remain restive to burn it to ashes and bury it fathoms deep. The very idea of this bondage must make our blood boil if we are such nationalists. But unless the 400 million people inhabiting this vast and ancient land, or at least the majority of them, are brought within the fold of that nationalism we can not hope to reach our goal. The sooner it is done the better, and if the students make up their minds singly and collectively, to fulfil this uphill task, they can easily accomplish it as there is hardly any village or hamlet which is free from them and their contacts.

All-in national unity.

The idea is repeated *ad neuseam* that national salvation is impossible of achievement in the absence of the broadest possible national unity embracing all the creeds and communities in the country. Our masters declare it ever and anon and we echo th same, and yet accuse them that it is their mere excuse to withhold power. Let me confess openly I am unable to understand this paradoxical situation. If it is a mere excuse of our British rulers why should we ourselves then worry over it so much? Nay, more, the more we are after this unity, the more it recedes into back-ground. Yet we do not realise the utter futility of our attempts in that direction. But instead of crying hoarse and betraying our impatience for the same, if we just try to forget it for a time and devote our every ounce of energy and skill in rousing, creating and disseminating that

fire of ardent nationalism which is yet wanting awfully in the people in general, I am confident, that unity must follow it automatically as the day follows the night. And by so doing we shall be laying the surest foundation and basis for the lasting national unity. The national unity without the burning nationalism in all is a contradiction in terms.

The appeal-in-action

Besides our earnest attempts and ceaseless work to spread ardent nationalism among the people there is another practical way to secure that unity and avoid frictions between various communal groups. Before the Lahore Congress in the end of 1929 there was much tension between the Hindus and the Muslims, and yet the civil disobedience movements conducted by the Congress in 1930 and 1932 were remarkably free from any communal clash and riot, and thus demonstrated the actual popular solidarity behind themselves, despite the declarations of the enemies of Indian's freedom to the contrary. Likewise there seemed considerably much more tensions and imminent outbreaks of civil strifes between the two major communities in the country just on the eve of the fateful days of August 1942. But with the inception of that movement the tension subsides entirely and no trace of them was found as long as the movement lasted. It is an unchallengable fact within our memory. From this and the previous instances it can easily be deducted that a sustained struggle initiated and run ceaselessly and tirelessly for national salvation by the conscious and determined people, even if they are a minority, is the truly successful appeal-in-action to the people to forget their petty differences and unite and ardently wish for the success of that struggle and it is this sort of appeal that reaches the heart of the people and succeeds. Therefore unless and until we are ready sooner or later for such practical appeals we cannot hope, I fear, to achieve the all round national unity as a pre-requisite to regain our freedom. It is that appeal alone that makes the masses ignore their sectional leaders and their advices, and show unmistakably that solidarity behind the fight of the national congress, symbolising the national revolt against thraldom and foreign domination.

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Yes, the National Congress surely symbolises our collective revolt against bondage, and our resolve and determination to fight it out and become free. It is the only concretised form of the Indian will to be our own masters, to capture the political power in the country. Let me also be frank here that the power thus captured and seized in the first instance is bound to pass into the hands of only the Indian bourgeoisie, and surely not of the toiling millions in the fields, factories and elsewhere. That stage may come later on. British Raj can not possibly be replaced directly by the Kisan Mazdur Raj. No, it is simply impossible. Complete independence or Swaraj must be the intervening stage between the two. This is the lesson of the history of the fights for freedom all the world over, and India can not be an exception to this rule. Hence no serious student of history and politics can dare deny the fact that the National Congress, as constituted today, stands and must stand for the full political power being handed over to the Indian bourgeoisie, and considering the stage of the Indian revolution it is the only possible and logical interpretation of the freedom's fight now being waged so relentlessly by the National Congress. Even the Soviet in Russia could not escape this factual interpretation of their fight which resulted in installing the Russians bourgeoisie at the Gadi vacated by the Tsar Nicholas II, albeit only for a short period of about 8 months. So there must be no misgivings on this score, and let all concerned bear in mind that we of the Kisan Sabha, who stand for the Panchyati or Kisan Mazdur Raj, pledge our whole-hearted support to the Congress and its fight for freedom with our eyes wide open. After full and mature considerations we have come to the irresistible and irrevocable conclusion that only the Congress can achieve the Swaraj or Indian independence and thus pave and smooth the way to the Kisan Mazdur Raj. Therefore, it is the supreme duty of all of us to make Indian nationalism and its mouthpiece the Congress an irresistible force in the country. And those that try to compromise and drag down this Indian nationalism from its pre-dominating position are the enemies of our freedom.

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Position of the Kisan Sabha

I maintain that the Kisan Sabha, like other class organisation must remain a completely independent class organ of the Indian peasantry, fighting for their rights and interests mainly on the Trade Union lines. I stand for a free Kishan Sabha and this freedom includes freedom from the domination of any political group or party or parties. It is *inter alia* because of the persistent efforts by the Communist Party to dominate the Kisan Sabha that we parted company with them, and that break is final. I cannot be a party to the idea and plan for the Kisan Sabha being organised as or made a mere wing or department of the Congress, with all its primary members having been enrolled of necessity as members of the Congress. Of course we will welcome if all our members get themselves enrolled, of their own free will, as the members of the Congress. We may even encourage it. But surely we cannot make it a rule for our members to do so. This can not but result in stunting the full growth of the Kisan Sabha if we make such a rule. This is our experience during the last two decades or so. We must maintain our independent entity and existence and remain unhampered in any way in our fight for the social, economic and political rights of the Kisans and ultimately the Kisan Mazdur Raj. Our hands must remain unfattered to fight against any tyranny, combination or regime, and thus to see the Kisans stand erect.

Why independent Kisan Sabha

By its very nature of being national and non-sectional the Congress cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be expected to represent and fight fully and effectively as a rule for the sectional interests in particular, or it will lose its national character. Hence the need the justification for the sectional or class organisation. It is why there are organisations like the Chamber of Commerce and Landholders' Association, representing and fighting for the sectional interest of the capitalists and landholders, despite the Congress and despire the undeniable fact that they can easily influence it to act just how they desire. Still they never confide in it. So are the factory workers too, organised

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in their Trade Union Congress. And if there is no serious attempt on the part of the Congress to persuade the capitalists and landlords as also the workers to wind up their independent class organisations, why should there be any attempt to supersede the independent class organ of the Kisan? From a recent statement of Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda its Secretary, regarding the aims and functions of the Hindusthan Mazdur Sevak Sangha, started it is alleged, with the blessings and consent of Mahatma Gandhi, it is clear that he admits the independent entity of the Trade Union Congress, and does not desire to stand in its way or start a rival body. The Kisan Sabha too is entitled to at least that much consideration, if not more. The fact too can not be gainsaid that the sectional interests are more appealing to the common people concerned than the higher and national ones, and it is why they are naturally anxious and inclined to join such organisations and strengthen them as serve and fight specifically for their sectarian and class interests. It is therefore, all the more desirable that the Kisans should be advised and left free to join their independent Kisan Sabha on the basis of its fight to safeguard their class interests, and through that Sabha made conscious to join actively the Congress and its fight. It is, therefore, the easiest and surest way to consolidate the Congress.

For the Kisan Mazdur Raj

Yet, there is a section of Congressmen who are against an independent Kisan Sabha. They argue that the Congress is pledged to establish Kisan Mazdur Raj in India as is evident from the resolution of the A.I.C.C. at Bombay on the 8th August, 1942, which lays down *inter alia* that the power in the national Government "shall vest in the workers in factories, fields and elsewhere". So they stop here and see no needs for precautionary measures and adequate preparations on the part of the Kisan and Mazdur in the forms of their independent Sabhas to create and build sanctions and guarantees for the same. But the world history of the fights for freedom and independence furnishes hundred of instances of the Kisan and Mazdurs, building fond hopes in such promises and declarations of the organisations fighting for liberty, and their leaders,

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were hoodwinked and defrauded just in the critical time, and had awakened to the naked realities when it was too late. And there is no single example where such high sounding promises could be fulfilled for the mere asking, and in the absence of full preparedness on the part of the masses who had failed to adopt precautionary measures beforehand. The strong and well-knot Kisan Sabha is the only measure that can guarantee and force the fulfilment of such promises and that too after a sustained fight and certainly not before that. So here there can be no mistake on the part of the Kisan if they are to achieve their ultimate aim of seizing political power.

But if our critics still think that the masses must capture full political power as a direct result of their very fight for independence, they are sure to be disillusioned when they fail to find out even a solitary case of that power having been seized determinedly and definitely by the masses during the first stage of revolution our country is passing through. If ever in this stage that power is captured at all by the exploited and expropriated masses, it is never retained by them and it passes ultimately over to the national bourgeoisie enthroned as a result of the successful democratic revolution, and for that fight to succeed the Kisans and Mazdurs must have from now their independent class organisations formed on a firm footing and solid basis. And suppose, the Congress ministries are formed again in the provinces. The landlords and capitalists with their firm and well-knit organisations supported by the press and money bags of their own are bound to influence those ministries in their favour as formerly while the workers and the peasants must suffer in default in the absence of their independently organised voice like that of their class enemies. Hence the paramount need for their independent class organisations. If they are mere wings and departments of the Congress, they must ever remain subject to the Congress discipline, with the result that they can not raise their firm and determined voice which may compel the attention of all concerned.

What Nehru Says

In May 1937, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the President of the National Congress, issued a lengthy statement with

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regard to this very issue. He says *inter alia* "But in spite of all this, the Congress remains and has to remain a national organisation, and it cannot always represent the functional or class interests of the workers and peasants. It cannot function as a Trade Union or Kisan Sabha. Having laid so much stress on the importance of bringing the workers and peasants directly into the Congress, let us now consider the desirability of having separate working class organisations. There can be no doubt that both the industrial workers and peasants have or ought to have, the inherent right to organise themselves. That is the nature of a fundamental right which Congress has repeatedly recognised. There is no room for argument about it. The Congress has gone a step further and encouraged, in history at least, the formation of such Unions". "Congressmen in their individual capacities, can and should be members or friends of such Unions, and as such will of course give them their advice. But a Congress Committee as such should not try to control a Trade Union". "We cannot say that there should be no peasant organisations. That would be contrary to the declared Congress policy. It would be wrong in principle and it would come into conflict with that living movement and ferment that we see all around us. Nor can we say that a Kisan Sabha should be just a wing of the Congress, each member of the Sabha being also a primary member of the Congress. That would be an absurdity, for under those conditions it is hardly necessary to have a Kisan Sabha. It seems to me also out of the question to place peasant organisation in the same category as the All Indian Spinners Association or the Village Industries Association. Such restrictions will not stop the growth of separate peasant organisations: they will only result in putting them outside the pale of the Congress and make them look upon it as a partly hostile body".

The Congress and Kisan Sabha

I stand for the collaboration between the Congress and the Kisan Sabha to achieve Indian independence. In any case the Sabha must not go against the Congress fight for freedom. It is sanctioned by the 2nd and 3rd articles of the constitution of the All India Kisan Sabha which read thus, "The object of the

Sabha is to secure for the Kisans complete freedom from economics and political exploitation and in conjunction with other classes and democratic organisations, particularly with the movement for national freedom, to establish in India a Democratic State in which all economic and political power shall vest in the masses." "For the achievement of its object the Sabha shall organise the Kisan to carry on their day to day struggle on the basis of their immediate demands and shall work in conjunction with other forces for the furtherence of the freedom movement." The more the class organisations like the Kisan Sabha become firm and effective, dragging with in their folds tens of millions of the Kisans and masses who stick to them lich-like and take them as their own, the Congres becomes strong and consolidated as a result of this collaboration, provided that the leadership of the Sabha is inspired by an ardently living nationalism. Here the class conscious and truly awakened Kisans collaborate with the other such classes and sections of the nation most impatient to establish national freedom and this is the only way to the country's salvation and the Kisans liberation.

The role of Students

Having taken so much of your time in discussing the topics which do not concern directly the students as such, I must say a few words concerning their rule in our battle for independence. Even a cursory glance at the history of such fights in Russia, China, Egypt, Turkey and elsewhere furnishes us with the most brilliant records of the marvellous part played by the student communities of their respective countries. It was really they whose monumental sacrifices, silent or otherwise, enabled Lenin, Trotsky, Chiang, Jaghlul, Kemal and other heroes and builder of nations to lay the surest and the most secure foundations for their future architecture. They faced in their thousands the bullets and privations and braved hardships with smiles on their lips and grim determination in their hearts to die in order simply that their people might live. It was the students of Russia who had travelled abroad in search of learning that brought out the first revolutionary farment there and were

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instrumental in the first revolts in the Tsarist arms in 1825. There in Russia even the words 'Student' and 'Strike' were synonyms. The great upsurge in China that established the power of Kuo-min-Tang in 1925 and 1926 was due in the main to heroic deeds of the Chinese students which we all recollect fully. Such as the case elsewhere too. Even here in India the great non-co-operation movement that made history and shook the Government violently owed much to the untold of sufferings and heavy sacrifices on the part of our students who emptied colleges and schools at the call of the nation and buried themselves among the Kisans and the poor in the villages and slums in the towns and cities. And it was they who unsettled the settled partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. In fact they have never been found wanting whenever the country's call has gone forth. Any country may be well proud of the long records of sacrifices undergone by our students for the national honour to be maintained and raised high. Is it, then too much to expect further sacrifices on their part to wipe out the remaining blot of bondage on our face and to raise our banner to fly aloft? They make the India of to-morrow. Hence it is they who must lead here to victory and reap and enjoy its fruits. The responsibility in the main is theirs and I am sanguine they will rise equal to it, as in the past.

Forces Lying Dormant

There are incalculable revolutionary forces lying dormant and chained in the masses and they are unleashed and set free by the bloody warfares like the present ones. The more extensive, devastating and havoc creating these wars, the more formidable these forces are freed by them and the sooner they engulf the world rendering it completely free from exploitations, afflictions and miseries. Last time these forces devoured the Kings, Emperor and Sultans in Russia, Germany, Turkey and elsewhere and liberated the peoples to the smaller or greater extent in proportion as they could be made proper and timely use of by those peoples and as they were awakened and prepared for the new life and responsibilities. Now is India's turn, and let us prepare ourselves from now to welcome those forces

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if and when they are freed. We must be ready to march in their company and make full use thereof, and it is the bounden duty of the students to prepare the country for the same. There is no time to lose, hurry, therefore, up please.

Ourselves and Communists.

Before I finish I may add a few words with regard to the communist plot in the Kisan Sabha to wreck it from within. As the students are well aware of such plots aimed at torpedoing their own beloved organisation, it may interest them too. It is here in this district at Netrokona that the Communist Party held very recently their session of the rebel All India Kisan Sabha, which may better be called the Communist Kisan Sabha, as all its strategic positions and posts from top to bottom are now held exclusively by the Communists. They levelled many baseless accusations against me in accordance with their code of behaviour. I do not want to waste your precious time in refuting these unflunded charges. But I intend only to narrate in brief the main bone of contention and basic differences between me and them which resulted in my final break with them and their departure from the Sabha.

There are three basic principles of the Kisan Sabha as I have understood them so far and on which we fundamentally differ. They are: firstly, the Sabha stands uncompromisingly for the abolition of landlordism which was recommended even by the Floud Commission in Bengal and the recent official committee to report on the administration in Bengal has reminded all concerned of it and pressed for the same consequently we must agitate and work ceaselessly to that end. But they (the Communist Party of India) have entered, it seems, into a sort of alliance or truce with the landlords, perhaps in order to grow more food and hence have given up that idea, for how long, I can't say. Did they utter that slogan at Netrokona or pass any resolution to that effect? I am told, they did not, and you know it for certain.

Secondly, our aim is, as stated above, to vest all political and economic power in the masses, and therefore we must adddress ourselves mainly to that task. But accordingly to them

he main task of the Kisan Sabha during this people's war eriod, as they call it, is only to grow more food for the people nd for the front and they want it to force on the Sabha, as is he case with regard to the first basic point.

Thirdly, to succeed in these two basic principles the Sabha nust be consolidated and for that purpose all the political roups and parties who accept the fundamentals of the Sabha nust be allowed the utmost freedom in actual practice to work reely in this Kisan Sabha and thus to strengthen it. It follows rom the above that Sabha cannot be run on the principle of omogeneity as a rigid political party. But they on the contrary re bent upon consolidating only themselves everywhere at the ost of all else. Therefore naturally they want to turn even the Kisan Sabha into a mere pocket bureau of themselves (Community Party) and hence to make it homogeneous. They are very particular in it and want to inflict it on the Kisan Sabha, come what may. And yet they have the harihood to proclaim that I desire to introduce my dictatorship while they abide by the democratic disciplines.

Thus being diametrically opposed to them on all these basic principles I could pull on any how with them only so long as I could not detect and ascertain fully the differences. But the moment I became convinced of all this I made up my mind to break with them while they too sensing this, prepared to flout openly the rules and decision in force of the Sabha, so much so that even without waiting for my formal secesion from the Sabha they rebelled and thus forced me to reconsider the whole situation and expel them their Sabhas and sympathisers from the All India Kisan Sabha instead of resigning myself. This is the position in nutshell and I leave it to the people to judge and pass judgment. I may add here this much that their revolt has not only purified the Kisan Sabha but has also strengthened it. We have become stronger for this purging. Since they departed I am daily receiving most encouraging communications from the veteran Kisan leaders, organisers and the Kishan Sabhas from almost all the provinces to get themselves soon interlinked into the most solid All India Kisan Sabha. Therefore let the enemies and the wreckes of the Kishan Sabha not rejoice in the least.

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Conclusion

I have done, I have taken much of your valuable time by dragging unnecessarily the controversal matters here, and I am painfully aware of it. But the life itself being nothing but a series of struggles which in their turn are caused by controversies and contentions, I could not help it if I was to deal with our national life in all its aspects. Moreover, you yourself are to blame for it, as it is you who committed the mistake of choosing for the job a man whose life is dedicated to the cause of the Kisan and the poor and for the country, and who therefore is accustomed to sing the same song everywhere. Nevertheless I beg to be excused for inflicting such a tasteless and unwanted sermon on you.

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A MOVE FOR THE FORMATION OF AN
ALL INDIA ORGANISATION FOR THE KISANS.

With the release of the political leaders by the end of April last, there was a move to organise an All India Kisan Sabha. Babu Purshottam Das Tandon, Acharya Narendra Deva, Shri Sampurnanandji, Swami Sahajanand and others took leading part in this direction.

On the 7th of August, 1945, a meeting was called by Babu Purshottam Das Tandon at Allahabad in which a dozen leading Kisan workers participated. This Meeting decided that a more representative Conference of Kisan workers be invited by B. Purshottam Das Tandon on the occasion of the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Consequently a representative Conference of Kisan workers was held in Bombay on the 24th of September, 1945. This Conference decided that a Committee of the following be formed

1. To find out the basic and fundamental principles, on which an All India organisation for Kisans could be formed.

2. To organise provincial Kisan Organisations on these principles.

3. To bring an union amongst all such provincial organisations and finally to call a Conference of Kisan representatives when time was ripe at a suitable place with a view to form an All India Kisan Sabha. The members of the committee were Babu P. D. Tandon, Acharya Nerendra Deva, Shri Sampurnanand, Thakur Phool Singh, V. Raghvaiyah, R. V. Swaminathan, Abdul Rahman, K. G. Shiva Swami, Indulal Yagnik, Dhanraj Sharma, V. D. Tripathi, Swami Sahjanand, Avadheshwar Prasad Sinha with myself as Convenor.

This committee met at the residence of Acharya Narendra Deva in Kashi Vidyapith to frame the basic and fundamental

principles on the 23rd. and 24th of January, 1946. The Committee took into consideration various answers to the questionaire which were issued to the members for the purposes of finding out their views on these principles. As a result of the discussions the attached basic and fundamental principles have been evolved.

The meeting passed a condolence resolution on the sad desmise of Mr. Abdul Rahman Saheb, one of its most important members.

The following have been co-opted on the committee, (1) Mr. Umar Faruqi, N. W. F. P., (2) Shri Shishir Roy, (3) Saroj Chakravarti & Virendra Bhattacharya, from Bengal. The committee further decided to call a Conference of Kisan workers on the occasion of the next session of the Indian National Conggress in May when an All India organisation for Kisans will be brought into being. Shri P. D. Tandon, Acharya Narendra Deva, Sampurnanand, Swami Sahjanand Sarswati, Avadheshwar Pd and Algu Rai participated in the meeting at Benares.*

31-1-46

ALGU RAI,
Convener
All India Kisan Organisation
Committee.

*Readers will please find other relevant matters in the pages that follow.

Annexure I.

The Basic and fundamental principles for the formation of ALL-INDIA KISAN ORGANISATION.

Main object of Kisan Sabha:

The main object of the Kisan Sabha should be the economic uplift of the kisans, the removal of their economic and social grievances and a thorough overhauling of the land tenure systems prevailing in the Provinces in the interest of the peasantry. Such political work as is immediately concerned with the economic life of the peasantry will come within the scope of this object. The Sabha stands for complete independence of the country wherein power shall be vested in the producing masses—the workers in fields and

factories. The larger political objective of the country's independence and of the steps and methods for achieving it will not be the direct concern of the Sabha The members of the Sabha will generally look up to the Indian National Congress for a lead in the struggle for independence.

Fundamental demands of Kisan Sabha.

The fundmental demands of the Sabha should be the nationalisation of land and waterways and all sources of energy and wealth connected with land and water. A consequence of such nationalisation should be the devolution upon the State of the duty of providing every kisan with the means of decent living Such nationalisation must also result in a planned system embracing not only agriculture and the land but also industries and social services.

Immediate demands.

The immediate demand should be the abolition of the zamindari system and the removal of all intermediaries between the State and the tiller of the soil, the introduction of a system of cooperative and where possible, collective farming ; an examination of all agrarian debts with a view to scaling them down or cancelling them in deserving cases ; provision of cheap credit facilities ; introduction of scientific methods of agriculture ; improvement of villages by a programme of building moderately comfortable cottages and roads ; abolition of uneconomic holdings ; security of tenure for all tenants ; fixing a living wage for land labourers ; reclamation of land where possible and settling landless labourers thereon ; acquisition of land by paying equitable compensation from those who possess vast domains ; distributing them on reasonable basis among landless labourers or holders of very small plots ; arrangement of clean; open spaces for playground and pasture ; reduction of canal dues ; speedy increase of education both among adults and boys and girls of school-going ages ; introduction of a system of marketing agricultural commodities with a view to getting fair prices for them ; introduction of consumers' cooperatives ; provision for supply of cheap

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fuel, power, manure and seeds ; application of scientific methods for the improvement of live-stock ; prevention of wastage of cattle ; encouragement for raising fodder crop ; provision for cheap irrigation facilities and similar other progressive steps which may lead to immediate betterment of rural condition. These immediate demands should be taken up both in executive and legislative action by the new governments that are soon to come into existence.

Immediate demands for a general improvement of the rural condition will naturally vary with the provinces.

Who is a Kisan ?

In framing the constitution of the Kisan Sabha the term "Kisan" will include landless labourers also for the purposes of membership

Membership of the Sabha.

Membership shall be open to those also who are not themselves kisans but are interested in, and willing to work for, the uplift of kisans.

Membership of the proposed Kisan Sabha shall not be open to the members of the Communist Party and the Radical Democratic Party because of their anti-national policies. With the above exception all those who subscribe to the aims and objects and accept the constitution may be admitted unless there is something individually against any of them.

The Kisan Sabha should work as an organisation on the unitary principle with provincial organisations forming part of it and working under it.

Flag of the Sabha.

The Kisan Sabha should have two flags which should be flown together, viz. (1) the tricoloured National Flag and (2) a flag coloured red with a white plough in the middle of it. These two flags together will form a kind of coordinated flags of the Sabha. But provincial and local organisations subordinate to the Kisan Sabha will be free to use both or any of them: It is, however, desirable that even subordinate bodies should fly both the flags together.

Annexure II.

QUESTIONAIRE:—

(1) Kindly state what should be the objects of the proposed All-India Kisan Sabha whether they should relate purely to the economic needs of the kisans and the Laws of Tenancy and other Conditions which effect their daily economic life or whether they should go further and concern themselves with political work and political emancipation of the country.

(2) What should, in your opinion, be the the economic aim of the Kisan Sabha ? Kindly state what should be the basic and fundamental demands of the Sabha and what should be its immediate demands and programme of work.

(3) If you hold the opinion that the Kisan Sabha should not confine its activities to the economic needs of the peasantry but should have political objective also then kindly state what it should be and also give in general terms a programme to implement that objective.

(4) What class would you include under the term kisan ? Do you agree that the term Kisan should include mere land labourers also ?

(5) Having regard to the present condition of the peasants and land labourers, do you think the membership of the Sabha should be open to other classes also interested in Kisan welfare ?

(6) Should we exclude from the membership of Kisan Sabha such of the groups as have given the slogan of the 'People War' and have been opposed to the National Movement of 1942 ?

(7) Should the Kisan Sabha be a federation of Provincial Kisan Organisations or should it work on the unitary principles with Provincial organisation forming part of it and working under it?

(8) Should the Kisan Sabha have a separate flag ?

(9) What should be the attitude of the Sabha towords the Red flag with a hammer and sickle ?

(10) If you have some suggestions to make on other points they will be welcomed.

Annexure III.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALLAHABAD-MEETING.

"As previously announced a small meeting was held today on the invitation of Swami Sahjanand in the Satyanarain Kutir to consider the question of the formation of a peasant organisation on an All-India basis. The following were present :—

Swami Sahjanand Saraswati, Shri Jamuna Karjee and Shri Jadunandan Sharma from Behar; Shri Umar Faruq from the N. W. Frontier Province, Shri Sisir Roy from Bengal and Shri Acharya Narendra Deva, Shri Sampurnanand, Shri Algurai Shastri, Shri Phool Singh, Shri Harshdeo Malviya, Shri Satya Deva Shastri and myself from the U. P.

It was unanimously accepted that the organization to be formed should function as an independent organization.

Having regard to the likelihood of the All-India Congress Committee meeting at a not distant date, it was resolved that a more representative gathering of those interested in Kisan work, be invited from the different provinces a day or two before or after the All-India Congress Committee meeting at the place where the *A.* I. C. C. meets. The responsibility of issuing invitations was entrusted to me.

It was also resolved that, in the meantime, the workers in the cause of the peasantry should take up the work of organising provincial Kisan Sabhas in the various provinces. Since a good number of workers are now out of jails, I trust, it will be possible

for them to take up Kishan work and to organise provincial Kisan Sabhas. I hope that by the time the All-India Congress Committee meets it will be possible to form an All-India organisation not only on the basis of the old Kisan organisations that were functioning till 1942 and have become more or less quiescent because of the workers having been thrown into prison but also on the strength of the contacts that may be now established.

I shall be thankful if information of the organisations already functioning in different provinces and those that may be newly formed, is given to me.

Purushottamdas Tandon."

7th August, 1945.

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२४ सितम्बर १९४५ को

बम्बई की मीटिंग में स्वीकृत हुआ प्रस्ताव

—:०:—:०:—

यह सभा इस बात पर प्रसन्नता प्रकट करती है कि सभी प्रान्तों में किसान कार्यकर्ताओं में किसान सभा के संगठन का भाव उठ रहा है परन्तु इस सभा की राय में किसी अखिल भारतीय संगठन को स्थापित करना तत्काल संभव नही है। साथही सभा यह भी अनुभव करती है कि इन विभिन प्रान्तीय प्रयत्नों को यथा सम्भव एक साथ ले चलना आवश्यक है जिससे वह किसानों का अधिकतम हित कर सके और शोषण से उनकी रक्षा कर सके। इस उद्देश्य को सामने रख कर यह सभा निम्नलिखित सदस्यों* की एक कमेटी नियुक्त करती है और उनको निम्नलिखित काम सौंपती है।

१—उन मौलिक आधारों को निश्चित करना जिन पर किसान संगठन होना चाहिए।

२—इन आधारों के अनुसार प्रान्तों में किसानों के संगठन में सहायता देना।

३—विभिन्न प्रान्तों के किसान कार्य कर्त्ताओं और किसान सभाओं में सम्बन्ध स्थापित करना।

४—यह सभा कमेटी को यह भी आदेश देती है कि वह प्रान्तीय संगठनों के ठीक हो जाने पर समुचित स्थान और समय पर अखिल भारतीय किसान सम्मेलन का आयोजन करें—

यह कमेटी अपने में सात सदस्य और बढ़ा सकती है। इस प्रकार कुल संख्या इस कमेटी की २१ तक हो सकती है।

* सदस्यों के नाम पहले पृष्ट पर अन्यत्र दिये जा चुके हैं।

———

PRABHAT PRINTING COTTAGE, AZAMGARH.

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The Conciliation Committee

QUESTIONNAIRE

ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, AT DELHI, ON 29TH, 30TH AND 31ST DECEMBER 1944

PART I

1. What are the fundamental rights which should be incorporated in any future constitution of India? What machinery would you suggest for the enforcement of such of those rights as are not justiciable (enforceable by a court of law)?

2. (a) What steps are, in your opinion, necessary to secure an adequate share and equal opportunities in legislatures, executive governments and the services for Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Indian Christians, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Parsis and other important sections of the population?

(b) Would you recommend in the case of minorities the establishment of (i) minorities' standing committees of legislatures, or (ii) independent minorities' commissions to deal with those rights which are not enforceable by a court of law? If so, indicate their composition, powers and procedure and their relations to the legislatures and executive governments.

3. Have you any suggestions to make for the adequate and early advancement of the Scheduled Castes, aboriginal tribes and those who are classified as backward classes in the Government of India Act, 1935, with a view to enabling them to enjoy equal opportunities in the social, educational and economic spheres of national life?

PART II

1. (a) What are your views regarding the claim of the Muslim League, as expounded by Mr Jinnah in his letter to Mahatma Gandhi dated September 25, 1944, for the establishment of an independent Pakistan state "composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore Resolution"?

(b) If you are agreeable to the establishment of such an independent state, (i) on what principles should its territorial adjustments and boundaries be determined and (ii) what machinery would you suggest for such determination?

(c) Do you consider that a plebiscite should be taken to decide whether an independent state of Pakistan should be established, and if so (i) should it be taken in the provinces mentioned above as they exist at present or after territorial adjustments? (ii) What should be the electorate, method and machinery of such a plebisicite?

2. In case there are to be two independent states in India, do you consider it necessary to make arrangements and devise machinery for the administration of defence, foreign affairs and like matters of common interest, and if so, indicate the nature of the requisite arrangements and machinery.

3. In case you do not agree to the Muslim League claim for Pakistan, what alternative scheme would you suggest?

PART III

1. What are your views on the question of the inclusion of Indian States in an all-India union?

PART IV

2. If you favour the establishment of a single union for all India, (a) on what lines should the functions of Government be divided between

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the centre and the units? (b) Should the residuary powers vest in the centre or in the units?

2. (a) Should a province of British India or an Indian State be given, as contemplated in the Cripps' offer, the liberty of not acceding to the new constitution of an all-India union?

(b) Should the exercise of this liberty be subject to the result of a plebiscite, and in that case, what should be the electorate, method and machinery for the plebiscite?

(c) If your answer to (a) is in the affirmative, at what stage and under what conditions should this liberty be allowed to be exercised?

3. After an all-India union is established, should the units of the union be given the right of secession from it and, if so, on what conditions?

4. Would you favour the realignment of the boundaries of the units in order to ensure, as far as possible, self-expression and cultural autonomy to different communities?

PART V

1. (a) What should be the nature and type of the provincial and central executives? Should it be parliamentary or non-parliamentary, removable or irremovable?

(b) Do you think it necessary to secure representation of different communities in the provincial and the central executives, and, if so, how would you achieve this end?

2. What provisions would you suggest in relation to the composition of the central and provincial legislatures which would provide adequate representation for different communities and interests? Indicate your views regarding (a) franchize, (b) electorates, (c) constituencies, (d) method of election (direct or indirect), and (e) allocation of seats.

3. What provisions would you suggest for making amendments in the future constitution?

PART VI.

1. What constituent machinery (with details of composition, powers and procedure) would you suggest for (a) framing and enacting the new constitution; and for (b) the transfer of power to the authorities established under the new constitution?

PART VII

1. Until such time as the new constitution comes into force, what changes would you suggest in the character, composition and working of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, either by suitable legislation or by the adoption, wherever necessary, of suitable conventions? (In this connection, attention is drawn to clause (e) of the Cripps proposals, reproduced below.)

PART VIII

1. In the event of failure to agree on the part of different communities, would you suggest that His Majesty's Government should frame and enact a constitution for India, or what other course would you suggest?

THE FOLLOWING IS CL. E OF THE CRIPPS PROPOSALS

"(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world-war effort but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India."

7, Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi,
4-1-1945.

K. SANTHANAM,
Joint Secretary.

1940
I/6-390

"Servants of Islam Society" Publication No. 3.

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SHIA-SUNNI DISPUTE

ITS CAUSES AND CURE

A critical analysis of the

Presidential Address of Sir Sultan Ahmed.

BY

ZAFARULMULK

SECRETARY

MADHE SAHABA COMMITTEE

LUCKNOW

(TRANSLATED FROM URDU)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Thus Said the Holy Prophet, the recipient of Divine Revelation, through whom the Lord conveyed His orders as to what was enjoined upon the faithful and what was forbidden to them: —

Next to the Great Prophets, the sun never shone upon any one superior to Abu-Bakr.

Omar gave Islam the strength to come out in the open and adorned the world like a garden in spring.

Next to these two came Usman, chaste and firm of faith.

The fourth of them was Ali, the husband of Fatima. The Prophet has unstinted praise for his virtues. (Firdausi)[1]

In his presidential address at the Shia All Parties Conference held on April 14, 1940, Sir Sultan Ahmad put forward the following three demands on behalf of the Shia Community :—

1. The Shias should have full liberty to perform ceremonies relating to the celebration of the martyrdom of Imam Husain.

2. Shia representation in the provincial and Central Legislatures and in local bodies should be fixed in accordance with some convention.

3. Madhe Sahaba assemblages, processions and other demonstrations, calculated to wound the feelings of the Shias, should be banned.

It would not be out of place to venture a few observations on these demands, as this will enable the other side of the

1. Translated from Shahnama Vol I Page 5 (Tehran edition)

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picture also to see the light of the day and will help outsiders to view the matter in its true perspective.

We will take up the demands serially.

I. LIBERTY TO MOURN.

As far as we know the Government have given full liberty to the Shias in the matter. Nor have the Sunnis ever demanded the suppression of these ceremonies; or have ever interfered with the Shias in these matters.

Sir Sultan Ahmad has contented himself with putting forward the demand and emphasising the traditional importance of the ceremonies but has nowhere taken pains to mention a single instance of interference or obstruction either by the Government or the Sunnis. As far as Lucknow, at least, is concerned I am definite that it is impossible for him to quote even a single instance.

The Sunni doctrine undoubtedly forbids these ceremonies to them and their theologians are unanimous in prohibiting them and view Taziadari and the like practices as being extremely deleterious to the temporal and spiritual well being of the Muslims. Right down from Ghausul Azam Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani, Imam Ibne Taimia and Hazrat Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani to the present theologians of Firangi Mahal, Deoband, Bareilly, Delhi, Bhopal and Hyderabad, in short of all schools of Islamic learning and culture, all theologians without a single exception have been issuing fatwas branding Azadari (mourning and lamentatoin) as one of the practices which are repugnant to the Islamic teachings. All those who have been trying to keep alive the true spirit of Islam by teaching the illiterate and ignorant Sunnis to do what is in accordance with the divine law and to refrain from doing what is forbidden have been unsparing in their efforts to save them from the sin of Taziadari. Efforts to prevent the virus of Taziadari from entering into the blood of the Sunnis are of this type and they are solely

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directed towards the Sunni masses. The Shias are certainly not addressed, nor can they be expected to listen to the preaching or the fatwas of the Sunni theologians in preference to their own Mujtahids, although it is apparent even from the writings of some Shia Ulemas that they too hold some of the prevailing practices of Taziadari to be anti-Islamic and hence sinful.

To quote an instance, the following fatwa from Shaikh Mohammad Naqi, an Irani Shia Mujtahid appeared in Chehra-Numa, which is an organ of the Shias of Egypt. The issue to which I refer is dated 15th Ziqad 1347 A. H. corresponding to April 25, 1929.

"Regarding the matter of tying the hands, beating the breasts, beating the body with chains and putting nails into it and scarring the head with swords, the reply is that these barbaric practices are absolutely against the Islamic Law, the Quran, the tradition and the approved practices. It was mainly to keep Islam alive that Hazrat Husain ibne Ali refused to swear allegiance to Yazid and thereby attained martyrdom. It can well be imagined that he would never be pleased with these relics of barbarism which are indulged in, in the name of the so called mourning. If we turn to the Quran we find that it does not even permit the beating of the breasts, not to mention the striking of the body with chains and locks. The Lord God has said in the Holy Quran— "Do not jeopardize thine lives by thine own actions." It is laid down in the sayings of the Imams and in the traditions that it is forbidden to mourn even for the nearest relative or to permit even a scratch on the face and if one scratches himself ever so little he commits a sin and is guilty of a practice that is forbidden to a Muslim. Even the best of the martyrs, (Hazrat Husain) himself when he was taking the last leave of his family spoke thus to Hazrat Zainab :—"Dear sister ! Whosoever is a live being, either on this earth or on the sky, must die. No one will live eternally but God. See that you do not slap your face or scratch it on hearing of my death." Can anyone say in the face of these

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instructions (of the Imam to his sister) that these savage rites are in accordance with Islam. The explicit words of the Imam were that whosoever indulged in these rites after him would be guilty of a sin and shall have to answer for it. Those who perform these rites out of ignorance, grievously wound Islam. Foreigners take pictures of these pastimes of the ignorant and they are exhibited in European cinemas and earn derision and ridicule for Islam."

Then there are the following fatwas from Maulana Ali Al Hairi of Lahore:—

"Question—*Is it proper or is it a sin to take part in such mourning majlisses in which there are observed certain practices which are against the Islamic law e. g. in which false and fictitious incidents are narrated, dirges are sung and drums are beaten.*

Answer—*The pratices mentioned are definitely against Islam. The mourning majlisses should be free from such anti-Islamic practices. To participate in those majlisses in which such practices are observed is certainly a sin."* (*Al Hafiz Vol II. No. 5 for Muharram 1345 A. H.*)

"Question—*Speakers in majlisses recount the tale of the marriage of Hazrat Qasim son of Hassan (peace be on him). Some of the true believers hold that this is not a fact and quote you as their authority. We hope that to satisfy us and to guide our practices you would oblige us by giving a fatwa on the question.*

Answer—*The marriage of Hazrat Qasim is not borne out by any authentic tradition. I therefore consider it wrong to narrate it. The story is absolutely groundless and is merely a calumny. It is a sin to narrate and to listen to this false tale."* (*Ibid*).

What however clinches the issue is the following on page 60 of the well known book, La Yahzarahul Faqih printed in Matbai Jafari, Lucknow. This book is regarded as one of the four pillars of Shia theology.

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''Amirul Mominin (Hazrat Ali-Peace be on him) said: Whosoever resuscitates a grave or makes a replica of it definitely places himself beyond the pale of Islam.''

We do not care a bit however if the Shias pay any heed or not to the fatwas of their own mujtahids or act in a spirit which is contrary to their own religious precepts; "Lakum Dinukum waleyadin" (every one to his own religion) as the Holy Quran puts it. It is however interesting to note that Sir Sultan and all the other Shias are one in regarding the tazia as a replica of the tomb of Hazrat Imam Husain.

It does not lie in the mouth of those persons who wish that the ignorant masses of the Sunnis should be allowed to remain steeped in the sin of Taziadari and who want that no effort should be made to wean them from these anti-Islamic and highly deleterious practices, to have any say in these matters.

In his apologia for Taziadari Sir Sultan Ahmad has elevated many an Old Wives tales to the level of sober facts of history. He ought to know that the practices of Tamerlane and Humayun or of Zebunnisa and Bahadur Shah do not set a standard for Islamic rectitude. The right and the wrong, and the repugnance or otherwise of all actions is to be judged only at the bar of the Islamic law. By Islamic Law we of course mean the Quran, the traditions and the rules that follow from them as a corollary. Instead of trotting out fictitious tales of Zebunnisa's Taziadari and holding them up as an example, Sir Sultan should have faced the bitterness of truth by referring to the famous and voluminous work on Islamic Law "The Fatawa Alamgiri," compiled under orders from Alamgir, the illustrious father of Zebunnisa, and to learn therein what Islamic law has to say about Taziadari.

To tell the truth, the Shias have to thank their own actions, perpetrated now and then in the perverseness of anger and fanaticism, for any restrictions that the Government might have had to impose on their wanton practices of Taziadari.

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To take a recent example, first of all they abstained for a considerable time from most of their mourning practices by way of protest and then perpetrated the provocative Tabarra agitation which disturbed the peace. The imposition of the Curfew Order, the promulgation of Sec. 144 and the posting of the Punitive Police naturally followed. When later on the Shias awoke to their senses and showed their willingness to perform their abandoned practices, the administation had no way out but to arrange for heavy police safeguards. These belated processions tamely went their way in the city, the crowds of sightseers which add to the aplendour of the processions being conspicuous by their absence, preferring the safety of their homes to the risk of going abroad in the disturbed condition of the streets.

The Shia ceremonies also suffered from the fact that Shia obstinacy and perverseness alienated the sympathy of the Sunni masses. The Sunnis got such persistent stabs to their sentiment that they had no vestige of feeling left for the Shias. There was bound to be a reaction to the thousand and one threats of blood baths and actual riots and murders by the Shias during the last few years. The Sunnis were convinced that the Shias were determined to stand in the way of their legitimate religious and civil liberty and they naturally had no sympathy and interest left for the Shia ceremonies and celebrations. If a sect wants to coerce another and to put viclent obstacles in the way of its legitimate activities, it must know that it thereby plainly furnishes an object lesson to the opressed sect, which the latter would not be long to learn. Those Shias who are labouring under the delusion that by fighting whith the Sunnis and by intimidating the administration by threats of disturbances they can accomplish the end of stopping the assemblages and the processions of the Sunnis are as a matter of fact inviting the peace-loving Sunnis to adopt the same tactics for the preservation of their own rights.

It is really a matter for extreme regret that the atmosphere of Lucknow which had been vitiated by the Shias should have

reacted even on a legal luminary and experienced leader of the calibre of Sir Sultan Ahmad and that even he should have been led astray in having recourse to intimidation by holding out the threadbare threat of blood flooing into the streets of the city. If the Shias continue to consider violence as the most effective instrument for bullying the Sunnis and the Government and attempt to put this instrument to practical use the necessary result will be that their ceremonies will be still more drastically and adversely affected.

I wish the Shias had enough sense to realise that the blame for all this discord between them and the Sunnis lies totally at the door of their own fanaticism and violence and particularly at the door of their Tabarra. So long as the Iranis were steeped in the vice of Tabarra they never succeeded in establishing happy relations with the Islamic world. Sultan Nasiruddin Qachar had the sense to realise it and strove to stop the nefarious practice.

Mirza Syed Mehdi son of Mirza Md. Isfahani known as Eitimadus Saltanat, one of the ministers of Sultan Nasiruddin Qachar, has the following to say on page 131 Chapter VIII of his book Kitabul Maasir Wal Asar, published in Tehran :—

''The King of Iran, the Defender of the faith, has put a total stop to these barbaric practices in his domains and gave me strict orders to keep a vigilant eye on all books and publications and to take drastic action against any person who might have indulged in any sort of imprecations or abuses against the venerable Companions of the holy Prophet and to proscribe all such books and publications. It is now years since the celebration of the Id to commemorate the memory of the murderers of Khalifa Omar, known as Omar Kusha (or Bazm-i-Firozi) has been abolished throughout Iran, the fictitious tale of Baba Shuja has

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been consigned to oblivion and all the books have been purged of calumnies and abuses.''

And every body knows that during the present regime of His Majesty Raza Shah Pehlavi the offence of Tabarra is punishable with death.

I presume Sir Sultan concedes even to the slavery-ridden Sunnis of India the right to be classed as human beings. If he does, we would ask Sir Sultan just to imagine what acute anguish he would feel if some sect or individual were to make it a point to indulge in calumny and abuse even towards his temporal leaders, not to mention the religious leaders. Did Sir Sultan and other claimants to Islam never feel any revulsion of feeling when some Aryas or Christian priests indulged in filthy abuses and calumnies against the holy Prophet and His wives? Is Sir Sultan labouring under the delusion of assessing the Sunnis to be so mean-spirited and shameless and to be so far removed from Islam that they have not even as much respect for the illustrious Caliphs as the Shias themselves have for their Imams or even for their temporal leaders.

Sir Sultan must have read in history that when Shah Jehan was apprised of the fact that during the reign of Qutub Shah, the King of Golcunda, Tabarra was recited in public places, he sent an ultimatum to Golcunda asking Qutub Shah to stop the indecency or to suffer for the consequences and at the same time ordered him to pay tribute. This affair as all readers of history know ended in the downfall of Golcunda and in its annexation to the Mughal domains during the reign of Alamgir.

The practices indulged in the name of mourning in Iran have been consigned to oblivion. It remained the unenviable distinction of Lucknow alone, the late capital of the effeminate Wajid Ali Shah, that for 2 months and 10 days continuously and on every Friday night, as well as on all first Thursdays of the lunar month, mourning ceremonies were at first performed here. The present day Shias have gone one better by

performing such ceremonies on all the first Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays of the lunar month also, thus devoting almost 5 months each year to these observances. At this rate it is not difficult to foresee a day when all the 365 days of the year will be spent in mourning. The Muslims and the followers of other sects have of course nothing to do with this. The Shias are masters of their own time and they can pass it in any manner they choose. It is however impossible that the din and tumult generated in these observances and the unseemly conduct indulged in at times on these occasions should not be a nuisance to the Sunnis, nor should the Shias expect that the Muslims and the people of other communities would give up for the sake of the Shias the performance of their own religious and civil duties.

2. SHIA REPRESENTATION.

Sir Sultan Ahmad wants that Shia representation in Provincial and Central Legislatures and Local bodies should be determined by way of convention. I think the Muslims should concede this demand with the utmost readiness, because at present the Shias manoeuvre to secure such a number of seats for themselves as is out of all proportion to their numerical strength. In this very Shia All Parties Conference Raja Ghazanfar Ali, a Punjab M. L. A., had to admit in his speech that the Shias have secured a very large number of seats in the Punjab. Besides their representation, the rights of the Sunnis are being ruthlessly trampled by the over-representation of the Shias in the services. Equity itself demands that the representation of the Shias in the services too should be determined. These things cannot however be based on convention; they can be determined only when the Shias are treated as a separate and distinct minority, just as the Sikhs are separated from the Hindus and treated as a separate minority.

Sir Sultan lays the blame on the Sunnis that all their electioneering is based on a majority versus minority basis, but

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here too he has contented himself with an unsubstantiated charge without adducing any proofs in support. If Sir Sultan could summon enough patience and judiciousness to listen to facts, he would find that the aggrieved party are really the Sunnis, and not the Shias, because it is the latter who are usurping the rights of the Muslims by over-representation both in the Legislatures and in other bodies, as well as in the services. In the light of statistics his blame on the Muslims is absolutely and definitely wrong and baseless. To take the most charitable view possible, Sir Sultan has been grievously misled by the Shia propagandists into rating the Shia population to be something between 2 to 3 crores. To disillusion him we appened below the figures for Shia population taken from the census report for the year 1921.

Provinces	Shia population	Reference
Assam	434	Vol III Part I page 53
Baluchistan	3739	,, IV ,, ,, ,, 48
Bihar and Orissa	17000	,, I ,, ,, ,, 120
Bengal	2580	,, V ,, ,, ,, 161
Bombay and Sindh	144427	,, VIII ,, ,, ,, 15 (Appendix A)
C. P. and Berar	11640	,, XI ,, II ,, 35
Frontier Province	80200	,, XIV ,, I ,, 84 87
Madras	54114	,, XIII ,, ,, ,, 59
Punjab and Delhi	259351	,, XV ,, ,, ,, 176
Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara	20291	,, XXIV ,, ,, ,, 100
U. P.	173523	* (Vide the foot-note)
Total	767299	

*For some unknown reason or omission the Shia population of U. P. was not shown separately in the census report of 1921. The figures have therefore been taken from the statistics for the year 1911, which has fortunately given details for each district.

This does not include some figures of miscellaneous population viz: of those residing in the cantonments of the Native States or in tribal districts and ceded estates which are under British administration. Taking these figures at a fairly liberal estimate and allowing for increase in their population during the period of 1921 to 1940, the Shia population can in no way exceed 10 lakhs, all told.

Among the people classed as Muslims, the Shias and the Ahmadis are the two sects which have basic differences with Muslims and are a constant source of internecine trouble and discord on account of their extreme fanaticism. It would be a real gain to the health of the body politic of Islam if these two sects were lopped off and treated as separate minorities and were apportioned their shares in elective bodies and services in just proportion to their actual numerical strength. The last fault that can be laid at the door of the Muslims is that they can ever tolerate even the idea of usurping the rights of the minorities. Our experience in Lucknow has been that for the long stretch of 30 years in which mixed electorates were in vogue, the Shias always manoeuvred with the Hindu majority to keep off the Muslims and during all this time only two Muslims could secure seats in the Municipality. When separate electorate was however introduced in 1916, three seats out of eleven were set apart for the Shias as a matter of convention, though, the Shias as a matter of fact constituted only 20 p. c. of the Muslim population of Lucknow.

The Shia leaders really want to have it both ways. On the one hand they appropriate all the advantages that they can, by claiming to be a part and parcel of the Muslim population, and, on the other hand, and in the same breath, they claim that their sect should be treated as a separate entity.

It is really amazing that even Sir Wazir Hasan, an enlightened and highly educated leader, who was for 6 years the Secretary of the All India Muslim League and who gained his footing in the Council as a Muslim representative and also

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owed to it his elevation to the post of the Chief Judge of the Chief Court of Oudh, could find it possible to deliver the following words in a Shia gathering in the Ganga Pershad Memorial Hall on February 5, 1940.

"If the Shias of India be not labelled as a nation in themselves they difinitely form a sect in themselves. Their distinctive features make them an entity apart from the other Muslims. They have absolutely different conceptions about the Unity of God, Godhood, the Quran, the Prophethood, the Caliphate, the fasts and the prayers, the marriage and burial ceremonies, in short in the interpretation of all matters, basic or subsidiary, and, this constitutes a definite line of demarcation."

These words were followed by an express declaration from Sir Wazir :—

"We have separate history and separate traditions and no one could deny that even our legal principles, which are a pivot for all civic life, are absolutely different. Look at our laws relating to marriage, divorce and inheritance, and you would find them to be dissimilar (to those of the Muslims.) How then could there be any unity between them and us. (Daily Sarfaraz of Lucknow, dated 9-2-40)

Sir Wazir Hasan's straight talk is really a creditable performance. I wish the other Shia leaders, who have been building a separate political existence for themselves through the All India Shia Conference, the Shia College, the Shia Political Conference, the Madrasatul Waizeen and other Shia bodies, were equally outspoken, because that would quickly pave the way for the legal recognition of the Shias as a separate minority and for the determination of their rights as a separate entity.

The Muslims, I repeat, are suffering grievous spiritual and temporal losses from the Shias and the Ahmadis. With the exception of a very few, the educated Sunnis are blissfully ignorant of the huge number of Sunnis who have been led astray by the propaganda carried on by these two sects and they are

unaware of the number of perverts that annually go over to these religions Not even those bodies who have proselytization as their basic objects have any idea about them. The Muslims spend their money and time on converting people of other religions but are unaware of those unfortunate Muslims who are sneaked away from them by the Shias and the Ahmadis and are lost to Islam. These perverts are steadily swelling the ranks of the renegades.

What Dr. Aqbal said about putting the Ahmadis outside the pale of Muslim religion applies with added strength to the Shias. As long as these two sects are not amputated from the body politic of Islam, the running sore of perversion among the Sunnis will continue and as sure as there is a day of judgment, people who can, but will not stir their little finger for saving their brother Muslims from falling a prey to Shias and Ahmadis, will have to answer for it to their God.

Soon or late the Muslims become alive to the dangers of conversion to Christianity, the Hinduism and other religions because they are openly different religions ; but the Muslims slumber on and fail to make any organized effort while the Shias and the Ahmadis, who outwardly profess to be Muslims, go on silently and steadily undermining the Islam and the Muslims.

Those who think that I have painted the picture in too lurid colours should make enquiries about the Shias and the Ahmadis living in their midst and find out whether they came over from other religions or were Sunnis who have been perverted to these sects. I assert with all confidence that these enquiries will establish that hardly only 5 p. c. of these 50,000 Ahmadis and 10 lac of Shias are converts from other religions; the remaining huge percentage of 95 will be that of the unfortunate Sunnis who have succumbed to the wiles of the Shia and Ahmadi propagandists. Among the Shias there will be found a large number of persons who centuries ago, in Iran and in Mesopotamia, and a few generations back in India, gave up the Sunni

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religion. In this very city of Lucknow there are many a well known personage whose ancestors gave up their religion in the time of the Nawabs of Oudh but still take pride in calling themselves Siddiquis, Farooqis, Usmanis, and Alavis (i. e. descendents of the house of Abu Bakr Siddique, Omar Farooq, Usman and Ali).

Apart from this spiritual loss, the Muslims have also grievously suffered in mundane matters, in as much as the Shias always appropriate more than their numerical due in every sphere of activity and what they appropriate in excess goes not from any other share but from that of the Muslims themselves.

We will take just one or two examples to establish our point. The Shias constitute only 3 p. c. of the Muslim population in U. P. but out of the nine Muslims who could secure elevation to the bench of the Allahabad High Court and the Oudh Chief Court since their establishment, as many as three of them were Shias and out of the two Home Members, one was a Shia. The nubmer of the Muslims who held portfolios in the Cabinet of the Central Government was 5 upto date. Out of these 3 only were Sunnis ; one was a Shia and the other an Ahmadi.

It is a biological fact that the small minorities are always well-organised and aggressively sectarian and many a Muslim in Government and semi-Govt. services have to lament their fate in falling a prey to sectarian aggressiveness on the part of the Shias and the Ahmadis.

In these Provinces, since the advent of the Public Service Commission, it would be difficult to spot a department in which the Sunnis have not suffered losses as far as the services are concerned. It would be wrong to think that these losses are merely temporary and that a change in the personnel of the Commission would wipe them off. Those who have got in now by usurping the places of the Sunnis, would be there to block the progress of the subsequent Sunni employees for the

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next 25 or 30 years. Besides, what guarantee is there that this welcome administrative change would not take years before it becomes a fact.

The Sunnis, in particular the educated scions of the noble families of Sunnis in these provinces, have no other source of advancement, and even of livelihood, except the services and it is to secure this that Muslim parents squander heavy amounts for giving their sons higher education in the Universities. Can the Sunnis ever forget how they are being trampled down in the name of constitutional procedure and the regulations ?

Just as communalism has created and is constantly widening the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims in their political reapprochment, the Shias have created a breach in the inter-Muslim unity and the more the Shia communalism goes from strength to strength and the greater the number of the Shias that flourish at the expense of the Muslims, the wider and more unbridgable will be the gulf that would separate the two sects.

3. PREVENTION OF MADHE SAHABA

In support of this demand Sir Sultan Ahmad has tried to make out the best of what is an absolutely bad case and the demand under this head is nothing short of an insulting piece of presumptuousness.

It is said that the Madhe Sahaba assemblages and processions are an innovation and it is asserted that these practices obtain nowhere in the world with the solitary exception of Lucknow.

If we look to the question from the strictly religious point of view, Milad Sharif, Juloosi Muhammadi, Seeratunnabi meetings, Urses (anniversaries) of the Saints, the ceremonies in connection with mourning like *tazia*, *menhdi*, *duldul* and *taboot* are, one to all, innovations To make it easier for Sir Sultan to understand the matter, the phrase of *Khalifatahu*

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bila fasl is also an innovation. The *azan* as given by Imam Jafar Sadiq in *La Yahzarahul Faqih* on page 93 Vol I does not contain this phrase and the author has clinched the issue by adding: "This is the correct *azan*, nothing more, nothing less."

After the times of the Holy Prophet, according to the Sunni beliefs, the days of the illustrious Caliphs, the Tabaeen and the Taba-i-Tabaeen make the best period of Islam, but there is no trace of Milad Sharifs or the Urs ceremonies of the Saints, during those epochs. The Juloos-i-Muhammadi and Seeratunnabi meetings were introduced only a few years back in Hindustan after the extinction of the Turkish caliphate.

We have not cared to investigate how *bidaat* is defined in the Shia theology, but history establishes it that the mourning ceremonies, which later on prevailed in Iran and India, were absolutely unknown even to the times of their eleventh Imam. As to the Tazias, Sir Sultan himself contends, not on grounds of history but on hearsay handed down from generation to generation, that it is a momento of the time of Tamerlane and, thus, an Indian invention. If there had been even a shred of historical truth in this claim the compendious and detailed Tuzuki Taimuri *would have surely contained at least some slight or even a remote reference to it. It therefore follows that, if from a strict religious point of view the Madhe Sahaba meetings and processions are innovations, the Milad Sharif, the Juloos-i-Muhammadi, the Seeratunnabi meetings, the Urs ceremonies of Saints, and, with added applicability, the mourning practices themselves, are all innovations.

We will give later an exposition of the question of Madhe Sahaba from a religious point of view. Here we have simply to say that conceding, for argument's sake, that Tamerlane had a right to console himself by constructing a *tazia*, the Sunni *Ulemas* of Lucknow, too, have decidedly the right to

*Autograph memoirs of Tamerlane.

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propagate the virtues of the Sahaba by holding meetings and processions for the purpose and it should be remembered that this right has been given to them, not by Tamerlane, but it has been enjoined upon them as a duty by an authentic tradition of the Holy Prophet of which the following is a literal translation :—

''If mischiefs or bidaats appear and persons speak ill of the Sahaba, those who are learned should demonstrate their learning in the cause of the virtues of my sahaba; if any one omits to act thus, may the curses of God, all the angels and of humanity fall upon him. God will not vouchsafe to accept the performance of any duty or any virtue from such a defaulter''
(Sawaiqi-Muharriqa, page 2)

Any objection to Madhe Sahaba on grounds of custom falls to the ground; first of all because Islam not only does not sanctify customs, but was really revealed to the world with the proclaimed ideal of removing the manacles of customs and practices from the feet of humanity.

Ghalib, the great poet, who claimed to be an adherent of Ali, the lion of God, has thus expressed this truth:—

"We believe in the oneness of God. Our religion lies in doing away with customs."

Secondly, Sir Sultan should know that Egypt celebrates the martyrdom of Hazrat Omar and Hazrat Osman every year and commemorative meetings are held in certain Indian cities also on the anniversaries of the Caliphs.

I suppose Sir Sultan has heard of Fatehpur, a well-known town only some 40 miles from Lucknow. Here, not only a Madhe Sahaba procession is taken out every year since 1901, but in all the mosques at the time of the five azans the names

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of the great Caliphs are proclaimed according to their rightful order in the Caliphate. The person responsible for this "bidaat" (religious innovation) there was the noted saint and theologian, the late Hazrat Maulana Syed Abid Husain, to the glory of whose soul the credit for the procession and the proclamation goes.

If the recitation of Madhe Sahaba had been a condemnable innovation from the religious point of view, it would never have received in 1908-1909 the support of the well-known Saint and Teacher, the late Hazrat Maulana Syed Ainul Quzat, who, as we all know, was the teacher both of the late Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal and of Maulana Abdul Shakoor. It was to the support and encouragement of that renowned and revered savant that the Madhe Sahaba in Lucknow owes its real inception.

Sir Sultan must be knowing the English Law, and even according to it an innovation is not a crime by itself.

A learned judge of the High Court of judicature at Allahabad has cleared up the point thus:—

''Their Lordships of the Privy Council have clearly held that persons, of whatever sect, are entitled to conduct religious processions through public streets..... The right thus recognised by their Lordships is again not one which is dependent for its enforcement on the previous exercise of it.....The members of any other community or sect, however cannot, on the sole ground that it is an innovation, arrogate to themselves the right to object'' (A. I. R. Allahabad 1935. page 577.)

Page 22 of the Allsop Committee report lays down that:

''We do not suppose that any body would now maintain that a religious procession or assem-

bly should be prohibited merely because it was an innovation.''

In spite of all this, if Sir Sultan thinks that he can challenge our right to Madhe Sahaba on any legal ground, the easiest course for him is to knock at the doors of the law Courts instead of careering about the country and filling it with the din of propaganda and confusing the issue by raising a hue and cry about the danger to Islamic unity.

When in the beginning of 1937 the Government of Sir Harry Haig appointed the late Mr. Gwynne, Chief Secretary, to talk over the matter with the Sunni and the Shia leaders with a view to bring about a compromise between the two sects, the Sunni representatives put forward a tentative proposal that the Government should proceed against persons who recited Madhe Sahaba in public under Sec. 298 of the I. P. C. and that, if it succeeded in obtaining a conviction, the Sunnis would give up their demand for the puplic recital of the Madhe Sahaba till such time as they got that Section amended in the Central Legislature according to their wishes. They at the same time stipulated that if the Government failed to obtain a conviction, it should at once proceed to abrogate its resolution of the year 1909 and remove all restrictions from the Madhe Sahaba. Neither the Shia representatives nor Mr. Gwynne agreed to such a sporting offer.

It is a delusion to think that the Sunnis can be intimidated into giving up the Madhe Sahaba by threats of riots and bloodbaths. The Lucknow Sunnis refused to bend their knees in this respect to the non-Muslim majority; can anybody, with even a grain of sense in him, hope that they would kow-tow to the Shia minority. During the last few years the Shias engineered not a few riots with resultant loss of life on both sides, but they failed to intimidate the Government, and the Sunnis were not cowed down into giving up their demands. The members of the Government alone can know the true state of

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the nerves of the Government, but as far as the Sunnis are concerned, they are every hour getting more and more determined to defend their right to the last breath in their body. We assure the Shias that the more the unseemly incidents from their side continue, the stronger will be the steely purpose of the Sunnis to hang to their right with the skin of their teeth. These incidents will serve only to intensify their bitterness against the Shias.

It was the ancestors of these very Sunnis that razed to the ground the proud edifices of the Persian and Roman Empires, carved out with their swords renowned kingdoms in the three continents and led the life of soldiers in arms constantly for more than twelve centuries. We may be a sad and a poor relic of these ancestors, but he knows ill the virtue of centuries of a proud unbroken tradition who labours under the hallucination that even now, when we have fallen upon evil days, we have become so craven-hearted and abject in spirit that we would care even a jot for the ridiculous threats of the Shias. Such threats merely put us on our mettle and make us the more determined to guard the memory of the Sahaba with our lives and to nourish the Madhe Sahaba with our life blood.

The Shias, the big as well as the lesser fry among them, are never tired of the false propaganda that the Piggott as well as the Allsop Committees have absolutely prohibited the Madhe Sahaba and the wonder of wonders is that even the learned and shrewd Sir Sultan has taken up the refrain although the truth is just the contrary.

Addressing the Legislative Assembly on July 12, 1939, Premier Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant spoke as follows :—

"I can assure the members that the Piggott and Allsop Committees definitely laid down that the Sunnis' right of recitation of Madhe Sahaba could not be denied and that it could be exercised under circumstances in which we

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have allowed it and perhaps they even contemplated its exercise under greater freedom. The restriction issued by the then Government in 1909 was similar'' (National Herald, Lucknow dated July 13th, page 12.)

It seems necessary to amplify what has been dealt with briefly in this speech and to serve this end it would not be out of place to give here relevant extracts from the reports of these two Committees and the Government resolutions thereon, which explicitly or by implication admit the right to the recitation of the Madhe Sahaba.

This is from Clause 31 of the Piggott Committee report:—

''What we want is a rule which shall deal effectively with the abuse which seeks to convert a Moharram procession into a Charyari demonstration while yet interfering as little as possible with the liberty of the Sunnis to assert the distinguishing doctrines of their faith.''

In their lengthy resolution published by the Government of Sir John Hewett on January 7, 1909, clause 15 has the following express declaration:—

''The desire which is sufficiently apparent from the whole of their memorandum is to secure a pronouncement from Government that the public recitation of the praises of the first three Khalifas is at all times a provocation and an offence against the public peace. It is obviously impossible for the Government to issue any such pronouncement..... A closer analogy is offered by the Shia formula which acclaims Ali as ''Khalifa Bila Fasl,'' thus asserting their belief in his immediate

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succession to the Prophet. They themselves strongly object to being restrained from the public utterance of this formula.''

Clause 17 of the same Resolution has the following definite pronouncement :—

''To issue a general proclamation with intent to render liable to punishment any individual who in any public place and under any circnmstances whatsoever sang or recited in an audible voice verses in praise of the first three Khalifas is a step the Government is not prepared to take.''

The recommendation of the Piggott Committee was that Madhe Sahaba should be prohibited on the three days of Ashra, Chehlum and the 21st of the month of Ramzan. The Government accepted this recommendation in their resolution of January 7, 1909 and promulgated prohibitory orders accordingly. The Muslims however disobeyed these orders at the very first apportunity and some eight to nine hundred persons were arrested the same day. That was before the Majlis-i-Ahrar came into being, nor was there any such thing then as a Madhe Sahaba Committee or the Majlis-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namoos-i-Sahaba. Aa a matter of fact there was at that time no political awakening or organization among the Muslims in the true sense of the word. Even the Muslim League was then a child of recent birth.

This demonstration of dissatisfaction by the Muslims compelled Mr. A. H. Radice, the then Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, to issue the following proclamation on 26th March 1909 :—

"Whereas the orders published by the Government in the city of Lucknow relating to Ashra, Chehlum and 21st Ramzan resulted in creating a misunderstanding among certain people that Madhe Sahaba has been totally forbidden while those orders do not intend any such thing, the following orders are therefore promulgated again :—

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1. Madhe Sahaba is not and never was forbidden.

2. Every one high and low has the right to recite Madhe Sahaba at any time and in any assemblage within his house, mosque, grove and other bounded place which is his private possession.

3. Madhe Sahaba should not be recited in public streets, lanes and open places on the days of the Ashra of Muharram, the Chehlum and the 21st of Ramzan.

4. If it is desired to recite Madhe Sahaba in procession or meeting on occasions other than the above on roads, lanes and open spaces, permission should be obtained three days in advance from the office of the Supdt. of Police."

Do these quotations leave any loophole for any doubt that the Piggott Committee or the Government of Sir John Hewett, wanted that Madhe Sahaba should be treated as an offence like the Tabarra and should be totally forbidden.

As regards the Tabarra it has been expressly dealt with in clause 15 of the Resolution of January 7, 1909 in the words that follow:—

"The reason why the Shias have always been restrained from the public utterance of their Tabarra is because this formula is not a mere assertion of their belief in the Khalifa Ali as the immediate and rightful successor of the Prophet Muhammed, but pronounces imprecations on the first three Khalifas as obviously cannot be uttered in public except with the intention of wounding the religious feelings of those who believe in them."

The fact was that at that time the Sunnis used to recite the Madhe Sahaba poems in place of or along with the Marsias (elegies) on the Ashra and Chelum days when taking out the

tazias. Since the Shia Kerbela at Talkatora was situated to the South of the city, while the new Sunni Kerbela at Phool Katora was situated towards the west and the tazias of both the sects were taken out through Chowk, the central bazar of the City, and the Shia processions passed from the northern gate towards the southern and the Sunnis took their tazias from the south gate towards the north, the rival tazias used to confront one another in some part or the other of the Chowk. To avoid this clash the authorities first of all merely set apart one half of the day for the processions bound for Talkatora and the other half of the day for the processions bound for Phool Katora. Subsequently the Piggott Committee recommended the prohibition of the Madhe Sahaba on the three chief mourning days of the Shias, viz., the Ashra, the Chehlum and the 21st of Ramzan and the Government accepted this recommendation in their resolution. This much alone is a fact round which the whole web of myth has been weaved.

By their access to the ear of the authorities, the Shias gradually widened this limited prohibition to a total prevention of Madhe Sahaba. In the beginning the Sunnis were contented to a certain extent with the proclamation of Mr. Radice and were then entangled to such an extent with the calamities that overtook other Islamic countries and so engrossed were they with other nationalistic and patriotic movements, that they could not pay their full attention towards the matter of seeking redress against these crafty manoeuvres of the Shias and the resultant injustice of the authorities. Individual and limited efforts proved fruitless and were never publicly known, but according to the saying that there is a time for everything, there did come a time to stop this chronic injustice, so that the lawful religious and civil right of the Sunnis may be attained.

Much prior to this, the Sunnis objected to, and put up a struggle against the interpolation of the words "*Khalifatahu Bila Fasl*" in their *azan* by the Shias. In the year 1882 the

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Shias, however, obtained a decree from the Court in their favour and, in course of time, they started uttering this phrase along with their funeral processions, and this is done to this day. Though this phrase is repugnant to the Sunnis, they are bearing it with patience. As we have shown above, the Piggott Committee and the Government of Sir John Hewett held the Madhe Sahaba and the *Khaliftahu Bila Fasl* at par with one another. If the Shias had adopted the same attitude and shown a like commendable patience and not gone to extremes, there would have been no riots and no bloodshed.

Although the Allsop Committee report totally agreed with the Government resolution of January 7, 1909, the Shias accept it as their oracle and it is therefore necessary to give a few extracts from that report also.

The following is an extract from page 8 of the report published in the book form :—

"We do not think that the Govt. meant that all processions and assemblies in which Madhe Sahaba was to be recited should necessarily be forbidden except on the three days of Ashra, Chehlum and the 21st of Ramzan."

The matter has been dealt with, with even greater clarity, on page 26. We quote here the very words of the report :—

"If at any time it could be infered that the recitation of Madhe Sahaba was a perfectly independent religious observance having no concern with the Shias or any Shia ceremony, we do not think that Shias could reasonably object to it."

The qusetion has been further elucidated on page 8, to quote the words of the report again:—

"They (the Government) obviously intended to make two distinctions, one between the three

important days and other days in the year and the other between recitations in organised assemblies snd recitations by separate individuals. They meant to pass definite orders only about the three days.....What are now known as Madhe Sahaba recitations by assemblies were forbidden in all public places on the three specified days. Such recitations by separate individuals were generally forbidden only on the routes of and in the hearing of tazia or other Mohammadan procession.''

This has been further amplified on page 20, thus:—

''Any Sunni may praise them (the Caliphs) at any time in any private place either individually or in assemblies. Any Sunni may praise them individually at any time or place except in the hearing of a Mohammadan procession on the three days of Ashra, Chhelum and the 21st of Ramzan.''

The following occurs in the short resolution that was published by the Congress ministry along with this report on 28th march 1938:—

''They wish to make it clear that the Sunnis' right of public or private recitation in praise of the three khalifas is not in dispute. This right they undoubtedly possess.''

It would not be out of place to reproduce here another extract taken from Premier Pant's speech of the 12th July:—

''We issued.....a resolution in March 1938 in which we accepted frankly and unreservedly the right of public recitation of Madhe Sahaba by the Sunnis. There was no objection to this at the time from the side of the Shias.

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We followed up the resolution with the Communique of November 1938 and in that Communique we definitely said that we recognised the right of the Sunnis to recite Madha Sahaba in public processions as well as in public meetings and that we were exploring avenues in consultation with the representatives of both communities with a view to devise means to enable the Sunnis to exercise that right.''

Maulana Azad takes credit for adding that portion in the short resolution of March 1938 which relates to the recognition of the right of the Sunnis. He had written a lengthy letter to Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani on April 16, 1938 in which he gave an exposition of this part of the resoltuion. Some extracts from this were read out at the meeting of the Council of the Provincial Congress Committee held on April 24, 1938.

The author is the best person to elucidate the meaning of his language and so we think it proper to reproduce the very words of the letter which are relevant to this matter.

''I called for the report and sent for Hafiz Ibrahim Saheb the same day and clarified the nature of the question. It was laid down in the very beginning that so for as proclaiming and reciting of Madhe Sahaba is concerned there is no prohibition form Government and in this connection the citzens of Lucknow have the Same rights as the Sunnis of other places.''

The theme is thus developed further on:—

''This addition to the Government resolution has placed the matter beyond any doubt even for amoment that no Madhe Sahaba meeting, conference, oration or speech, however public it may be, can be stopped in any circumstances.''

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Subsequent to March 28, 1938, when the Resolution was published, the Majlis-i-Ahrar arranged for a Milad in Mohalla Bhadewan in the 2nd week of April with an announcement that Madhe Sahaba will also be recited on the occasion. The authorities stopped the recitation of Madhe Sahaba by an order under Sec. 144. When news of this reached Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, he wrote in a letter to Maulana Husain Ahmad on April 21 :—

''I am informed, that after the publication of the Madhe Sahaba Committee report, a Milad was arranged for in some Mohalla and it was intended to recite Madhe Sahaba on that occasion, but the local authorities interfered by promulgating orders under Sec. 144.

If this is true and the nature of the interference is what it is stated to be then this interference by the local authorities is absolutely wrong and contrary to the Government resolution.''

The letters of Maulana Abul Kalam, from which these extracts are given, are in our possession.

The Shias may cry themselves hoarse in denying the religious importance of Madhe Sahaba, but the Sunnis can never forget that the venerable Sahaba, and, particularly the Great Caliphs have been praised by the Holy Prophet in the traditions, and, by the Almighty Himself, in the Quran. There is no express mention of names in the Quran, but the traditions give the names expressly. No one can also deny the historical fact that the Holy Prophet himself directed his poet laureate, Hazrat Hassan bin Sabit, to compose an ode in honour of Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique, his Companion of the Cave, and gave the poet a place on his own pulpit and in his own mosque to recite that ode in the presence of the Sahaba. Most probably Sir Sultan himself is aware of the fact

that in the whole of the Islamic world, in the orations delivered on all Fridays and on the occasion of the two Ids and at the time of the Haj in the plains of Arafat on Jabal-i-Rahmat, the praises of the Caliphs and other prominent Sahaba are recited, name by name, as an essential part of the *Khutba* or the oration. In the *Nikah* ceremony and on occasions of traditional orations, the Sahaba are necessarily praised.

Sir Sultan should also know that the praises of the Caliphs are written, in their order of precedence, on all the pillars of the four verandahs of the Musjid-i-Baitul Haram (Kaba Mosque) in Mecca The four corners of the well of Zumzum also bear as their carving the praises of the four Caliphs. The praises of not only the four Caliphs, but also of Ashra-i-Mubasshira (Ten blessed Companions) and other prominent Sahaba are also written in the courtyard of the Prophet's mosque in Medina and a tablet hangs from the door of the Prophet's mosque towards the Babun Nisa (Gate for ladies) in which God's blessings have been called upon those who bear love to Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Omar.

No Shias who have been to Mecca and Medina on pilgrimage ever complained either to the Turkish authorities or later on to Sharif Husain's administration that the names of the Khaliphas and their praises wounded the Shia feelings. This ultra-sensitiveness was evidently reserved for Lucknow (whose alphabets by the way work out to the same numerical figure as that of Kufa), whose Shias absolutely lose all semblance of mental balance merely on seeing the names of the Caliphs on the flags and the mosques.

The importance attached to the Caliphs in the centre of Islam as well as throughout the Islamic world has got a two-fold reason.

The one reason is that according to the fatwas of the theologians :—

''It is proved from the Quran and the traditions that the Sahaba are as manisfestation from the Almighty to his creatures and that they are an elevated medium for embracing Islam. It is also established that for the gratitude that the Muslims thus owe to them, Islam has laid down upon the Muslims some obligations that they have to discharge towards the Sahaba, such as to venerate them, to love them, to obey them and to pray for their salvation.....It is incumbent upon the Muslims to propagate all the injunctions of their religion. These four obligations are just like other obligations and so the propagation of them too is essential.''

(Collected Fatwas on Madhe Sahaba pp-31-32.)

The other is that it is imperative to antidote the malicious poison introduced by the Khawarij and the Rawafiz. There are very few Khawarij in India but, as the other sect has a considerable following in this country, the Ulemas had to lay down in their fatwas as follows :—

''The recitation of the praises of the four Companions is a religious obligation. In places where the Rawafiz (the secceders, i.e. the Shias) hold majlisses and where there is an interference with the praising of the Sahaba the recitation of the praises of the Charyars (Four Companions) should be considered an emblem of Sunnism and, as such, a religious obligation.'' (Collected fatwas on Madhe Sahaba page 18).

This is the unanimous attitude of all the Sunni sects towards the question of Madhe Sahaba, be it in prose or in verse. Centuries ago, Hazrat Mujaddid Alf Sani thus addressed the dignitaries of the city of Samana in Epistle 15 of Vol. II of his letters :—

" Although it is not essential to speak of the Caliphs in the Khutba, it is an establish d practice of the Sunnis."

In olden times, following the practice of the rest of the Islamic world, the Muslims used their mosque as their town halls, to borrow a contemporary term, and held all their meetings there. With the growth of the democratic conception of Government by the people, when bigger gatherings became necessary, the Muslims found the necessarily limited accommodation of the mosques insufficient for their needs and had to hold their meetings in the wider spaces of the parks and the open grounds. Since the Muslims held sway over the country, the entry of a non-Muslim in the mosque was not considered to be offensive in those times. Force of circumstances has now barred the way to such entries. At present if it is desired to gain access to the ear of the non-Muslims, mixed gatherings can only be held in parks and the open public places. This is just the reason why there has been an increase in the number of public meetings and processions and, there is no one so unreasonable as the Shias, to take any exception to the recitation of Madhe Sahaba in public places on the ground of its being an objectionable practice. There is absolute unity among the Muslims on this question.

If there is any difference of opinion anywhere at all, it relates to the taking out of the Madhe Sahaba processions. In the opinion of Maulana Abdul Kalam, and one or two other theologians of his type, the taking out of the Madhe Sahaba processions is a *bidaat* (extraordinary innovation in religion) and hence it should not be resorted to. An overwhelming majority of the theologians however does not subscribe to this

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opinion. The thologians of Firangi Mahal, Nadwa, Budaun, Moradabad and a number of other places, nay even the theologians of Saharanpur and Deoband, who are so averse to the very idea of a *bidaat* that people dub them as Wahabis, have held the procession in question to be a proper one, while many of them hold it to be a religious obligation. All these fatwas have been printed in a collected form and can be obtained from us.

Due consideration must, however, be paid to the fact that such slight theological differences of opinion obtain on other questions as well. These internal affairs of the Sunnis concern them alone and no other sect nor the Government can have any say in the matter, so long as these matters do not come into a clash with the laws of the land.

Will it surprise Sir Sultan if we were to venture to place before him some extracts from the books of the Shias themselves and some quotations from Hazrat Ali and from several of their Imams and famous and recognised Ulemas and poets in which the praises of the first three Caliphs are to be found. A collection of such extracts with their translation in English was placed before the Allsop Committee. Here we content ourselves with reproducing only a few of them.

1. Nahjul Balaghat is a famous book of the Shias. It contains orations and epistles from Hazrat Ali. The following quotation of exquisite beauty deserves attention :—

"Letter from Hazrat Ali to Amir Muaviya :—

Those who had sworn allegiance to Abu Bakr, Omar and Usman took the like oath to me and on the very same conditions. It does not behove those who are present to prefer another to me nor does it lie on the absentees to secede from me. It is only the Mohajirs and the Ansars who have the right to vote and the one who is elected by them is entitled to

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unanimous recognition. Any one who casts aspersion on their choice or calls it an innovation in religion is to be treated as a renegade. If he refuses allegiance, war should be declared on him, since he would be deemed to have strayed from the path of Islam into that of a non-Muslim. God will give his due unto him." (*Nahjul Balaghat Vol II page 7.*)

It is also written in the same work that Hazrat Ali said to Hazrat Usman :—

"I know nothing which is not known to you, nor can I tell you anything of which you are ignorant. In reality you know what is known to me; you too have seen and heard just what has been given to my eyes and ears to see and hear and have lived in the company of the Prophet just as I have lived; the son of Abi Qahafa (Abu Bakr) and the son of Khattab (Omar) were not better than you in treading the path of righteousness and you are nearer to the Prophet in genealogical relation than those two because you had also the honour of becoming his son-in-law, which the others did not possess." (*ibid Vol I page 322.*)

(3) Hazrat Imam Baqar, the fifth Imam of the Shias said:—

''I do not deny the greatness of Abu Bakr and Omar, but the former has preference over the latter.'' (Ehtijaj-i-Tabrasi page 204.)

(4) ''Imam Baqar relates that the Prophet (may blessings be upon him) prayed to God to strengthen Islam by the conversion either of Omar, the son of Khattab or of Abu Jehl, the son of Hisham.'' (Nasikhut Tawarikh Vol II Book I.)

It would only be fair to remind Sir Sultan that when on November 10, 1936, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan moved an adjournment motion in the Provincial Legislative Council to draw the attention of the Government to the actions of the local authorities in connection with the Madhe Sahaba agita-

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tion, Syed Ali Zaheer, Bar-at-Law, the Secretary of the Shia All Parties Conference also took part in the Council deliberations and in his speech not only admitted the fact that the splendid achievements of these personages and their magnificient service to Islam could not be denied, but actually held out an invitation to the Nawabzada to come with him to his house and recite Madhe Sahaba there. This speeeh can be seen in the printed proceedings of the Council.

As long as the question was one of interference with the Shia ceremonies on the days of Ashra, Chehlum and the 21st Ramzan, the Shia demand had a grain of reasonableness in it, in as much as rejoicings do wound mourners and it was on this ground that the Sunnis submitted before the Allsop Committee that they were willing to abide by all reasonable restrictions that are applied to the taking out of the funeral and marriage processions of non-Muslim people, as the Sunnis certainly did not intend to interfere with the Shia ceremonies. The Shias however adopted an extremely unreasonable attitude and raising the slogan of "National prestige in danger" magnified the whole question into one of life and death for their community. Thereafter, the hope for any reasonable attitude from the Shias languished. It is a matter for regret that even Sir Sultan failed to realise his responsibilities and just as in the past year a number of educated and distinguished Shias participated and supported the Tabarra movement and thereby furnished a convincing proof to the educated Sunnis of India of the fact that all the Shias, differences between their classes notwithstanding, were one in their extreme enmity for the Sahaba and that there was no one among them who did not throw all sense of decency to the winds in an orgy of calumny and vituperation, Sir Sultan himself gave in this very address his blind support to the Shia demands. This is an irrefutable proof of the fact that not a single follower of this grotesque cult is blessed with the virtues of moderation or tolerance.

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Sir Sultan has thought it fit to end his address with an appeal to the magnanimity of the Sunnis to give this right up of their own accord.

This appeal might have carried more weight than all the legal quibblings, historical hair-splittings and political wire-pullings of Sir Sultan, but we regret that his appeal has no chance of evoking any response for the following cogent reasons :—

(1) Since a year Sir Sultan himself is playing the role of a party to this dispute. Armchair politicians and the pleasure-seekers of Simla may not be aware of the fact and they may be won over by Sir Sultan and persons of his ilk into publishing any sort of statements they please, but the Sunnis of Lucknow know full well that Sir Sultan left no stone unturned to press the ridiculous demands of his co-religionists and to have the legitimate rights of the Sunnis trampled under foot. Sir Sultan's presidential address itself is a proof, if proof were needed, of his extreme unfairness and stark sectarianisim.

(2) The Shias of Lucknow, whose advocate Sir Sultan is, have left nothing undone during the last few years and specially since the year 1939 to wound deeply the religious sentiment of the Sunnis, to inflict grievous economic and physical losses on them, not even stopping at murder, and to trample on their legitimate rights, not only by compulsion and a horrid use of power, but also by adopting means that are extremely repugnant to all sense of decency and ill-befits any person who has any sparks of gentlemanliness and humanity left in his composition. The Sunnis have been put on their mettle now and have no feeling left for their implacable enemies, the Shias.

(3) After the resolution of the Shia All Parties Conference and of the crowded meeting held in the Asafuddaulah Imambara, it was announced on the morning of the 17th April by the Tanzimul Momineen with much show and ostentation that in

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deference to the views of the mujtahids and the leaders, it was decided to give up the Tabarra agitation and abandon the Mushaira (poetic contest) for the vilification of the Sahaba which had been previously announced. Duped by this announcement, the local authorities released the persons arrested for the offence of the Tabarra and some outside Muslim leaders were hoodwinked into publishing conciliatory statements and apeals for bringing about a settlement between the sects. These Muslims however did not know the Shias and the value to be put upon their word. In the same Imambara of Asafudaulah, the same Mushaira of vilification was held on the very night of the 17th of April and it was staged on a big scale by setting up loud-speakers on the roof of the Imambara. The move plainly was to inflict gashes on the hearts of the Sunnis living within the reach of the loud-speaker's voice and thereby to provoke them to violence. Even this was not enough for the malice of the Shias. Tabarra was written on the skins of the animals belonging to the Sunnis and during succeeding nights Tabarra was flung at the Sunnis from the roofs of the Shia houses in many a quarter.

(4) The words of Sir Sultan in his presidential address were:—

"*If I had not been leading the Shias to believe that this procession of the Madhe Sahaba would be the first and the last, there would certainly have been a riot on that date and rivers of blood would have flowed from both sides.*" (*pp. 15 and 16.*)

He also added as follows :—

"*I had requested the members of my sect to abstain from all such actions as may cause any disturbance in the meeting and the procession and that they were not to interfere with persons who wanted to go with a view to take part in this demonstration. My instructions resulted in the uninterrupted passage of the procession and the peaceful holding of the meeting.*" (*page 16.*)

There are some people who can run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Sir Sultan (and with him the other Shia leaders) on the one hand made a show of sweet reasonableness in the country by passing specious resolutions, and on the other hand, he conveniently forgot to repeat his last year's instructions to the 'members of his sect' to abstain from interference and mischief. The result of this Janus-faced policy was, that when the Shias realised that the Sunnis struck to their non-violence in spite of the repeated provocations, they started stray murderous attacks on the Sunnis in the night preceding the 12th of Rabiul Awwal, that night of nights, in the early morning of which the last of the Prophet was born to the world. These murderous attacks in the night were followed in the following morning with repeated assaults and showers of brickbats, and even bombs were thrown on the Sunnis when they were wending their way to the Idgah from their various quarters to participate in the procession. This was done in a number of such quarters in which the Shias had a large population and possessed big houses, and the roofs of the Shia houses were used as the pitching ground for these missiles. Matters assumed such proportions that the Shias clashed with the police and even the officials on duty could not escape unattacked.

The words of Sir Sultan thus came true that :—

"*A situation would be created in the next few days the omens of which can be found floating like specks of cloud in the atmosphere*" (*page 20.*)

And thus was realised his wish that :—

"*It is just possible that a few days of the next week may constitute a landmark in the history of my sect.*" (*ibid.*)

No one can venture to assert with any reasonable hope of being believed that the continually aggressive attitude adopted by the Shias from the 17th to the 20th April to wound the feelings of the Sunnis and to inflict material and physical losses on them were just a fortuitious conbination of sheer acci-

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dents. The Sunnis had not been responsible for one single new activity during this period and had disdained to pay any heed even to the crocodile tears shed by the Shias in passing their resolutions.

In spite of all the silence of the Sunnis, the Shias, without any rhyme or reason, ruthlessly discharged all the arrows out of their bow. It is a matter of extreme gratification that inspite of all this the Shias failed miserably in provoking the Sunnis to the extent of paying them back in their coin and thus leading to a riot in the city, which could be used as a pretext for stopping the procession of the 12th Rabiul Awwal. Nature itself came to the help of the Sunnis on the night of the 11th with a thunderstorm followed by showers of rain to damp the incendiarism planned by the Shias. Although the Sunnis were extremely provoked by the murderous attacks of the Shias in the previous night, the morning of the 12th Rabiul Awwal witnessed their grim determination not to play in to the hands of their opponents by giving rein to their temper and they settled down to make preparations for the procession. This grim determination remained unshaken even though the Sunnis were attacked in numerous places while on their way to the procession with the flags of their mohalla associations and a number of them were wounded; a young bhishti even fell a martyr to Shia ferocity. In spite of all this fury which was let loose on the Sunnis, they persevered in remaining peaceful to the end and took out the mammoth procession which was unprecedented in its magnificence. The authorities and the English papers gave varying figures of the actual processionists, ranging their estimate from 50 to 80 thousands. Excepting the Shias, all other non-Muslim sects in the city were profusely represented among the thousands of spectators who lined the route of the procession and listened to the praises of the Caliphs. Many a people, Muslim as well as non-Muslim provided iced drinks for the processionists and erected gates on the route to welcome them.

Sir Sultan, and all those who put forward the claim that they feel for the Muslims and have really and truly the cause of Shia-Sunni amity at heart, should give their attention to the following points as well, over and above what has already been stated:—

(1) Just as the Shias, according to their beliefs, owe allegiance to their Imams, next to the Prophet, exactly to the same degree, the Sunnis consider it to be essential to their religion to hold up the great Caliphs and the other prominent Sahaba as their ideal. If the Shias seek to serve the interests of their sect by commemorating the achievements of their Imams, and by reciting their praises keep the memory of their religious leaders alive and create a yearning among themselves to follow in the footsteps of their Imams, just in the same manner and to the same extent, the Sunnis consider it as vitally necessary for their religious life to commemorate their religious leaders and to put their virtues and mighty services to Islam before the world repeatedly, and thereby to create a fervent desire in the Sunni hearts to follow in the steps of these illustrious personalities.

(2) The Sunnis have never done nor can they possibly do any propaganda which is adverse to the Imams, more particularly to Hazrat Ali, Hazrat Hassan and Hazrat Hussain, while the Shias propagate one calumny after another against our religious leaders.

If it is essential for the Shias to praise publicly their Imams in order to hold them up as an ideal for themselves, it is doubly necessary for the Sunnis to recite praises of their religious leaders and to recount their feats in the cause of Islam, not only to hold them up as their ideals, but also to refute the baseless charges levelled against them by the Shias.

(3) No one has the right to forbid what God has sanctioned. When, out of deference to the wishes of one of his wives, the Prophet stopped taking honey, he was admonished by God

in a revelation telling him that even he could not choose to hold as being forbidden what God had permitted.

Prominent Sunni Ulemas have given *fatwas* not, only holding Madhe Sahaba to be right and lawful in accordance with their religion, but also as being incumbent upon the Muslims in the present circumstances of the case. It is therefore obvious that the Sunnis cannot give up the Madhe Sahaba, to please the Shias. If, Heaven forbid, they are forced to give it up there is a real danger of there coming a day when they would have to forswear the cow-sacrifice and even the offering of the Namaz (prayer) and the calling of the Azan in their mosques.

(4) In order to effect a compromise, there must be a spirit of give and take on both sides. There can be no peace unless and until both the parties to the dispute evince a conciliatory attitude and cultivate the essential virtue of tolerance. The tolerance of the Sunnis can be convincingly established from the fact that, even during the last 4 years of extreme strain on inter-communal relations no single instance can be cited of any interference by them with the Azan or the mourning activities of the Shias. The Shias held their Majlisses day and night, as of old, and all along took out their Tazias, Alams and Taboots and illuminated their Imambaras.

Unlike the Shias, the Sunnis did not show even so much of intolerance as to hold any counter Milads just to disturb and defeat the Majlisses held by the Shias, though the Shias did actually hold any number of counter Majlisses at different places just to disturb the Sunni Milads. During these last 4 years the Shias have extended the period of their mourning by practically one full month by including the first Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays of each lunar month, but the Sunnis raised no protest against this innovation. The Sunnis have protested only when Tabarra has been recited in their hearing or to their knowledge.

It is nothing but Tabarra that had been the cause of all the riots in Lucknow since the year 1907 . The Sunnis are always excited to desperation by Tabarra and are then ready to face death even. During the period of the last 35 years no single instance of any interference by the Sunnis with any Shia meeting or procession can be cited, provided of course that such functions were not tainted with the provocation of Tabarra and were confined to the usual peaceful ceremonies. The Shias, on the other hand, have been continually adopting an aggressive attitude. They started with adding the clause of *khalifatuhu bila fasl* to their Azan, though this was not done even in the times of the Shia rulers of Oudh. Then they went a step further and began to recite this clause even along with their funeral processions. The Shias and the Sunnis had a common Kerbala for a long time, but later on, in spite of the Sunnis and the Hindus, and without even consulting them, they introduced such changes in the arrangements relating to the Kerbala that the Sunnis had to arrange for a separate Kerbala of their own. It was to this place that the Hindus also used to take their Tazias though later on they gave up the practice of keeping the Tazias altogether. Since the time of the Nawabs of Oudh the Sunni dignitaries had become used to the practice of attending the Majlisses held by the Shia notables. It must however be acknowledged that in these Majlisses the religious susceptibilities of the Sunnis were duly respected. Later on, when the Sunni dignitaries saw that the Majlisses held even by the better class of Shias were not free from Tabarra and the Shia speakers at these Majlisses openly made insolent attacks on their religious leaders, the Sunni notables, not finding it in themselves to put up with such intolerant indecencies, gradually refrained from attending them. Now only such Sunnis care to attend these Majlisses as have an axe of their own to grind or are dead to all sense of religious self-respect.

It were the Shias themselves who provoked the Sunnis by reciting Tabarra in the Chowk and when it led to a riot, they ran up to the Government and by resorting to wire-pulling

and toadyism brought about the imposition of restrictions on the Madhe Sahaba. As would have been obvious from the extracts given from the Piggott and the Allsop Committee reports, the Government had imposed restrictions only for three days in the year (pp 22 above). The ready access of the Shias to the ear of the authorities brought about the extension of these restrictions for all the 365 days in the year in actual practice. The climax was reached in the time of the Shia city magistrate, Mr. Abu Talib Naqvi, when the Juloosi Muhammadi of the 12th Rabiul Awwal could not be taken out as prohibition was imposed upon the recitation of the Madhe Sahaba in the procession. The Shias even protested when a few days later such verses of the Quran were recited with the Juloosi Muhammadi as contained the praises of the great Caliphs When, as ill chance would have it, Mr. Naqvi became the offg. Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow for a period of just two weeks, people were arrested even for reciting Madhe Sahaba inside a house. Matters went to such a length in the regime of Mr. Naqvi and the City Kotwal, Sirdar Sunder Singh, that when a pandal was erected to hold a Milad by the roadside and the names of the Caliphs were displayed on the gate constructed for the occasion, the Shias rushed up to the authorities with their protests and the names of the Caliphs had to be taken down. During the time of the same Kotwal, the atrocity of arresting the Sunnis for reciting Madhe Sahaba in a mosque and of locking up a blind mendicant in the jail who begged for alms by reciting Madhe Sahaba, was perpetrated and this was done in the face of the express findings of the Allsop Committee (vide page 26 above).

The mischief of assembling, ostensibly to hold a Majliss, but in reality to shout Tabarra close to Sunni Milads whereever they were held, was also started at this time. This made it impossible for the Sunnis to hold their Milads in peace. Some of these facts are admitted even in a Shia booklet called "The Awakening of the Shias."

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Thanks to the complaints of the Shias, even in a central place like Lucknow the post of the city Kotwal has been reserved for non-Muslims and there has been no Muslim kotwal for the last 35 years and it will not be surprising if the hurricane propaganda, started by the Shias after their achievements of the 12th Rabiul Awwal, ends in a convention that Lucknow shall never get a Muslim as its city Magistrate or Deputy Commissioner.

The Shias display extreme intolerance on the one hand and, on the other hand, demand that the Sunnis should give up the Madhe Sahaba in their meetings and Milads and also abstain from taking out the one single procession throughout the whole course of the year that is taken out under the eyes of the authorities according to the communique published by the Congress Ministry. And this demand is made in spite of the fact that the route that was allotted to the procession for the two occasions that it could be taken out, is at a considerable distance from any of those quarters in which the Shias live.

(5) Many people really never care to try and ascertain the true nature of the Shia demands and in their ignorance raise a hue and cry in the name of Islamic unity and toleration. If these persons were to get down to facts with a cool mind the real nature of the whole question would become apparent.

The Shias made a start by manufacturing "facts" and publishing false "traditions" and then gave these concocted myths the name of history. Having thus paved the way, they started spreading queer and bizarre beliefs against the Caliphs based on fictitious stories and, the wonder of wonders is, that they now want the Sunnis to show respect to these lies and not to tell their illiterate and ignorant co-religionists who these personages really were. For one of these personages the Holy Prophet said that "next to the Prophets he was the best among the men"; for the other the Prophet said that" he would surely have been a Prophet if there had been any Prophet to come after himself." The Holy Prophet also said of the third that

"he would be his companion in heaven". The Shias want that the Sunnis should not be told of the virtues and the brilliant achievements of these personages, of the services they rendered to Islam and the way in which humanity, in general, and the Muslims, in particular, can benefit by trying to emulate the standard of conduct set by them, and how spiritual and temporal benefits can be derived by followig in their footsteps.

In other words, the Shias demand that the Sunnis should deny in practice, and proclaim in effect, that those books of traditions are false and unreliable by the help of which they have learnt to interpret the Quran, have gained knowledge of facts relating to the life of the Prophet and built up all that edifice of Islamic teachings which is called Shariat or the Muslim law. By this demand the Sunnis are in fact asked, God forbid, to give the lie to the Prophet and to spurn his orders and instructions.

Tolerance and Islamic unity indeed!

Even a prejudiced historian and critic like Sir William Muir had to say of Hazrat Abu Bakr in his "Caliphate, Its Rise and Fall" (page 88, Third edition)

"After Mohammad himself there is no one to whom the faith is more beholden."

The editors of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (Vol III p. 984) speak of Hazrat Omar in the following strain:—

"He was really, as has been said, the second founder of Islam, he who gave the edifice, erected by the religious inspiration of Mohammad, its social and political framework."

And "tolerance" and "Islamic unity" demand that the praises of such great benefactors of humanity should be taboo and the narration of their splendid achievements and tributes to their illustrious personalities shnld be held to be a heinous offence, while calumniating them and pronouncing Tabarra and curses upon them should be exalted as a virtue!

The Shias allow themselves the right to commemorate their Imams in public places, in meetings and processions and to shout their names to the sky; all the different communities in India, down even to the so called depressed classes, can celebrate the memories of their leaders, nay even the Muslims are conceded the right to commemorate the memories of leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohamad Ali, Doctor Ansari, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mustafa Kamal and others and to hold public meetings and take out processions in their honour, but as soon as they start celebrating the Abu Bakr day, the Omar day or the Osman day and try to hold a meeting or arrange a procession, the Shias at once make a show of extreme intolerance and go even to the length of playing with human lives to show off their rancour towards them.

Were we to stop honouring these personages, will not this obviously mean that we too accept the calumnies of the Shias and agree with them in holding that these personages were not deserving of the honour bestowed upon them by the Prophet, while those entities, who took pride in calling themselves the slaves of these Caliphs, are deserving of praise and devotion. May God save us from such an evil!

(5) The Shias have been trying continually to bring the Madhe Sahaba and the Tabarra on the same level; they want that just as Tabarra is an indecent act and a punishable offence, Madhe Sahaba should also be declared to be an offence, and, if this effort fails, they want their Tabarra to intimidate the Sunnis into giving up the Madhe Sahaba.

The Shias may think what they like of their Tabarra but the Sunnis can never tolerate it, nor can they admit that it can be placed on the same level as Madhe Sahaba. Ignorance, sheer lack of sense or some overpowering influence might make an Allsop or any other non-Muslim to put these two things on the same footing, but all such rotten documents or pronouncements will absolutely fail to serve the ends of the Shias. The

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Sunnis consider all such efforts to be an insult to their religion and absolutely intolerable, be these efforts from the side of the Shias or the Britisher or from any other non-Muslim quarter.

Sir Sultan Ahmad has referred to Tabarra at one place in his presidential address. He says :—

"*Tabarra means aloofness and the severance of connection and Lanat means prayer to invoke the discontinuance of the Divine blessing. The word Tabarra finds place in the Quran and does not mean abuse.*" (*page 15.*)

Suppose we shut our eyes for a moment to what Sir John Hewett had to say about the Tabarra in his resolution (vide page 23 above) and to the fact that the Shias were convicted by the courts for the offence of Tabarra in Lucknow, Fyzabad and Saharanpur and suppose we accept the interpretations trotted out by Sir Sultan, will Sir Sultan and his Shias be prepared to tolerate the pronouncing of the Tabarra and "*Lanat,*" for example, on that Imam of theirs who has disappeared without leaving any trace of his whereabouts, on their third martyr, on their mujtahids, or even on their ancestors. How apposite is the following verse from the poet:—

"*A gentleman is false to his code of honour if he does to others what he does not want others to do to him.*" (*Ghalib.*)

We will end up with the respectful submission that, if Sir Sultan or any other person, wishes to bring about peace and compromise between the Shias and the Sunnis, the proper approach to the question is not to come forward with blind advocacy for the Lucknow Shias and with encouragement for their senseless desire of trying to force the Sunnis to give up their ordinary personal and civil rights, which, by the way, are conceded to all the castes and creeds in India, without a single exception and which they all enjoy, more or less. The proper way would be to check the Shia tendency to extremism, to put a stop to their aggressive actions and to bring their

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demands within the reasonable limits of moderation. The Shias have the examples of His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and of Imam Yahya, the King of Yemen, before them. If the Shia leaders follow in the footsteps of these Shia rulers and give a correct lead to their followers, time would slowly heal the wounds that have been inflicted on the Sunni hearts by the incessant aggressiveness of the Shias.

The faith of the Sunnis in the teaching of the Holy Quran that "good lies in the way of peace" would then gradually bring about a change in their mood and the way for peace and compromise would become easy.

We clearly announced in the Pioneer of May 26, 1939 that, if a proper atmosphere were created the Sunnis would be found ready to listen to all reasonable pourparlers for peace.

The Shias, however, spurned the offer and their attitude made it obvious that to them compromise means just this much, and nothing more, that the Suunis must bow down to the Shia demands, renouncing all their rights, and concede to the Shias all the royal prerogatives of the days of Wajid Ali Shah. When the Shias raise the ill-timed slogan of *status quo*, they mean just this and nothing less.

The world has travelled far by now. The last world war introduced a number of changes in the geography of the earth. Many a kingdom tottered to its fall and new ones have risen in their places. What this war will bring about no one can yet foresee. Time is bent on taking its relentless course. Even in conservative India itself there have occurred a number of changes, because India too, like all else in this world of ours, is subject to the eternal law of change. It is surely too late in the day to expect the Sunnis to acquiesce in the worn out orders of 1909, and still less in the interpretation put upon it by some of the flattery-loving authorities; the Shias want however this to be the last word in the matter. This acquiescence would to all intent and purposes amount not only to the complete renunciation of their religious injunctions by the Sunnis,

but to the renunciation of their national objective and their civil rights, as well.

The Shias have been deluded by their misguided friends into the fond belief that the Sunnis can be bullied and cowed down by riots and bloodshed and that the Government can be so impressed by their false propaganda and can be made to be so fed up with facing one riot after another, that it would deprive the Sunnis of their legitimate and recognised rights. This is just the reason why since 1936 the Shias have been holding out threats after threats of turning the city into a river of blood and this is why they have been creating frequent disturbances on such occasions as suit their purpose. As far as the Sunnis of Lucknow are concerned, we want to assure all the Shias in India that, instead of being cowed down by these riots and the losses in men and money, the courage and fortitude of the Sunnis is steadily developing and they are becoming more and more determined in their aims. The more the Shias exhibit obstinacy and rancour against the Sunnis and the greater their mischief and malice becomes, the more will the Sunnis go on organizing themselves for the defence of their rights and will soon have nothing but bitterness left for the Shias.

Had the Congress Government been bullied by the Shias into withdrawing their communique of the 31st March, or should any other Government at any time ever decide to adopt such a course succumbing to the flattery of the Shias, falling a prey to their wiles or merely to escape administrative difficulties, the injustice would not only react as a shattering blow to the prestige of the Government but the action itself would prove absolutely futile; the Sunnis would never tamely submit to the flouting of their religious sentiments or to the usurpation of their admitted right. It would be premature, and out of place besides, to prognosticate at this stage what course the Sunnis will adopt in the case of such eventuality. We do not attach any value whatsoever to the Shia threats and will

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therefore disdain from copying their method of reeling off one violent ultimatum after another. As a matter of fact we can never bear the idea of exciting the people to violence, but this much we can say without any hesitation, that short of abusing such religious leaders of the Shias as the Sunnis themselves venerate, the Sunnis will stop at nothing which is not actually forbidden by their religion and which may become necessary for defending their rights.

To show off their tolerance and in blissful ignorance of the true state of affairs in Lucknow, some Sunni leaders indulge in launching out occasional appeals. We would humbly invite them to Lucknow to gain a first hand knowledge of the actual facts of the case. They must also see all that filthy literature that is published by the Shias about the first three Caliphs and the wives of the Prophet, which in turn furnishes material for the equally filthy publications of the Rajpal type of non-Muslims. If even then these leaders have any hankering left in their hearts for the Shia-Sunni unity, we feel definitely sure that they would be compelled by their own consciences to support our following demands and would themselves try to bring round the Shias to agree to them, just and moderate as these demands are:—

(1) The Shias must admit that the great Caliphs and the other Sahaba are the religious leaders of the Sunnis, and, as such, the Sunnis are entitled to narrate the heroic incidents and glorious achievements of these leaders and to recite their praises in public places—subject of course to the proviso that such narration does not interfere with the ceremonies relating to the other religions and that they remain within the four corners of the law.

(2) The Shias must announce that they will not utter, to the knowledge and within the hearing of the Sunnis, even a word of Tabarra against any of these personages and will control their newspapers and journals, their speakers and poets and even their masses and will put a stop to their uttering even

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derogatory remark or insinuation against them. They must also announce that they put an end for all times to such actions as are perpetrated on certain occasions to defame the memory of these Sahaba.

(3) The Shias must also promise that they would never interfere with any Sunni meeting or procession, nor with any legitimate and lawful step that the Sunnis might take to reform the beliefs and the practices of their community or to improve their spiritual or temporal well being.

When the Shias have effected this change in their attitude, then and then alone will the Sunnis be completely convinced that the Shias would no more wound their religious sentiments and susceptibilities nor would they take advantage of their influence and organisation to try to invade any of the legitimate rights of the Sunnis. Then and then alone will there be a proper atmosphere for peace and the way for a compromise would be paved. When that stage has been reached, the Sunnis would be willing to listen to any suggestions which are made in the spirit of a fair give and take or in the name of human fraternity.

Failing this, all talks of unity and Islamic solidarity are so much waste of breath.

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Ganga Fine Art Press, Lucknow.

JUNE, 1940.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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BHARATIYA ITIHAS PARISAD

(Anjuman-i-Tarikh-i-Hind)

Registered, April 1940

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION

AND

RULES & REGULATIONS

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BHARATIYA ITIHAS PARISAD

Memorandum of Association

NAME

1. The Association will be known as the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad (Indian Academy of History).

OBJECTS

2. The B. I. P. shall have the following as its objects :—

(*a*) To produce a comprehensive authoritative history of India.

(*b*) To keep in touch with the progress of Indian historical research, to synthetise its results and to revise Indian history in their light from time to time.

(*c*) Search, collection, preservation and study of the original sources of Indian history.

(*d*) To synthetise studies in various branches and aspects of Indian history and archæology and for the purpose of such synthesis to arrange conferences and provide other facilities to students working in the different fields for mutual consultation and collaboration.

(*e*) Study of Indian geography, ethnology, anthropology, linguistics and also of Indian civilization, culture and art, etc.

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(*f*) To produce an authoritative gazetteer of India in Hindi.

(*g*) To record the results of the above-mentioned studies, generally in Hindi and other Indian languages.

(*h*) To produce authoritative and popular works on Indian history and other Indian studies in Indian languages, *viz.*, Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Telugu, Tamil, Sinhalese, Malayalam, Kannada, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi, Pashto, Kashmiri and Nepali.

(*i*) For the fulfilment of the above-mentioned objects, to establish libraries, laboratories, museums, schools, classes etc., or when asked, to supervise and offer advice to the previously existing libraries and such other institutions, arrange lectures, educate and train students, help with stipends and honoraria students and scholars, publish journals, periodicals or books, and affiliate and collaborate with other institutions.

(*j*) To acquire, hold and disburse funds and other properties moveable and immoveable for the attainment of its objects and do any other thing conducive to the above-mentioned objects.

NOTE :—In the terms of these objects India includes Greater India whenever necessary.

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PROVISIONAL COUNCIL

3. Until the various organs of the B. I. P. are duly constituted the following will act as its Provisional Council and may discharge all the functions of its Council :

1. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, *Patna*, RECTOR;
2. Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Darjiling*, PRESIDENT;
3. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, *Baroda*, VICE-PRESIDENT;
4. Syt. G. S. Sardesai, *Kamshet, Poona*, MEMBER;
5. Syt. Shiva Prasad Gupta, *Benares*, MEMBER;
6. Kumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinha, *Sitamau*, MEMBER;
7. Syt. S. V. Puntambekar, *Benares*, MEMBER;
8. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *Calcutta*, MEMBER;
9. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Madras*, MEMBER;
10. Syt. Shrinath Sah, *Durgakund, Benares*, TREASURER;
11. Syt. Jay Chandra Vidyalankar, *Benares*, SECRETARY.

Rules & Regulations

THE ASSEMBLY

1. The B. I. P. shall be constituted as an Assembly, with the following as its constituents :—

(i) Rector,
(ii) Honorary members,
(iii) Corresponding members,
(iv) Life-members,
(v) Associates,

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(vi) Representatives of allied bodies,
(vii) Subscribing members, and
(viii) Sympathisers.

2. An ordinary session of the B. I. P. shall be held once every year. The business of the annual session shall be to review the work of the preceeding year, plan and settle the lines of work for the ensuing year, consider various academic problems and issues connected with its studies, elect office-bearers, allocate work amongst different departments, appoint committees consisting of honorary corresponding and life-members and associates for specialized works, consider and sanction budget of income and expenditure, and so on. The Council (as defined in rule 15 *infra*) shall organise and regulate the work on the lines laid down by the Parisad in its annual session.

THE RECTOR

3. Dr. Rajendra Prasad will be the Rector of the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad for the first five years of its existence, and may be re-elected to that office by its Assembly. On his office falling vacant, the Council shall propose one of their members as Rector, who will be elected to the office for three years at a time on receiving sanction of the Assembly. A retiring rector will be entitled to re-election. The Rector of the

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Parisad shall be the chairman of its Assembly and Council.

THE HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

4. Scholars of repute whose authority in any particular branch of research is recognised, may be elected by the council as the Parisad's honorary members. The Parisad's life-members may also be elected honorary members. The honorary members will enjoy all the privileges of the class A members.

5. The Council may elect as corresponding members, scholars who may from time to time help the Parisad with advice on specialized subjects of research and study.

THE LIFE MEMBERS

6. *(a)* Any person pledging himself or herself to at least fifteen years exclusive service of the B. I. P. through study and research during which period he or she shall undertake to observe the discipline of the Parisad and accept for his or her livelihood the honorarium fixed by the B. I. P.'s Council, may be initiated by the Council as a life-member. The initiation shall be complete by the candidate writing and signing the pledge and the Council approving the same.

(b) Before approving a person as life-member, the Council may require him or her to undergo

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a period of apprenticeship with any honorary, corresponding, or life-member or associate. The Rector or the life-members will have the authority to dismiss an apprentice at any time without assigning any reason for the act.

(c) The first two or three years of every life-member's term of service shall ordinarily be assigned as his or her training period, during which he or she shall be required to produce some specified original thesis. Life-members, who in the opinion of the Council may have produced such original work before joining the Parisad may be exempted by the Council from such training period.

THE ASSOCIATES

7. Persons, who, without joining the B. I. P. as its life-members undertake specified studies or researches according to its scheme, and submit from time to time the results of such studies in writing to the Parisad may be elected by the Council as its Associates.

THE ALLIED BODIES

8. Literary, educational or research institutions may be affiliated to the Parisad as its allied bodies on receiving the Council's sanction. Every allied body shall be entitled to send one representative to the Parisad's Assembly. Affiliation-fee for an allied body shall be Rs. 100/- per annum. The

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allied bodies shall receive, like the vice-patrons, all publications of the parisad free.

SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS AND SYMPATHISERS

9. Persons contributing specified subscriptions to the Parisad's funds may be enrolled as its members, and may belong to one of the following classes :–

   (a) Those contributing Rs. 500/- per annum shall be known as patrons ;

   (b) Those contributing Rs. 250/- per annum shall be known as vice-patrons ;

   (c) Those contributing Rs. 100/- per annum shall be known as class A members ;

   (d) Those contributing Rs. 12/- per annum shall be known as class B members.

10. Persons contributing Rs. 4/- per annum to the Parisad's funds shall be known as its sympathisers.

11. Twenty times the amount of any kind of subscription paid by an individual or body within a period of two years shall be considered as payment of the same for the period of his, her or its existence.

12. Patrons, vice-patrons, and class A members shall be entitled to be represented by duly authorised proxies in the meetings of the B. I. P.'s Assembly.

13. Patrons, vice-patrons and class A members shall be entitled to receive all publications, and class B members and sympathisers, the journal of the Parisad free. Class B members may be allowed

a discount on other publications and may also receive some of them free. The details in this respect shall be settled by the Council.

THE LIFE MEMBERS AND THE COUNCIL

14. The Life-members shall ordinarily meet once in every quarter for reviewing the progress of their work and for other business. The Life-members will commence functioning as a body when there are at least three of them.

15. The B. I. P.'s Assembly shall every year appoint a Council, which shall be responsible for the regulation and administration of all the affairs of the Parisad and for maintaining the discipline of its life-members and apprentices.

The following shall constitute the Council :—

(i) The Rector ;

(ii) The President and the Vice-President (*vide* rule 19 *infra*) ;

(iii) Another representative of the honorary members when their total number exceeds 20 ;

(iv) One representative or two representatives of the corresponding members, according as their number is up to 20 or more ;

(v) Four representatives of such Associates who are at least of three years' standing and who have contributed at least two major original theses, which have been approved by the Council, provided that when the total number

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of such Associates is less than 35, their representatives to be $\frac{1}{10}$ of the total number; provided also that upto the year 1942, Associates who are not of three years' standing may also vote in the elections ;

(vi) Three to seven life-members who have completed their training period, elected by the Life-members ;

(vii) One representative of the allied bodies ;

(viii) One representative or two representatives of the patrons, vice-patrons and class A members, according as their aggregate number is less or more than forty ;

(ix) One representative or two representatives of the class B members and sympathisers according as their aggregate number is less or more than two hundred.

16. The properties of the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad shall be managed by its Council. All the properties of the B. I. P. shall vest in it as a corporate body and no member of its Assembly in his or her individual capacity, nor heirs, executors or assigns of any such member shall have any claim on them or part of them.

17. The Council shall ordinarily meet once in every half year.

OFFICE-BEARERS

18. Besides the Rector the B. I. P. shall have the following office-bearers :—1. President, 2. Vice-

President, 3. Secretary, 4. Assistant Secretary, and 5. Treasurer.

19. The president and the vice-president shall ordinarily be elected from the honorary members. All studies of the Parisad shall be conducted under their guidance.

20. The Life-members shall propose a secretary and an assistant secretary from amongst their number. The proposed persons shall receive the said offices on being elected to them by the Assembly. Only a life-member who has completed his or her training period shall be eligible as secretary. The treasurer shall be elected by the Assembly in its annual meeting from amongst its subscribing members or representatives of the allied bodies.

21. The secretary of the Parisad shall be secretary of its Council as well, and chairman of the Life-members. The assistant secretary of the Parisad shall be secretary of the Life-members.

BYE-LAWS AND CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION.

22. The Council may frame any bye-laws or rules according to and in the spirit of this Constitution.

23. No change in the rules of this Constitution shall be effected unless it is supported by the votes of the ¾ of the members of the B. I. P.'s Assembly present in its meeting or by the votes of ⅔ of the members of the Assembly present in two successive meetings.

Babu Rajendra Prasad issued the following appeal for the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad in July 1938 :—

Behind our struggle for political freedom lies the great urge of an Indian Renaissance for the all-round regeneration—political, social, economic and cultural—of our race. It is indeed a healthy sign of this Renaissance that an increasing number of our scholars is being attracted to the study and elucidation of our nation's history. For the study of history is a nation's self-retrospection, its longing to know its own self by understanding its past in order to obtain guidance for its future. And a live and healthy nation must be able to devote a reasonable proportion of its talent and scholarship to this essential function.

Indian scholarship in the domain of History has during the past decades reached a high level. But side by side with the progress of research and the coming to light of new material there has been growing in the leading workers all over India a keen feeling of the need of a national agency to co-ordinate the labours of detached workers engaged in different branches of this vast subject and to organise and direct fresh research in the light of such co-ordination and synthesis from the Indian point of view. Moreover the growing national consciousness of our masses requires that the scholars engaged in the research of our nation's history should record the results of their labours in our own languages as well.

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It was with these objects in view that my valued friends, the late lamented Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Syt. Jaychandra Vidyalankar, conceived and planned a scheme for a national institute for preparing a synthetic history of India and for co-ordinating and directing research in Indian history from the Indian point of view. I readily fell in with the plan. A detailed scheme was circulated amongst some friends, and finally a conference of scholars met in December last at the Bharat Mata temple, Benares, under the presidentship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and inaugurated the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad.

The response which we have had from scholars in India and Ceylon has been very encouraging. Scholars of the first rank and of international reputation have agreed to join us and contribute their share in achieving the objective of the Parisad. Scholars are not wanting who would devote their lives to the cause in the spirit of national service. To get the best out of this splendid opportunity and make the best use of the spirit of co-operation and service, the Parisad needs funds, and I appeal to all those who are well placed and can help to come forward with handsome donations or enrol themselves as subscribing members to enable us to push forward this work of national regenaration.

Further inquiries on the subject may be made from Sriyut Jaychandra Vidyalankar, Secretary, Bharatiya Itihas Parisad, Benares.

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BULLETIN No. 4

PRISON REFORM IN U. P.

IS IT PAMPERING THE PRISONER?

Issued by U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society,
Council House, Lucknow

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INTRODUCTION

REVENGE is an old, a primeval instinct. It has governed the actions of individuals as of the society. As rightly pointed out by Godwin this fierce desire of the community, always to pursue and punish the refractory member of it, has coloured the whole history of our criminal law and administration. But it is equally true that we have made much progress and today the anti-social individual is not so much a problem of punishment as of psychology. Yet, many pepole are still governed by the orthodox conception. It is no surprise therefore that a certain class of people would not hesitate to characterize as "pampering the prisoner" all attempts at putting our prison system on a scientific basis. The report of the United Provinces Departmental Jail Committee, many of whose recommendations have been accepted by the Government, has too not escaped this criticism. In the following pages the main recommendations of the Committee have been examined with a view to prove that the criticism levelled is not only unjustified but misdirected.

GOPINATH SRIVASTAVA,
Chairman,
U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.

COUNCIL HOUSE:
Lucknow, March 4, 1939.

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PRISON REFORM IN U. P.

IS IT PAMPERING THE PRISONER?

MAN is born free: then why should there be any prisons at all is a question that often haunts the mind of great thinkers. Mankind in the earliest times made a short shrift of the criminal and needed no prisons. Later on with a greater development of education and ethics it was agreed upon that it was very hard and unfair to finish off a life for every breach of law. The prisons therefore came into existence as a midway between killing the criminal outright and allowing him the right of living free, and as it was opined that in order to maintain the peace and order in the community retaliation by the individual for a wrong done to him should be replaced by retaliation by the State the prisons were designed to that purpose. Life in them was extremely wretched and miserable. With the march of times prisons ceased to be the houses of retaliation and their retention was demanded in the name of the need of protecting the society from the depredations of the undesirables. Nothing more and nothing less. In order however to ensure against recidivism it was considered that prisons should be made an object of terror as it was thought that one stay in jail, however short or long, should be sufficient to keep back a man from those paths of life which lead to prison. This was a negative step and there is no wonder that it produced negative results. What was really needed was an affirmative effort inasmuch as the prison was to serve the following three purposes:

(1) to give a temporary relief to the society against the activities of the offender;

(2) to deter the criminal from similar acts; and

(3) to refit the offender for constructive work in life.

Thus society's attention got centred on the need for utilizing the period of imprisonment for reforming the offender and to refit him for life outside the jail to which in normal cases he was destined to return sooner or later.

In so far as the first object of giving temporary relief to the society is concerned the purpose is admirably served by the offender's detention behind the bars. The stigma of conviction and the unpleasant and

painful sense of confinement crippling the individual's liberty of action served the purpose of deterring the criminal from pursuits of crime.

Thus tortures and sentences, beyond those inherent and involved in the curtailment of liberty and the stigma of conviction, became absolutely superfluous and unnecessary. They tamed the man for the time being and made him a "good prisoner" but instead of helping the object of refitting the man for constructive living they actually retarded the chance for that. Somehow or other this last fact took a very long time to attract the attention of the authorities and till very lately the idea of prison life was that it should be a hell for the convict. Even now there are men who believe in making an example of a convict. Though the need for refitting the man is now widely recognized yet every attempt at humanizing jails is questioned by some people and labelled by them as short-sighted and improper. They see a snake in every act. They talk of the coddling of prisoners and of pampering them. Since the publication of the Departmental Jail Committee Report on the United Provinces Jails in January, 1939, it is now being said that the Ministry in the United Provinces is converting the jails into so many hotels and is putting a premium upon crime. "Discipline in danger" is a common slogan.

It is proposed in these lines to analyse what the Government of the United Provinces has, since the advent of the Congress Ministry, done for the convict and to see if that amounts to a pampering of the prisoners. It seems that no apology is needed for a brief reproduction of the departures made or proposed in the treatment of the prisoners. These are as follows:

A.—Classification and concentration of prisoners

Heretofore we had mixed jails. Hereafter prisoners of one class will be concentrated at one jail, to wit, juveniles in Borstal and juvenile jails, habituals in habitual jails, casuals in casual jails, Star class in star class jails, so on, and so forth.

B.—Diet

Proposals under this head are—

(1) Early morning meal will now be issued to undertrials and those undergoing simple imprisonment.

(2) Variety, in the early morning meal, which hitherto consisted of parched gram, shall now be effected by issuing *dallia*, *ghungni*, *gur* and parched gram on alternate days for the sake of a daily change.

(3) Arrangements have been made to ensure variety in the issue of *dals*.

(4) Special diet on chief festivals like *Holi* and *Id* and on days of religious fasting.

(5) *Gur* one chattak *per capita* will be given on *Holi* and *Id*.

(6) Fruits of annas 2 per diem thrice a week to the superior class of prisoners have been provided.

(7) Politicals of the B class can prepare their weekly *menu* within the standard expenditure of diet prescribed for them.

(8) The privilege of better food may be sanctioned by Government in special cases to C class also.

C.—Dress

(1) Life of cotton clothing has been restored to nine months instead of one year.

(2) Male prisoner shall have the option of substituting one *pyjama* instead of one of the two *jangiahs*. *Saris* to replace *lehnga* and *chaddar* in case of female convicts.

(3) Inmates of the juvenile jails and Borstal institutions shall wear *khaki* shirts and shorts in place of the ordinary prison dress.

(4) Three blankets instead of two will be given to each convict for use in winter.

(5) Prisoners over fifty and convict officers of every age shall get a waistcoat and a woollen *topa* in addition to their present dress.

(6) During the summer and the rains the prisoners shall have a cotton *chaddar* and a blanket.

(7) Prisoners suffering from enlarged spleen and hydrocele shall wear distinctive dress.

(8) Prisoners in hospitals will get a coat and a *pyjama* instead of a *kurta* and *jangiah*.

(9) Jail made soap in place of *sujji* shall be issued to convicts for washing their clothes.

D.—Drill

(1) Drill has been made compulsory in case of the juvenile prisoners.

E.—Education

(1) Primary education for all adults under the age of 50 has been made compulsory.

(2) Lantern lectures on morals, hygiene, health and other suitable subjects are allowed.

(3) Better libraries are now to be the order of the day.

(4) Rewards and concessions for encouraging literacy have been sanctioned.

(5) Training school for training convict teachers is going to be started.

(6) Religious teaching and music classes for juveniles have been arranged.

(7) For female prisoners training in handicraft, needle work, embroidery and crochet has been arranged.

(8) Big placards on different topics will be exhibited on the walls inside the barracks.

(9) Politicals shall have the use of one vernacular and one English daily and have the option of reading any number of books and newspapers at their own cost.

F.—Exercise and Games

(1) Introduction of physical exercises and games for the healthy recreation of the A and B class has been sanctioned.

(2) C class prisoners of the Central Prisons shall have games and exercises.

(3) Scouting, football, volley-ball, basket-ball, *kabaddi*, races, and other games have been introduced in the juvenile jail.

G.—Farms, etc.

(1) Dairying and seed-farming with extensive cultiva ion of the jail lands have been introduced to train convicts in the use of modern implements of husbandry and methods of cultivation.

H.—Health, Hygiene and Toilet

(1) Weekly supplies of mustard oil to the Sikhs and others who keep long hair on religious grounds.

(2) Body oil to prisoners for skin nutrition and as protection against mosquito bites.

(3) A comb with a weekly supply of a chattak of soap and a chattak of mustard oil as against half that quantity to females and prisoners with long hair.

(4) Every female ward to have one or two looking glasses.

(5) Permission to replace *churies* at their own cost has been given to females.

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(6) Release of females in advanced stages of pregnancy and if lifers on parol to avoid births inside the jails. Undertrials, if release impossible, will be treated by maternity nurses.

(7) Special arrangement will be made for bringing up the children with female convicts.

(8) Issue of sterilized rags to females during the period of menses to ensure cleanliness.

J.—Interviews and Information

(1) When a prisoner is transferred from one jail to another he can send a letter giving information of the change to his home.

(2) Legal advisers, friends and relations shall have better interview facilities specially in the case of newly convicted persons and relations coming from long distances.

(3) Letters will now be allowed at the rate of one in two months instead of one in three months.

K.—Labour

(1) Only the physically fit shall be put to hard labour and the weight of the prisoners shall be taken into consideration in assigning hard labour.

(2) Hollow bamboo handles to mills to decrease chances of blisters on hands have been provided.

(3) Castor seed pressing, oil extracting and water-lifting by the convicts manual labour have been stopped.

(4) Emyloyment of convicts for domestic and private service of the jail staff is prohibited.

(5) Females shall now be put on light labour during menses.

(6) Payment of wages to the prisoners is sanctioned.

L.—Punishments

(1) Solitary punishment as a court punishment is to be abolished.

(2) Flogging is now restricted to proved violence and mutiny or incitement thereto subject to the previous sanction of the Government.

(3) Use of the cross-bar fetters is restricted and reduced to seven days instead of ten days.

M.—Reformative

(1) *Panchayat* system to be introduced in jails.

(2) Remissions as incentives to those who take a keen interest in study.

(3) Extension of the rule of remission to short term prisoners.

(4) Three years good conduct without any punishment will entitle a prisoner to two months remission of sentence.

(5) Constitution of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society with district committees throughout the province.

(6) The inauguration of the Borstal institutions.

(7) Prisoners' Release on Probation Act.

N.—General

(1) Installation of the radio sets in Borstal, juvenile, Star class and the Tuberculosis jail, to begin with.

(2) Mass singing for half an hour every day for every prisoner.

(3) Smoking of *biris* and cigarettes at their own cost permitted to the undertrials and to convicts at the State cost of one pice for three days.

(4) Supply of *gur* to non-smokers.

(5) Undertrials shall not be deprived the use of their shoes.

Having briefly set out the changes we have now to see if these changes either collectively or individually amount to the pampering of the convict, and before attempting an answer to the question it seems only fit to know what "pampering" is. Now, in ordinary parlance to pamper is to "over-indulge or to spoil a person by kindness". It will follow that if you give a man his due you can neither be charged of over-indulgence nor of spoiling him through kindness. After this preliminary observation let us now look to the case which is put up by those who level the charge of pampering. They say that the convicts are mostly drawn from the scum of the society and in quite a substantial majority of crimes the causes for the offence are economic. Therefore by providing them a better diet, a better dress, a better house, and more conveniences in life than they did enjoy as free men you are creating a situation that will empty the slums and fill the prisons.

They therefore maintain that prisons ought to underbid the slums, and any deviation from this is to their mind a pampering of the prisoners. These gentlemen however shut their eyes to the fact that slums in Indian habitations were even prior to these changes worse enough not to attract anyone to them—on the basis of physical comforts—in preference to housing and living conditions inside the Indian jails, minus the sense of confinement in them. Moreover, if we stick to the policy of underbidding the life conditions outside the jails we shall have to keep in mind the worst of the slums as the standard for being underbidden by jails. This is so because recruits to crime come mostly from these habitations. Would it be, we put it to them, just and fair

to those who come under the clutches of the law from the middle class that they should be taken down to the same level as the slum people. The answer must definitely be 'No' if the standards of life outside the jail are to be the criterion and standard of the conditions inside the jail. There shall then be no uniformity of treatment. Will that conduce to the well-being of the prisoners or, for the matter of that will that advance the cause of discipline in the name whereof the changes are being objected to? It is therefore evident that if we keep in mind the condition of the poorest and the most oppressed slum dwellers in view we will realize that their conditions of life are so extremely wretched that "it would be impossible to run a prison *humanely* without making the lot of at least some of the criminals more eligible than that of many free citizens". The remedy as Bernard Shaw has rightly remarked "is not to make the prison worse but the slum better". We cannot help quoting copiously from Bernard Shaw's preface to "English Prisons" by Webb on this point. That learned writer says that "the moment the treatment of the criminal is decent and merciful enough to give him a chance of moral recovery, or, in incorrigible cases, to avoid making bad worse, the official descriptions of his lot become so rosy that a clamour arises against theives and murderers being better off than honest and kindly men; for the official reports tell us only of the care that is taken of the prisoner and the advantages he enjoys, or can earn by good conduct, never of his sufferrings; and the public is not imaginative or thoughtful enough to supply the deficiency. What sane man, I ask the clamourers, would accept an offer of free board, lodging, clothing, waiters in attendance at a touch of the bell, medical treatment, spiritual advice, scientific ventilation and sanitation, technical instruction, liberal education and the use of a carefully selected library, with regular exercise daily and sacred music at frequent intervals, even at the Ritz Hotel, if the conditions were that he should never speak, never sing, never laugh, never see a newspaper and write only one sternly censored letter and have one miserable interview at long intervals through the bars of a cage under the eye of a warder? And when the prison is not the Ritz Hotel, when the lodging, the food, the bed, are all deliberately made so uncomfortable as to be instruments of torture, when the clothes are rags promiscuously worn by all your fellow prisoners in turn with yourself, when the exercise is that of a turnspit, when the ventilation and sanitation are noisome, when the instruction is a sham, the education a fraud, when the doctor is a bully to whom your ailments are all malingerings, when the waiters are bound by penalties not to speak to you except to give you an order or rebuke

and then address you as you would not dream of addressing your dog, when the manager holds over your head a continual threat of starvation and confinement in a punishment cell, then what man in his senses would voluntarily exchange even the most harassed freedom with life in such a hotel". (English Prisons by Webb). It therefore emerges from the above that those who talk of pampering either lose sight of or find it convenient to forget the fact that the real punishment is confinement and loss of liberty. Punishment therefore continues all right notwithstanding the humanizing steps taken or proposed by the Government.

Reverting to the more important changes individually we find that most of them are too minor to receive notice here but there are some that can be called and are considered to be major changes Thus we find that under the heading classification, the idea of concentration of prisoners of one type in one jail marks an important departure. Upto now we had mixed prisons, but as evil society leads to evil habits the need for keeping one type of criminals removed from the influence of the other type has long been recognized, and as the allotment of barracks or circles alone, in the same jail, had not proved as effective segregation of one set from the other, as was required to ward off the evils of commenselity between habituals and casuals, politicals and non-politicals, juveniles and adults, tuberculars and healtly, etc., etc., the present Government has decided that there should be concentration of one type at one place. This will make the prisoners assembled at one place homogenous and their treatment will be a simpler matter. In a mixed jail different types need different treatment and it is impossible for the same set of officers to adopt in the same jail different standards of treatment. The concentration is therefore an improvement that will not in any way lead to any spoiling by kindness.

Next we come to diet and dress. The major changes under these heads are a supply of variety in diet with the provision of a third blanket in winter and a *chaddar* in summer. Men are sent to jail not to be made physical cripples. There is no justification for ruining a convict's health. It is a hard medical fact that to preserve body in good health and in a fit state to bear up and resist disease a variety in food is of the greatest consequence. Luxuries are out of question but a diet properly regulated and varied is necessary to preserve him in health. It is any day better to have a healthy prisoner than to have a sickly and emaciated prisoner because in the latter case in addition to the costs of medicine,

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he will need nutritious diet after the cure and will thus be an unnecessary and costly burden on the exchequer both during the period of his illness and after. All prison officers have at sometime or other recognized the importance of food to the prisoner. No grievance is more likely to combine a body of mal-contents in a jail than a grievance about food. Therefore variety is needed both on medical grounds and for administrative purposes. Prison dietary was never meant to be penal in its character nor was it ever intended that it should take the form of a punishment. The principle underlying the constitution of a jail dietary was that it should be sufficient to keep the prisoner in health and strength with absence of luxury and with due regard to economy. The cost of dietary in the United Provinces jails works out to rupees two and a few annas per head per month. The varieties that have been introduced will not lead to any extra cost. We leave it to the imagination of the readers to fix the measure of the luxury that may be achievable in a diet costing less than two annas a day. Diet expenses in the United Provinces jails are by far the lowest in the whole of India. If even after these conditions one is inclined to describe the prisons as luxurious establishments it is a sad commentary on the economic conditions outside the jails, but one has yet to see a prisoner who would prefer to stay, not a day but a minute, longer than the period required by the term of his sentence, inside the Jail.

Those who have contact with jails are aware of the fact that food is a constant topic of conversation, a plentiful source of complaint with consequent discontent among the prisoners. There is nothing to be wondered at because a convict has to take the same food years in and years out. He consequently loses his appetite and zest. Anyone who questions this experience may make a trial for himself and his verdict after a week and sometimes earlier would be that "no variety means no food.". It is admitted that with the quantity of food supplied by the jail a man normally gets well fed, possibly better fed than a free man outside the jail, but the free man is not bound by that monotony which has as far been the lot of the prisoner. He has the option to change and does change. Monotony deadens zeal and appetite. It is therefore contended that variety in food was the prisoner's due and its introduction would be ill-described if it is said that it amounts to pampering.

Similarly the supply of a morning meal to undertrials and prisoners undergoing simple imprisonment would not be pampering them. The urge for hunger is very acute in the hours of the forenoon. To make

the prisoners go hungry amounted to a partial starvation and that would be a punishment unjustified by the terms of the warrant under which they were held in jail.

Reverting to changes under the head dress one has to remember that ours is a mosquito-ridden province and in some parts has extreme climatic conditions. We have a severe cold season and a severe hot season. Outside the jails the poorest of the poor manage to ward off cold by either sleeping together or by the use of fire or *pial* (rice straw). The jail in underbidding the external conditions does not permit these amenities to the prisoners and instead keeps them in fully ventilated barracks throughout the year. The draught of the cold air makes the convicts shiver in their blankets and has an adverse effect on their health. The mosquito pest makes conditions unbearable for them during the summer and the rains. An additional blanket to protect them from cold and the *chaddar* to ward off mosquito bites were a real necessity. It would be idle to say that these constitute any over-indulgence. In fact these measures will lead to contentment and better health which are the two great assets for re-fitting a man for a re-entry in life.

The next minor item of change in the matter of dress is the optional substitution of a *pyjama* for a short and *sari* for a *lenhga* and a *chaddar*. The idea is to gradually approximate the jail dress to that worn by the people outside. Yet a third change in the matter of dress is the provision of a waistcoat and a woollen *topa* for convicts over 50 years of age and to convict officers of all ages. This is the whole of the story of the amenities in dress and means very little additional cost. At present the cost of clothing and bedding per head is less than annas five per month. We put it to the decriers of these changes if the cost of rupees three and annas twelve per year per head revolts against their sense of severity.

This brings us to drill, education, exercise and games. If the purpose of punishment were to make a greater wreck of a convict during his stay in the jail than he was at the time when he entered it, activities under these heads would certainly be uncalled for. Luckily for the society and for all concerned the common sense of the world revolts against any such notions and the minimum expected of a jail is that if it does not physically, morally and intellectually improve a man it will see that the man does not get deteriorated in any of these respects by his stay in a prison. Therefore all the activities aiming at making him more fit, more intellectual and well-behaved are,

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in spite of the ill-informed criticism, to be continued. Moreover with a drive for literacy going with full force outside the jails it was impossible not to introduce schemes for encouraging literacy in jails. It is true that Victor Hugo's dream of closing a prison as a consequence of opening a school has not yet materialized but in a country heading for democracy the need for an intelligent grasp of matters by every adult member of the society is a real necessity, and therefore education, whatever may be said by the critics thereof is not to be ignored. The present Government at any rate would not mind the charge of pampering if the extension of educational facilities is the ground for it. Drill keeps a man fit. Exercise develops a sound body which leads to a sound mind. Games build character and the rebuilding of character is the very essence and the very purpose of confinement in a jail. Only the short-sighted will ever object to these.

Health, hygiene, toilet and interviews are the next items where some changes have been introduced and a most cursory reading of the changes introduced would convince anybody that they have come a little too late. It is really a matter for some wonder why they were not effected long before now. For instance who will question the need of sterilized rags for females or their release in advanced stages of pregnancy ? Who will say that the issue of body oil or mustard oil in insufficient quantities was a better way of doing things, or who will advocate that interviews with legal advisers should be closely censored ? Let us, therefore pass on to the changes under the heads labour, punishments and reforms.

Under the head labour a salutary rule of putting only the physically fit to hard labour has been promulgated. Orders have been issued that convicts should not be put to castor-seed pressing, oil extracting and water lifting. The employment of convicts for private and domestic service of the jail staff has been prohibited. The former were unnatural jobs for a man and the latter debasing. Go to the country-side and you will find that bullocks do the former, the menials the latter. There was no justification for either of the two practices. Their continuance ignored the fact that punishment was only another name for loss of liberty and did not include these methods of torture.

Payment of wages to convicts is another significant move under this head. The idea is a natural sequence of commercializing the jails and has more than one advantage. Firstly, it is a substantial reply to the critics of commercializing jails. Hitherto jail products were not allowed to compete with the free labour outside the jails because it was asserted by the houses of business that convict labour being free

labour, the jail rates of their goods would be low and would adversely affect the wage standard outside. As a consequence men inside the jail could not get the requisite training in cottage industries and those of them who belonged to the artizan class were the greatest sufferers, for they lost much of their aptitude for the particular craft they knew by their inaction or being out of touch with that art in jail. This naturally meant reduction in chances of their rehabilitation. Secondly, convicts naturally took but little interest in the work assigned to them and this meant not merely the waste of their energy but also the waste of the public money spent on the material. Poor workmanship resulted. Payment of wages will remove this. Thirdly, the rate of production was very poor and this was due to lack of interest. It is now expected that wages will be a fair attraction and incentive for better production both in quality and quantity. Incidentally it will enable the Superintendent of Jail to form his opinion as to the capacity of the man for earning an honest living after release. The man himself will realize, if the measure of his work is poor, that he should put in more energy to achieve that standard which will make life conditions for him outside the jail easy. It will be quite a fair index of the chances of his rehabilitation for the guidance of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. Last, yet not the least, aspect of this matter is that the man shall have on the date of his release fairly sufficient funds to fall back upon and start life over again. In view of all these advantages this system of payment of wages has been introduced. So long as the convict is inside the jail he will be getting no cash and therefore upto the date of his release he will be living in the dreamland of hope—hope of a better life on return home, hope of a house and hearth in existence, and hope of opulence. Unlike the present-day convict who from behind the bars can take no care of his family, the prisoner of tomorrow will be in a position to contribute his mite for the welfare of his dependents. The prisoner in the past on return home nearly always and most particularly in cases he happened to be the sole bread-winner used to find that either the family had disbanded and decimated or it was reduced to emaciated skeletons of humanity as a consequence of poverty and lack of a bread-winner. Therefore in spite of there being no desire to stay a moment longer in jail than required by law his eagerness to get out was not very acute. The position hereafter will stand changed. He will be over-acute to go out and to get the earliest release. Thus the wage payment system will conduce to the development of the better side of him. It will not spoil him. On the other hand it will improve him.

Under the head punishments the stoppage of solitary confinement as a judicial sentence has been recommended. Even the most enthusiastic advocates of solitary confinement shall have to admit that it neither improves the health nor the mentality of the convict. It is conceivable that in the first few hours of solitary confinement, the man may repent for his conduct which led him to solitary confinement but as the time will pass on the devil in him shall flourish. There is much truth in the dictum that the devil gets hold of an idle brain. Admitting that the man will be doing some manual labour for a few hours out of the twenty-four, yet the rest of his time will be devoted to brooding, and brooding over one's misfortune is the worst enemy of voluntary effort at reformation.

Flogging another relic of barbaric age has been restricted to cases of proved violence and mutiny. This is in accord with the practice in English prisons. It may be of some interest to note that flogging in 1891 was resorted to in 586 cases in the United Provinces Jails as compared to 7 in 1938. The inference is that even without the orders of stopping it flogging was getting into desuetude. Its restriction therefore makes no very significant difference.

We must now come to cross-bar fetters. To those who are not conversant with the prisons it will probably be news that in no other province so many irons are used as in the United Provinces and it seemed that a halt to that practice was very much needed. The worst of the fetters were cross-bar fetters. They made living wretched and miserable and revolted against the scheme of rehabilitation. Their use has therefore been reduced and restricted.

We now come to the reformative measures, and of these the first one, namely the introduction of the *panchayat* system is very important. We are living in an age of democracy and as an ex-convict voter has as much to shoulder the responsibility of democratic government as a non-convict voter has it follows that training in the art of democracy, if it could be given, would be to the advantage of the society at large. This reason by itself is more than sufficient to justify the introduction of *panchayats* inside the jails. There are, however, other reasons also for their introduction. A jail *panchayat* would be a sort of a Mutual Welfare League. It cannot be denied that even at present leagues leading to gangs exist in jails. As they are not controlled and directed by jail authority they are generally subterranean movements and almost all subterranean movements are unhealthy. These accredited *panchayats* will therefore cut at the root of gang formations and will prove of

immense help to the jail authorities in the maintenance of discipline and in the matter of the treatment of individual prisoners. To illustrate the point it would be sufficient to say that if there existed a *panchayat* in a barrack authorized to report for punishment or for reward to any prisoner then the conduct of the inmates of the barrack would be more easily and accurately known to the jail staff than at present. Necessary treatment shall therefore be meted out to the man. To reject the scheme of *panchayat* because it would lead to the creation of a privileged convict class inside the jail would be ignoring the existing conditions. Even on the present day there is the privileged class, namely, the convict officer. If the latter's existence did not pamper the criminal, the former's should not. It is intended that the *panchayats* shall be divided into various sub-committees, that shall look after say sanitation, ration, labour, etc., etc. that may be declared to be their sphere. These will be elected bodies and their co-operation with the staff will make jail atmosphere healtheir and better.

The other important moves for reform are represented by the proposed establishment of the Borstal institutions, the inauguration of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and the enactment of the two Probation Acts. There is a vast literature on the utility of each of these subjects available to, and within easy reach of, anyone who might be interested in the study of the proposition. It is not therefore proposed to discuss these in detail in these columns. The remaining changes under this head do not call for a discussion here.

Under the head general we find tha t provision of radio sets in certain classes of jails has been recommended. It is wrong to think of a radio set in the terms of the music programme that forms part of it. Minus the music, radio is nothing but an extension of the system of lecturing and distributing news. We believe that before long a system of having a teacher for every class in a school room, at least in the case of grown-up boys, will, in the name of economy, have to give way to a radio set. One broadcast lecture from a radio station on the subject will meet the requirements of all. Exactly the same would apply to the prisoners collected in a barrack. The persistency with which it is expected the radio broadcaster will be telling them to improve themselves and to bring themselves in a line with the free people, would in the fullness of time stimulate them. Thus radio sets have a virtue which ought not to be ignored. Occasional music will also not be misplaced. Music has a very soothing effect and is known to have tamed even the wildest animals. Music touches chords of life and vibrates the man with fresh

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energy. Therefore if some music is released to them through the radio it will all be to their good. It is well to remember here that radio is being pressed in service for educating the masses in villages. Its use in jails will therefore be nothing out of the common. Half an hour of singing has also been recommended. This would be recreation after the day's drudgery and would relieve the pent-up feelings. Let us hope these measures will not spoil the prisoners.

Lastly, the provision to smoke is the change that has been effected. People conversant with the jails will have to concede that many a vice inside the jail was traced to the prohibition of the use of tobacco. The fact that tobacco used to be smuggled cannot be disputed. This was a vice that could not be stopped and this was a privation that the prisoner found it impossible to bear. He would do anything for a smoke or a chew. Bribery, sodomy, violence, back-biting and what not thrived inside the jails because of the rule against smoking. By permitting a smoke, which has for the Indian labourer a recreative effect the Government has cut at the very root of so many evils and has minimized the chances of the prisoners being spoiled. Therefore there is no pampering in this either.

Having discussed in detail as also collectively the various aspects of the changes let us now leave the subject to the verdict of experience.

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1939

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THE
Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co Ltd
LAHORE

NINETH

ANNUAL REPORT & ACCOUNTS

FOR

THE YEAR ENDING 31ST OCTOBER, 1939

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

MANAGING AGENTS

Messrs. Narang Bros. & Co., Ltd.

FACTORY

NAWABGANJ-DISTT. GONDA, (U. P.)

The Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co., Ltd.,

LAHORE

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ESTABLISHED 1932.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Authorised Capital, divided into 12,000 shares of Rs. 100 each fully subscribed ...	12,00,000	0	0
Paid up Capital upto 31st October, 1939 ...	11,99,529	10	3
Reserve Fund ...	4,00,000	0	0
Dividend Equalization Fund ...	*1,00,000	0	0

Directors

1. Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Kt. M. A., Ph.D., M. L. A., 5, Montgomery Road, Lahore
2. Dr. Shiv Datt, L. M. S., Rais, Baghbanpura.
3. Lala Kesar Ram Narang, Manager, Punjab Sugar Mills Co., Ltd., Ghughli (Gorakhpur).
4. Lala Des Raj Narang, B. A., LL. B., M. B. E., Manager, Basti Sugar Mills Co., Ltd., Basti (U.P.)

Managing Agents

NARANG BROTHERS & Co., Ltd.,
3 Montgomery Road,
LAHORE.

Manager

SETH KRISHAN DEVA
B.A., LL.B.

Secretary

L. Parkash Chand

Auditors

MESSRS. BASANT RAM & SONS, LAHORE.

Head Office :
3, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
Factory : Nawabganj, Distt. Gonda, U. P.

*This sum also includes Rs. 40,000 provided for in this year.

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THE
Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co., Ltd.,
LAHORE.

NOTICE

The 9th Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co., Ltd., will be held on Saturday, the 10th February 1940 at 5 P.M. at the Registered Office of the Company, 3, Montgomery Road, Lahore. Your presence is requested. In case you are unable to attend you may kindly send in your proxy on the enclosed form which should reach the office of the Company 72 hours before the meeting to be registered in time.

BUSINESS :—

1. Reading of the Auditors' Report.
2. Adoption of the Balance Sheet and the Directors' Report.
3. Election of Director.

   Dr. Shiv Datt retires but is eligible and is standing for re-election.
4. Appointment of Auditors for the year 1939-40.
5. Fixing remuneration of Auditors for the year 1939-40.

Note—The transfer books of the Company shall remain closed for 14 days from 28th January to 10th February 1940, both days inclusive.

By order of the Board,
Parkash Chand
Secretary.

LAHORE :
26th January 1940.

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THE NAWABGANJ SUGAR MILLS COMPANY, LIMITED, LAHORE.

Directors' Report for the year ending 31st October, 1939.

	Rs.	A.	P.
From the Balance Sheet it would appear that the net profit for the year ending 31st October, 1939, amounted to ...	1.70,098	2	3
The Directors recommend the appropriation of the amount as follows :—			
Dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum for the year ending 31st October, 1939, out of which *ad-interim* Dividend at 5 per cent. for the half-year ended 30th April, 1939, has already been paid ...	1,19,947	6	0
Dividend Equalization Fund ...	40,000	0	0
Charity Fund ...	4,150	12	3
Carried forward ...	6,000	0	0

The profit for the year has not been very satisfactory. The reason is that the floods during the rainy season of 1938 destroyed a good deal of the crop for the year 1938-39 with the result that we could only crush 1/3rd of the total crushing capacity of the mills. The recovery was also low as the cane which survived the floods had deteriorated and was of low quality. Full depreciation has not been shown on machinery as the mills worked only for a short period owing to scarcity of cane. It will be noticed that with the addition of Rs. 40,000 this year the Dividend Equalization Fund will stand at rupees one lakh.

The factory is working quite satisfactorily although even this year the crop is very short and cane is not available to feed the whole plant.

The Directors appreciate the good work done by the staff inspite of the unusual and adverse circumstances.

GOKUL CHAND NARANG
SHIV DATT
KESAR RAM NARANG
DES RAJ NARANG
} *Directors.*

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STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

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THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES.	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Capital :—		
Authorised Capital,		
12,000 Shares of Rs. 100 each Rs. 12,00,000		
Issued & subscribed Capital for payment in cash 12,000 Shares of Rs. 100 each Rs. 12,00,000		
Called up at Rs. 100 each	12,00,000 0 0	
Less calls in arrears	470 5 9	11,99,529 10 3
(*i*) *Due from Managing Agents* Nil.		
(*ii*) *Due from others* Rs. 470-5-9		
Reserve Fund ...		4,00,000 0 0
Dividend Equalization Fund ...		60,000 0 0
Charity Account ...		968 3 8
Unpaid Dividend and Interest payable to shareholders ...		3,345 14 9
Carried over ...		16,63,843 12 8

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SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY & ASSETS.	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Machinery :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	24,01,803 4 11	
Additions during the year	18,768 14 6	
	24,20,572 3 5	
Less sale-proceeds and rebate, etc. ...	2,914 12 0	
	24,17,657 7 5	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	5,88,649 15 8	18,29,007 7 9
Tools and Plants :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	37,829 7 3	
Additions during the year	3,043 5 9	
	40,872 13 0	
Less sales and recoveries	1,385 12 6	
	39,487 0 6	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	12,746 12 6	26,740 4 0
Weighing Machines :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	25,287 13 9	
Additions during the year	1,808 6 0	
	27,096 3 9	
Less sale-proceeds ...	1,800 0 0	
	25,296 3 9	
Carried over ...		18,55,747 11 9

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES—(*contd.*)	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...		16,63,843 12 8
Employees Provident Fund (A portion of it is required to be invested under Section 282-B (2) of the Indian Companies Act)		30,300 4 6
Provision for Income-Tax		1,41,270 15 0
Loans Secured :—		
1,250—6 per cent. debentures of Rs. 500 each secured by mortgage of the assets of the Company ...		6,25,000 0 0
(Note.—The remaining unissued 150 debentures of the face value of Rs. 75,000 are lodged with the Imperial Bank of India, Lahore, as security for occasional overdraft).		
Deposits :—		
Fixed Deposits ...	1,00,100 0 0	
Current Deposits ...	841 7 0	
Earnest money Deposits...	16,051 10 6	
Security Deposits ...	36,209 1 0	1,53,202 2 6
Carried over ...		26,13,617 2 8

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SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY & ASSETS. —*contd.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...	25,296 3 9	18,55,747 11 9
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	8,412 6 6	16,883 13 3
Buildings :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	2,74,337 4 3	
Additions during the year	18,931 13 0	
	2,93,269 1 3	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	38,169 5 3	2,55,099 12 0
Railway Sidings :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	25,091 2 3	
Additions during the year	38 14 0	
	25,130 0 3	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	8,373 0 6	16,756 15 9
Safes, Fixture & Furniture :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	11,586 15 1	
Additions during the year	1,036 3 9	
	12,623 2 10	
Less amount written off and recovered ...	52 11 0	
	12,570 7 10	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	6,176 14 1	6,393 9 9
Carried over ...		21,50,881 14 6

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES—(*contd.*)	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...		26,13,617 2 8
Other Liabilities :—		
1. For Expenses :—		
(*i*) Unpaid wages and salaries ...	11,746 10 9	
(*ii*) Interest payable ...	7,349 2 6	
(*iii*) Income-tax of Employees payable ...	89 9 0	
(*iv*) Sundry credits ...	18,183 4 9	
(*v*) Excise duty payable	47,827 2 0	
(*vi*) House rent payable	6 0 0	85,201 13 0
2. For goods supplied :—		
(*i*) Price of Sugarcane payable ...	1,719 0 3	
(*ii*) Sugarcane commission payable ...	156 10 9	
(*iii*) Provision for Sugar commission payable to agents ...	1,122 13 0	2,998 8 0
3. For other finances :—		
(*i*) Income-tax on Debentures deducted and payable ...	5,136 11 4	
Carried over ...	5,136 11 4	27,01,817 7 8

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY & ASSETS —*contd.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...		21,50,881 14 6
Books :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	376 9 0	
Additions during the year ...	109 12 6	
	486 5 6	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	211 0 0	275 5 6
Agricultural Implements:—		
As per last Balance Sheet	5,502 8 0	
Additions during the year ...	5 15 0	
	5,508 7 0	
Less amount written off etc	848 8 9	
	4,659 14 3	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	1,789 13 0	2,870 1 3
Live Stock :—		
As per last Balance Sheet ...	2,523 11 6	
Less amount written off and adjusted ...	60 0 0	
	2,463 11 6	
Carried over ...		21,54,027 5 3

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES—*contd.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...	5,136 11 4	27,01,817 7 8
(*ii*) Due to traders ...	10,213 0 8	
(*iii*) Employees welfare fund ...	17 13 9	15,367 9 9
Suspense ...		6,348 0 9
Profit & Loss Account :—		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet Rs. 2,16,164-3-4		
Less appropriated towards :—		
Final dividend at 6 per cent for the ½ year ended 31st October 1938...Rs. 71,956-13-0		
Dividend Equalization Fund Rs. 60,000-0-0		
Reserve Fund Rs. 80,000-0-0		
Charity Account Rs. 4,207-6-4		
2,16,164-3-4		
Balance	*Nil.*	
Carried over ...		27,23,533 2 2

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY & ASSETS —*contd.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought Forward ...	2,463 11 6	21,54,027 5 3
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	1,352 4 0	1,111 7 6
Agricultural Farm, Structure & Fixture :—		
As per last Balance Sheet (Manjha Farm)...	3609 0 0	
Additions during the year (Lachmanpur Farm)	379 6 3	
	3,988 6 3	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	682 11 3	3,305 11 0
Laboratory Instruments :—		
As per last Balance Sheet ...	8,007 11 3	
Additions during the year	1,643 12 0	
	9,651 7 3	
Less breakages ...	62 12 9	
	9,588 10 6	
Deduct total depreciation to date ...	2,435 0 0	7,153 10 6
Roads	746 4 3	
Less amount written off ...	46 4 3	700 0 0
Carried over ...	...	21,66,298 2 3

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES—(*contd.*)	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...		27,23,533 2 2
Profit for the year ending 31st October 1939 as per Profit and Loss Account annexed ...	1,70,098 2 3	
Less ad-interim dividend paid for the half year ended 30-4-1939 ...	59,970 14 0	1,10,127 4 3
Note.—(Provisions held for depreciation (Rs. 6,68,999-2-9) have been deducted under respective heads as per *contra*).		
Carried over ...		28,33,660 6 5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY & ASSETS —(*contd.*)	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...		21,66,298 2 3
Motor Car :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	1,100 0 0	
Less amount written off ...	400 0 0	700 0 0
Telephone :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	124 0 0	
Less amount written off ...	25 0 0	99 0 0
Drawing Instruments :—		
As per last Balance Sheet	50 0 0	
Less amount written off ...	25 0 0	25 0 0
Stocks and stores *in hand as valued and certified by the Manager*—		
(*a*) Sugar partly at contracted rates *less* Excise Duty and partly at cost price ...	96,468 14 9	
(*b*) Molasses at contracted rates ...	468 12 0	
(*c*) Cane crops in field (estimated value) ...	21.875 0 0	
(*d*) Stores at cost :— Coal, Coke, Firewood, Lubricating oils, Sugar Gunny bags, Sulphur, Lime, Building material, Timber, Printed Stationery, Dispensary medicines, apparatus, etc., Electric goods, B Bricks, General stores, Fire bricks, spare parts of machinery, Press cloth, Laboratory Chemicals, grains etc.	2,47,942 7 3	3,66,755 2 0
Carried over ...		25,33,877 4 3

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES—*contd.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought Forward ...		28,33,660 6 5
Carried over ...		28,33,660 6 5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY & ASSETS —*contd.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought Forward ...		25,33,877 4 3
Book Debts Considered good :—		
Loans on Pronotes :—		
to staff Rs. 6,828 0 10		
to others Rs. 1,909 0 3	8,737 1 1	
(*Note :—At the close of the year a sum of Rs. 3,374-13-0 was due from the Manager of the Combany. No amount was advanced to him during the year.*)		
Advances to staff ...	707 11 9	
Due from cultivators ...	8,645 8 9	
Due from Traders ...	49,884 7 0	
Bills outstanding ...	29,453 6 6	97,428 3 1
(1) *Secured* Rs. 2,777-1-0		
(2) *Personal* Rs. 94,651-2-1		
97,428-3-1		
Other Items :—		
Manjha Farm Expenditure		
As per last Balance Sheet Rs. 4,300-0-0		
Less amount written off 2,300-0-0		
2,000-0-0		
Carried over ...		26,31,305 7 4

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES—*contd.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought Forward ...		28,33,660 6 5
Carried over ...		28,33,660 6 5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY AND ASSETS (*contd.*)	Amount. Rs. A. P	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought Forward ...		26,31,305 7 4
2,000-0-0		
Add Lachmanpur Farm preparing and breaking of new land 4,206-11-0	6,206 11 0	
Prepaid Ry. siding rent ...	963 6 6	
Interest accrued but not realized on unpaid calls ...	183 4 3	
Security lodged with Indian Oxygen and Acetylene Co., Ltd., Calcutta ...	300 0 0	
Suspense ...	304 10 0	7,957 15 9
Investments :—		
40 Debentures (7½ %) of Rs. 500 each of the Steel and General Mills Co., Ltd., at cost	20,000 0 0	
5 Fully paid up shares in Reserve Bank of India at par ...	500 0 0	20,500 0 0
Employees Provident Fund Investments :—		
3½ per cent. G. P. Notes of the face value of Rs. 7,500 @ cost ...	7,368 12 0	
Interest accrued on above	74 10 0	7,443 6 0
Carried over ...		26,67,206 13 1

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

BALANCE SHEET

CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES—*concld.*	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought Forward ...		28,33,660 6 5
Total ...		28,33,660 6 5

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have audited the Balance Sheet of the Nawabganj Sugar Mills Company, Limited, as at 31st October 1939, as above set forth and the annexed Profit and Loss Account for the year ending that date, with the books kept at Head Office, Lahore, and at Nawabganj Factory and beg to report that :—

(*a*) we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required, and

(*b*) in our opinion the Balance Sheet and the Profit and Loss Account are drawn up in conformity with the law, and

(*c*) such Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Company, and

(*d*) in our opinion books of accounts have been kept by the Company as required by section 130 of the Indian Companies Act.

BASANT RAM & SONS.
Registered Accountants.
AUDITORS.

LAHORE,
13-1-1940.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.

AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.

PROPERTY & ASSETS —(*concld.*)	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought Forward ...		26,67,206 13 1
Cash and other Balances :—		
Cash in hand at Head Office and Nawabganj	12,143 7 1	
In current account with different Banks ...	1,53,185 6 3	
Drafts in hand ...	1,124 12 0	1,66,453 9 4
Total ...		28,33,660 6 5

Directors.
GOKUL CHAND NARANG
SHIV DATT
KESAR RAM NARANG
DES RAJ NARANG

For the Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co. Ltd.,

DEV RAJ NARANG
Managing Director,
NARANG BROS & Co. Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

Parkash Chand,
Secretary.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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THE NAWABGANJ

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR

EXPENDITURE.	Amount. Rs.	A.	P.	Total. Rs.	A.	P.
To opening stocks of Sugar and Molasses on 1st Nov. 1938 ...	2,00,628	5	9			
,, Sugarcane, Railway freight, Cess and loading charges etc. Coal, Firewood, Sulphur, Lime, Mill Stores, Lubricating Oils, Sugar gunny bags, Press Cloth, Belting and Ropes, Electric Goods, Laboratory expenses etc. ...	8,72,965	9	3	10,73 593	15	0
,, Establishment, Working Labour, Commission to Manager and Contribution to Provident Fund ...	1,74,090	0	0			
,, Directors Remuneration.	7,476	12	0			
,, Managing Agents Remuneration and Commission ...	7,673	0	0			
,, Remuneration to Trustees of Debenture holders ...	600	0	0			
,, Travelling and Motor Expenses ...	5,341	8	9			
,, Stationery, Postage, Telegrams and Telephones ...	2,890	15	9			
,, Light and Fuel ...	865	4	6			
,, Commission and Brokerage on sale of Sugar ...	15,646	3	6			
Carried over	2,14,583	12	6	10,73,593	15	0

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.,

ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1939.

INCOME.	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
By sale of Sugar and Molasses ...	18,30,166 4 6	
,, Sugar and Molasses in hand on 31st October 1939 ...	96,937 10 9	19,27,103 15 3
,, Miscellaneous Earnings	2,347 3 2	
,, Share Transfer fees ...	65 0 0	2,412 3 2
,, Income from Agricultural operations ...		22,568 1 6
Carried over ...		19,52,084 3 11

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

THE NAWABGANJ

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR

EXPENDITURE.	Amount. Rs.	A.	P.	Total. Rs.	A.	P.
Brought forward ...	2,14,583	12	6	10,73,593	15	0
To Repairs to Machinery, Buildings, Furniture and Railway sidings ...	19,960	4	10			
,, Interest and Discount ...	51,011	3	11			
,, General charges ...	3,494	3	4			
,, Law charges and Licence Fee ...	1,310	4	6			
,, Insurance charges ...	13,250	13	0			
,, Audit Fee ...	1,500	0	0			
,, House, Land, Office and Railway siding rents.	5,195	8	3			
,, Dispensary Expenses ...	2,564	2	9			
,, Excise Duty ...	2,55,594	12	0			
,, Agricultural and Farm Expenses ...	18,045	0	9			
,, Income Tax (Provision)	23,000	0	0			
,, Income Tax ...	234	6	0			
,, U. P. Flood Relief Contribution ...	960	1	0			
,, Expenses of Sugar Syndicate ...	5,515	3	4			
,, Bad debts written off ...	76	15	9	6,16,296	11	11
,, Depreciation on Machinery, Buildings etc. ...	91,418	4	6			
,, Other articles written off ...	677	2	3	92,095	6	9
				17,81,986	1	8
Balance carried to Balance Sheet				1,70,098	2	3
Total ...				19,52,084	3	11

BASANT RAM & SONS.
Registered Accountants.
AUDITORS.

LAHORE,
13-1-1940.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.,

ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1939.

INCOME. (*Concld.*)	Amount. Rs. A. P.	Total. Rs. A. P.
Brought forward ...		19,52,084 3 11
Total ...		19,52,084 3 11

Directors.
GOKUL CHAND NARANG,
SHIV DATT,
KESAR RAM NARANG.
DES RAJ NARANG,

For The Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co. Ltd,
DEV RAJ NARANG,
Managing Director,
NARANG BROS & Co., Ltd.
Managing Agents.

Parkash Chand,
Secretary.

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Address by His Excellency Sir HARRY HAIG, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Governor of the United Provinces, to the two Chambers of the United Provinces Legislature on September 9, 1937.

I FEEL it to be an occasion of unusual significance when I avail myself for the first time of my privilege of addressing the members of the legislature of the United Provinces as constituted under the Government of India Act, 1935, and find myself brought into personal contact with that body which represents the essential spirit of the new constitution. The legislature is the source of power in the constitution. On it depends the nature of the Government and its policy. It represents moreover the principle of democracy. It is the link between the people and the Government. It is through it that the people bring their influence to bear, and that the Government is in the strict sense of the term popular. Finally, its conduct will be the touchstone of the working of the democratic system. It stands for the idea of decision by means of fair discussion, and the more it fulfils that ideal, the more closely will it remain true to the essential principles of its nature.

As I look around me today, I cannot but be impressed by the changes that are apparent since the days when I

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used to address the legislature under the old constitution. The most obvious change is that of size. Not only do those who deliberate in this chamber number now as many as 228 as compared with the 123 that used to comprise the old Legislative Council, but there has also been added to the legislature a second chamber numbering 60. The increase in numbers is not without its significance. It is an indication of the closer touch which under the new constitution exists between the members of the legislature and the constituencies. The members of the Assembly represent much smaller areas than their predecessors in this chamber, and it is easier for them to maintain effective contact with their constituents. This is only one of the features of the new system based on democratic principles, which must introduce, and indeed has already introduced, into our public life the essential characteristics of democratic control.

In the second place, I see around me many new faces. Here, again, the new constitution has clearly set in motion new forces, the working of which will have a profound effect on the future development of the Province. New powers, new methods, new men, and a new spirit are the first fruits of the new system of government. Yet all is not new. The legislature, like the Province, is a blend of new and old, and among the members here today are many who have served

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and made their mark in our old Legislative Council. Ladies, I am glad to observe, are no longer restricted to one solitary representative, however talented. They appear in numbers which suggest that their influence will make itself fully felt, and as an earnest of that development one of them is already seated among the Members of the Government.

Where everything has changed, the Governor too is not the Governor known to the former constitution. He has his own important functions and responsibilities, but they are not the same as those which he exercised in the previous conditions, and I can no longer address you now as I used to address the old legislature, feeling that I had some personal responsibility for the whole field of Government's activities. The policy which is placed before you in this legislature is the policy of the Ministers, and it cannot be carried out unless it receives the support of the majority of the members of the legislature. These are changes of great significance which you all recognize. But in spite of all these changes the object of Government remains as it always has been, to promote the welfare, the contentment and the prosperity of the people.

And that brings me to another point, which it is perhaps well to emphasize. While a ministry depends on the support of a particular party in the Legislature, and

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must be expected to maintain firmly its own principles and policy, it is responsible for the administration of the whole Province and for the welfare of the whole people. Now, the virtue of the democratic system is that decisions are reached after open discussion, during which the representatives of all bodies of opinion in the Province have an opportunity of stating publicly their point of view. Those who have been elected by the people, who are accustomed to public life and public discussion, who are aware of the force of criticism, tend to be responsive to public opinion and to give due weight to the arguments even of political opponents. And thus we get on the whole in a democratic system that policy which commends itself by argument to the majority of the people, and we may hope to avoid the extreme courses which are so often followed by those who, under other systems, are in a position to impose their will on the whole people.

Among the many adjustments that have to be made at the beginning of this new system none is more important than the relations between the public services and the Government. The principle of those relations is perfectly clear. The Government lays down policy, the services carry it out. It is generally recognized that the satisfactory administration of a country depends on the efficient and

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loyal work of its public services. Their activities are directed and the policies which they are to follow are prescribed by the Government. But the Government cannot make its will effective or carry out its projects for the welfare of the people, except through the great administrative organization of the public services. Contact between those who now hold the political power in the province and the members of the services has owing to past policy and conditions been slight. But now that a new relationship has been established there is no room for doubt that the members of the services will carry out their duties with complete loyalty and with every desire to assist the new administration. Such difficulties as there may be are likely in my opinion to arise not in the relations between the services and the Government, but in the relations of the services with the public. It is natural enough that the sudden extension of the democratic system should give a great impetus to all kinds of unofficial activities and that in numerous directions unofficial workers should come into much closer touch than hitherto with the members of the services. But while it has always been a principle of administration to welcome unofficial assistance wherever it can usefully be given, it will I am sure be remembered that certain duties and certain responsibilities are plainly placed

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upon different sections of the public services, and that they are bound to carry out those duties to the best of their judgment and ability, taking their orders from their official superiors, and, in the last resort, from the Government itself. General public opinion makes itself felt on the Government through the Legislature and through the press, and it is bound to play a very important part in the determination of policy. But once policy is determined, it must in the main be the function of the public services to carry it out.

I think there may be at times some confusion in the public mind in its approach to these democratic ideas. A Government, however democratically formed, however responsive to public opinion, has to exercise authority ; in other words, to govern. Its agents for the process of governing are government servants, and the authority they exercise is the authority of Government. Government are naturally closely concerned to see that the standard of conduct of their servants is the highest possible, that blemishes and weaknesses are removed, that complaints of misconduct are inquired into strictly. Misbehaviour of government servants reacts on the credit of Government itself. But there need be no apprehension that honest and loyal service will not meet with the appreciation and support of the Government ; and indeed it is clear that Government cannot be carried on without

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the gravest handicap, unless the Government services retain confidence in themselves and command the respect of the public.

I would mention one other characteristic of public services, and that is their primary obligation to maintain a strictly non-party attitude. They are the services of the Province, and stand outside all party considerations. Members of the services must not identify themselves with any political party, nor must they show any antagonism or distrust towards any party. Their duty is to carry out their work fairly, honestly and efficiently and to let the public feel that it can rely on proper, considerate and impartial treatment.

After these general reflections I would pass for a moment to some of the main problems of policy that confront my Ministers. The practical foundation of all administration is finance, and it is a matter for regret to me that at the outset of this new constitution my Ministers should have been placed inevitably in such difficulties in framing their first budget. I can speak with some real personal sympathy, for during the period of nearly three years in which I have occupied my present office, the finances of the province have been a source of constant and prominent anxiety, to which I have had occasion to

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refer repeatedly. It is true that as a result of the inquiry conducted by Sir Otto Niemeyer we are receiving for the first five years of the new Constitution a subvention of 25 lakhs from central revenues. For purposes of that inquiry my Government had represented their case in the fullest possible manner, and put forward detailed anticipations which have proved only too true. When the report of Sir Otto Niemeyer was published my Government felt it necessary to point out officially that if effect were given to these proposals the new Government in this Province would on existing facts be faced with appreciable deficits for the first two or three years of its existence. That forecast has been justified by events ; and while my Ministers have in the light of the most recent estimates of revenue, and by introducing rigorous economies, been able to reduce appreciably the deficit which I had expected when preparing the estimates of revenue and expenditure for the first six months of the present financial year, even so, it has proved in this year a task beyond their powers to present a budget that is fully balanced. But in difficult conditions they have set an example of financial principle, which is of the greatest value at the outset of the new system of Government.

My Ministers almost immediately on assuming office found themselves faced with a position of grave difficulty

and threat to the public peace arising out of the labour troubles in Cawnpore. It was a matter of profound relief to me that through the efforts of the Ministry an agreement was reached which resulted in the workers returning to the mills. The main issues in dispute between the millowners and the workers are still unsettled, and I recognize that conditions in Cawnpore are at the moment most difficult and uncertain. Nevertheless, it is earnestly to be hoped that as a result of the work of the committee that has been set up by my Government to make a detailed inquiry into the points in issue, some fair solution may be found for matters which at present appear to be difficult of adjustment, and that the industrial interests, the labourers and the city of Cawnpore as a whole may be spared the calamity of an industrial strike on a large scale. A strike is really an attempt to settle difficulties by force, and it carries with it all the evils that arise from the use of the arbitrament of force. I trust that all those who have influence with public opinion will use their best endeavours to prevent a situation being created which cannot be solved by the method of argument and the principles of justice.

The most urgent and vital problem with which my Ministers are confronted is the improvement of the condition of the rural population throughout the province. In dealing

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with this problem the Government is handling matters which are fundamental to the whole life, organization and administration of the Province. It is inevitable that there should be serious differences of opinion on many points in matters which so closely affect the interests of different classes. But my Government propose to proceed by the method of appointing committees which will, I am sure, consider with great care the essential facts in the problem of tenancy reform and the burden of rural indebtedness, and on which all shades of opinion will have an opportunity of making their views heard. A number of measures are under consideration for dealing with another of the major problems in this Province, namely, the relief of middle class unemployment. I need not go into the details of these measures. But if my Government can succeed as they hope to do in improving the position and the economic condition of the tenants, in promoting everything that is summed up in the words "rural development" and at the same time in providing new chances of employment for the educated young men for whom at present life offers such difficult prospects, they will indeed deserve well of the people of this Province. These are the objects which I believe are very near the hearts of all those who sit in this legislature, and I earnestly trust that the labours of the legislature may give to our people the blessings of greater prosperity and happiness.

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Resolutions of the U. P. Provincial kisan Conference.

Held under the presidentship
Of

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

On

27th and 28th April 1935

At

ALLAHABAD.

1. This provincial Kisan conference remembers with love and respect Shri T. A. K. Sherwani a well wisher of peasants and a respected and beloved leader of this province and expresses its deep sorrow at his death which has caused a heavy loss to the public life of this province. It expresses with profound respect its heartfelt sympathy with his widow, his mother and father, his brothers and other members of his family.

2. During the last seven years due to the inflation of the value of the rupee by the legislature and to the great fall in the prices of grain, the condition of the peasantry has gradually declined and rural life has been violently shaken

The Government has made no substantial efforts towards ameliorating their condition; whatever small remissions in rent have been granted are entirely inadequate. In the opinion of this conference while the zamindari—and—tenancy system lasts, it is urgently necessary that properly authorised committees in which the peasantry should be adequately represented, be set up which after making economic enquiries, may be able to make definite reductions in rents. In the opinion of this conference the rentals should be about what they were in 1895 and the revenue to be realised from the petty Zamindars at any rate, should be the same as it was in 1895.

3. Having regard to the manner in which the economic condition of the peasantry has gone on declining during the last seven years and the fact that it is not possible for the tenants to pay even the present rents with convenience, and that the arrears of rent go on increasing, this conference is of opinion that with a view to removing the distress of the peasants and improving their condition it is very necessary that an enquiry be instituted into the whole question of arrears of rent, and that the arrears should be entirely remitted in the case of those peasants

whose economic condition prevents their making the payment due, and in the case of those who can make some payment, the rent should be reduced to suit their economic condition. Keeping in view all the circumstances affecting the consideration of this question this conference is of opinion that the arrear remaining after reduction should in no case exceed more than a third. This conference also recommends that the arrears of revenue be either fully remitted or reduced to a half according to the economic condition of the Zamindars.

4. In the opinion of this conference agricultural holdings (not including gardens and groves) should not be subdivided beyond a fixed limit. This limit should for the present be fixed at eight bighas (5 acres). Holdings which are smaller than this limit be allowed to remain for the present as they are, but their further division should be stopped and as these holdings continue to be added to other holdings, the rule as to eight bighas should as far as possible apply to them.

The conference is also of opinion that the system of consolidated holdings should be definitely accepted in place of the present system, under which a tenant's holding consists of a

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number of small parts situated at distances from one another, even though the new system may appear inconvenient in the beginning in the case of some individuals. This conference is also of opinion that in the case of petty Zamindars and tenants the principle should be accepted, that those whose total income is insufficient to meet the necessary requirements of their family be exempt from payment of revenue or rent.

5. In the present economic sitution of the country the indebetedness of the peasants is making their poverty deeply miserable. Interest is piling up and on account of the cheapness of agricultural produce the peasants are absolutely unable to pay their debts. In the opinion of this conference justice demands that the debt of those peasants who are not in a position to pay any part of it should be completely cancelled and the debt of those peasants who can make some payment should be so reduced as to be brought within their capacity to pay.

Pending the acceptance of the above principle at least this rule should be adopted that in the execution of decrees against peasants, articles necessary for agricultural purposes and for their household use and such portion of their lands as

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is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families should be exempt from attachment, and they should not be subjected to personal arrest.

This conference also records the opinion that the recent debt legislation in the province does not at all solve the problem of peasants' debts, and that legislation should be undertaken on the basis of the principle above recommended.

6. This conference notes with some satisfaction that as a result of the peasant movement, the peasants have to some extent begun to be self-conscious and to express themselves against illegal exactions and tyrannies, and Zamindars also have somewhat seen the limit of their own powers; but even then this conference with a full sense of responsibility asserts, that Nazarana, Hari, Begar, exacted presents and realisation of more rents than are shown in revenue papers, and in the event of rents not being realised various kinds of physical torture such as the well known method of making peasants stand in the position of a cock, making them stand in the sun, beating them, tying the hair of several women in one knot and making them stand in the sun,

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and other similar inhuman methods are still in vogue.

In the whole of the province it is also a known feature that Zamindars do not issue receipts for the rents they realise and get angry with those who ask for receipts that the Zamindars dislike those tenants who make payments of their rents by means of money orders and regard them as their opponents. Honest Government servants will admit that there are very few Zamindars who issue receipts for rents and that the majority of Zamindars regard issuing receipts or accepting money orders as derogatory to their prestige and dignity, and that the practice of not issuing receipts is regarded by the Zamindars as a useful weapon againts the tenants.

It is the firm opinion of this conference that illegal collections and non-issue of receipts in lieu of rents should be made penal so that Courts may take steps against such action. At the same time this conference urges the peasants to unite strongly and face illegal demands and tyrannies and to break the practice of making payments without taking receipts. Where they find it difficult to obtain receipts they should remit the rents by money orders, or where convenient

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deposit it in tehsils. In regard to the deposit of rents in tehsils this conference urges that rules should be so framed as to permit tenants to deposit rents without any additional cost.

7. Having regard to the cheapness of grain and to the inflated value of the rupee, the present irrigation rates are very high. In the opinion of this conference the rates should be reduced by a half.

8. This conference urges that the old system which was prevalent in the country of leaving sufficient land all round a village as pasture land should be revived. The disappearance of pasture lands due to the negligence of the Government has been one of the main causes of the destruction of village life.

In the case of tanks, ponds, jungles and the like which remain even now in use for irrigation and grazing, steps should be seriously taken not to allow their present features to be altered.

9. This conference is of opinion that just as town improvement acts have been framed for the improvement of towns, necessary laws should be enacted for the improvement of villages and institutions should be set up which may build

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model villages in which agriculturists should have full rights to construct houses on their lands and in which Zamindars should have no authority to interfere with their lives.

10. In the opinion of this conference it is a necessary factor for the improvement of village life that proper arrangements should be made for education and industrial activities, and for finding employment for those who possess no land. Administrators should accept the principle that it is one of their fundamental duties to give facilities to every individual to earn the simple requirements of life.

11. This conferenc welcomes the Village Industries Association started by Mahatma Gandhi and urges the peasants and workers in the cause of peasants to give whatever help they can in the work of the Association.

12. In the opinion of this conference, pending the abolition of the Zamindari system all the statutory tenants should be given occupancy rights along with a proper reduction in their rents.

13. In the case of joint tenancy by several shareholders it is an usual practice for the

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Zamindars to realise their rents from any one of the shareholders. In the opinion of this conference joint owners of Khatas should be given facilities for the separation of their Khatas, and where a joint cultivator of any holding is not able to have a separate Khata although he wishes to separate from his shareholders, he should be charged rent only for as much land as he himself cultivates.

14. Several resolutions have been adopted in the conference with the object of improving the condition of the peasants. These resolutions have kept only the existing system of land tenure in view. But it is the firm conviction of this conference that to improve substantially the condition of peasants and of villages and place them on a firm foundation it is necessary to change entirely the present system of land tenure. So long as there are several conflicting interests in the same soil the condition of villages cannot be greatly improved. The present Zamindari system is from the standpoint of the welfare of villages thoroughly wrong. This system was introduced with the advent of the British Government and it has led to the absolute destruction of village life.

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In the opinion of this conference there is only one fundamental method of improving village life (which will benefit both peasants and Zamindars), namely, the introduction of a system of peasant proprietorship under which the tiller of the soil is himself the owner of it and pays revenue direct to the Government wtihout the intervention of any Zamindar or Talukdar. The kisans should by law be given the right to pay reasonable compensation to Zamindaas in several instalments and to become owners of the land under their cultivation. The Government also should arrange to purchase land from Zamindars for tenants on payment of a reasonable compensation and it should advance loans to tenants for the purchase of their holdings at a very low rate of interest; and these loans should be repayable gradually within thirty to fifty years.

This conference is convinced that an arrangment of this kind can be smoothly and beautifully carried out and that it will benefit all the parties concerned and will lead to an allround improvement in the condition of the rural population.

15. This conference recommends that in every district, Ashrams should be opned at centres,

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covering groups of villages where at least one worker should be established who should make it his mission to make all efforts to improve the economic, social, and educational condition of the villages. Efforts should be made that the villagers themselves undertake the greater part of the expense of these Ashrams. The spread of education among the kisans, the production and distribution of khaddar and the improvement of village industries should be particularly undertaken by these Ashrams.

16. To carry out the resolutions passed in the conference and to frame the constitution of the Provincial Kisan Sammellan, on the basis of these resolutions, this conference appoints a committee of the following persons. This committee will place the constitution framed by it before the next conference. This committee is also given the power to co-opt up to twenty additional members.

——o——

President—Syt. Purushottam das Tandon,

Secretary—Syt. Mohan lal Gautam.

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MEMBERS.

1. Syt. Ganga Sahai Chaubey (Cawanpore)
2. ,, Lallanji (Fyzabad)
3. ,, Viswambhar Dayal Tripathi (Unao)
4. ,, Raghunath Sahai Sukle (Etawah)
5. ,, Ram Naresh Singh (Jaunpur)
6. ,, Ganga dhar Sharma (Sitapur)
7. ,, Ramadhar Singh (Basti)
8. ,, Ram Surat Misra (Benares)
9. ,, Devapal Singh (Farukhabad)
10. ,, Sitla Sahai (Raibarellie)
11. Pt. Ram Lal (Sultanpur)
12. ,, Brindaban Misre (Ballia)
13. ,, Tikaram Tripathi (Allahabad)
14. ,, Suryabali Pandey (Gorakpur)
15. ,, Shyam Sunder Shukla (Pratapgarh)
16. ,, Indra Deva Tripathi (Ghazipur)
17. Syt. Malkan Singh (Aligarh)
18. Sri Ramji Das (Jalon)
19. Syt. Mahashai Shivalal (Bulandshahar)
20. Pt. Baldev Chaubey (Azamgarh)
21. Syt, Ram Rup Pandey (Banda)
22. ,, Chandra Bhan Gupta. (Lucknow)
23. ,, Krishna Dutta Paliwal.
24. ,, Sampurnanand.
25. Pt. Balkrishna Sharma.
26. Seth Damodar Swarup.
27. Syt. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.
28. ,, Lal Bahadur.

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BRIEF LIFE SKETCH

OF

SIRDAR P. S. SODHBANS

F.L.A.A. (LOND.), R.A.

SOLDIER, ACCOUNTANT, ECONOMIST,

POLITICIAN AND PATRIOT.

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INTRODUCTION

This booklet contains a brief enumeration of the contributions made to modern India by a very patriotic and able personality, Sirdar P. S. Sodhbans.

For over forty years, he had striven to be at the post of duty, in a varity of capacities, ranging from soldiering to accountancy, from work at the time of the Punjab Martial Laws to the fateful days preceeding the sad demise of the Father of the Nation in Delhi.

S. Sodhbans combined in him the discipline and sacrifice of the highest Sikh tradition and yet was able to develop a catholic approach to the problems of the country and of the outside world.

It is seldom given to a single individual to cover so much activity within the ambit of one's life, whether it was in connection with representing India at International gatherings, or in the country itself, on behalf of himself and of his interests, S. Sodhbans stood out four square against tyranny and disloyalty to the national interests.

Soldier, accountant, economist, political leader, author and journalist, social worker, and friend of the poor—this is but a small list of the numerous facets of S.Sodhbans's life and work.

In him the Sikh community has a stout defender of the Panth, and the country a patriot and servant who keeps the people and their interest above self.

LANKA SUNDARAM

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SIRDAR PREM SINGH SODHBANS

HIS GLORIOUS RECORD OF LONG PUBLIC SERVICE TO THE COUNTRY.

1. He started life in Army in September 1902 at Bannu at an early age of 18 years, as his father Sirdar Mehr Singh who was an officer in the army, was killed at Datta Khel, Tochi Valley, Northern Wazirastan. Left Service on account of illness in 1905.

2. Secretary Swadeshi Sabha, Rawalpindi, from November 1905 to March 1907 and lost heavily as he opened Swadeshi Store in January 1906 during Swadeshi Movement started after the partition of Bengal in 1905.

3. After heavy financial loss he migrated to Lahore in April 1907 and joined Bharat Mata, a violent political movement, which was run by S. Kishan Singh, father of famous Patriot-Martyr S.Bhagat Singh, L. Pindi Dass, Sufi Amba Prasad, Mehta Anand Kishor and others.

4. Forced by family circumstances as after the death of his father he was obliged to live a normal life to look after the family affairs as the head of the family, and consequently he started study again in 1907 for Accountancy.

5. Took no part in public movements while he was a student, but after qualifying for the accountancy profession in 1911-A.L.A.A. (Lond.) he began to take interest in public affairs from 1915.

6. Attended the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1916 and opposed the Lucknow Pact, as he considered it an anti-national Pact, but his voice being a junior congressman's became one in wilderness.

7. Attended the Session of the Punjab Political Conference held in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore in April 1917 under the presidency of late Mian Fazal-i-Hussain, and the Chairman of the Reception Committee was late L. Harkishan Lall. Opposed the ratification of the Lucknow Pact which was brought before the Session, as the Sikhs with a few exceptions were not taking part in politics. He opposed this Pact though he belonged to a minority community as it was

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anti-national. This Pact was a fore-runner of the present vivisection of India, and so he was in a position to look ahead.

8. He was pioneer in starting Political Movement amongst the Sikhs in 1918 with the consultation of Hindu friends of the Congress, for claiming a separate and special representation for the sikhs in the Punjab as an important minority like Muslims in other Provinces, for, protection to this important minority was not granted under the Lucknow Pact. The Central Sikh League was formed early in March 1919 and its first Session was held at Amritsar at the same time with the Session of the Indian National Congress after Martial Law, in December 1919. He and Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar arranged a 'Tea Party' to meet Congress leaders at Amritsar.

9. Martial law was proclaimed in April 1919 as the masses were against the enactment of the Rowlett Act, and on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi near Delhi at the instant of Sir Michel O' Dwyer, then Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. General Dyer massacred Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs at Jallianwala Bagh on 13-4-1919.

10. Untold atrocities were committed by the British Officers—Civil and Military, and by Col. Johnson, Martial Law Administrator of Lahore. Sirdar Sodhbans collected Col. Johnson's notifications secretly, and in June-July 1919 he took a chance of leaving the province to place them before late Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and visited Allahabad. He was directed by Dr Syed Hussain to go to Lucknow to meet him there as he was conducting a big Zamindari case. On arrival at Lucknow he was asked by Pt. Moti Lal Ji to meet him on the following date at tea, as he was going out of station in connection with a case. He placed all the notifications before him and explained to him the complete tale of the Punjab Martial law atrocities. Pandit Jawahar Lall was also present. In the meantime our other collegue in the Congress, Lala Goverdhan Dass, escaped to Madras and he made a similar public declaration of the atrocities and brutalities committed by the British Rulers of that time. L. Govardhan Dass was arrested

and brought to Lahore and jailed alongwith L. Harkishan Lall, Ch. Rambhaj Dutt, L. Duni Chand and many other Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders.

11. First Sikh Member of All India C-ongress Committee 1919-23.

12. Vice-President and President of the Lahore City Co ıgress Committee in 1920-21-23. The following were his principal activities :-

(a) He did bonfire of the foreign cloth on the bank of River Ravi alongwith late Lala Lajpat Rai, President Punjab Province Congress Committee 1921.

(b) Did civil disobedience in November 1921 after the arrest of late Lala Lajpat Rai and presided over a banned meeting. Kindly see the account in *Young India* for December 1921.

13. Member, Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee, 1919 to 1923 :-

(a) Director National Volunteer Corps of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee 1921-23.

(b) Member National Education Committee which controlled National Education in Affiliated National Colleges. Acharya Jugal Kishore was the Principal of the Lahore National College.

14. Attended special Session of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in September 1920 under the presidency of late L. Lajpat Rai, and requested for recognition of the Sikhs as an important minority, and inspite of obtaining support of many members of the Subjects Committee he could not succeed in getting the Lucknow Pact amended. Mr. Bipin Chander Paul moved the resolution. Mr. Jinnah was also present.

15. Second Session of the Central Sikh League was held during the Dusehra Holidays in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, in October 1921 under the presidency of Baba Kharak Singh. Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and other Congress leaders also

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attended. Sirdar Sodhbans was the General Secretary, and was responsible for success of the Session. This was the first important Sikh Political gathering ever held in the Punjab, and he was congratulated by late L. Lajpat Rai and late L. Harkishan Lal and other leaders for the marvellous success achieved in educating the Sikh masses.

16. Prince of Wales, now Duke of Windsor, visited Lahore in March 1922. There was complete Hartal in all bazars. The Executive Committee of the P.P.C.C. appointed him to see that the city remains in perfect calmness inspite of provocations. All responsible members left to attend All India Congress Committee meeting at Delhi which was to take place on the same date. He controlled the situation in Anarkali admirably when the police got a muslim Nanbai (cooked food) shop opened to feed the Muslims from Shahpur and Mianwali Districts who were specially brought to line the route of the Prince of Wales, procession as Hindu, Muslim aud Sikhs of Lahore boycotted the procession.

17. Host to Mahatma Gandhi, Shrimati Kastura Bai and Maulana Shaukat Ali, who visited Nankana Sahib with regard to the massacre of 125 Sikhs by the Mahant of Nankana Sahib Gurdwara in 1922.

18. One of the Founders of the Gurdwara Movement. Ex Member of Committee S.G.P.C. 1920-23. President Lahore District Gurdwara Committee 1921-24. Organiser of Akali Dal as Police force to maintain possession of Gurdwaras along with S. Amar Singh of Sher-i-Punjab, S. Teja Singh Bhuchar and S. Kartar Singh Jhabar in 1921. The force has now become a powerful political organisstion as the Sikh League was dissolved.

19. He was mainly responsible for compromise between the Punjab Government and the Akali Sikhs at the instance of S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar and S. Mangal Singh, Ex-M.L.A- The case pending in the court against Master Tara Singh, S. Teja Singh Sumandri and others was withdrawn after incorporating agreed amendments to the Gurdwara Act. Mr. P. N. Kaul was associated

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with him.

20 (a) Honorary Secretary, Indian Institute of Registered Accountants, Lahore, started in 1922.

(b) Founded "Indian Accountant" as an organ of accountancy profession in India in July 1922, in order to create public opinion for the organisation of the Accountancy Profession as in other countries.

21. He approached Government of India alongwith 16 Professional Accountants of Bombay, Calcutta, U.P. and Punjab for establishment of a Central Organistion of Accountancy Profession in January 1928. It was on this move that the Government of India appointed a Committee to amend Section 144 of the Indian Companies Act, and the Indian Accountancy Board as Central Organisation was established in 1932.

22. He, alongwith other eminent citizens, founded the Punjab Flying Club at Lahore and represented this Club at the first and second Conferences of the Indian Flying Clubs in Delhi in 1930-31.

23. Member Executive Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1931-36 and 1937. He was present at the Session of the Indian Industrial & Commercial Congress held at Delhi in February 1926, when a Committee was formed under the presidency of late Lala Harkishan Lall for establishment of the Federation. Mr. J.K. Mehta of the Bombay Indian Merchants Chamber was the Secretary.

24. He was the founder & Member of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, 1914-48, and was appointed its Honorary Secretary at the instance of Mr. J.K. Mehta and remained in Office from 1927 to 1942. He was a member of the Executive Committee from 1924 uptill now. It was due to his work that this *national* Chamber became a recognised and powerful organisation of the Commercial and Industrial opinion in the Province inspite of the opposition of the Punjab and the Northern India Chambers of Commerce which consisted of Europeans and interested Indians.

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25. Member of the Executive Committee of the Indian National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce of Paris, New Delhi, 1932-33,35,37,42 '46-49.

26. He was the the first Indian Accountant invited to attend the IVth International Congress on Accounting held in London in July 1933 under the presidency of Rt. Hon'ble Lord Plender, F.C A. Please see item No 31 (a) & (b).,

27. He was the Member of Board of Economic Inquiry Punjab in 1936-40. Please see item No. 43.

28. He was the Member of N.W.R. Advisory Committee 1933-36.

29. He was nominated by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, New Delhi, the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers, New Delhi and the Federation of Industrial Employers, Bombay, for appointment as Advisor to the Employers' Delegate to 20th Session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in June 1936. His work at the International Labour Conference was greatly appreciated.

30. Guest of Honour at "Luncheon" at Midland Hotel, Manchester, given in his honour by the Master Cotton Spinners' Association in July 1936.

31. (a) The First Indian Delegate and Guest of Honour to the 5th International Congress on Accounting held at Berlin in 1938. He submitted a National Paper-on "Development of Accountancy Profession in India." In this paper he proved that the system of Double Entry System of accounting—our Bahi-khata orignated in India.

(b) He was elected to the Panel of Presidents on 23rd September 1938.

32. (a) At Berlin after the Session of the Accounting Congress, he studied the system of storage of wheat and corn in Bunkers and visited Siemens' works and examined the Labour Welfare

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System. (1-2/10/38).

(b) At Milan (Italy) he was guest of the Society of Accountants and was received by Datt. Cav. Rinaldo Rocco and Datt. Cav. Musu-Boy and visited factories where engines for aeroplanes, light rail cars, artificial silk and artificial wool used to be manufactured. He also visited Marble Church with 1,000 minarets and other places of interest. (16/17-9-1938.)

(c) At Frankfurt on Main he was guest of Dr. Syed, Director, I. G. Farben biggest Chemical Works in World. He studied the accountancy system and also visited factories of the Chemical works and the Opel Car Factory in a near town (2-3/10/38).

(d). At Dresden, Capital of Saxony, he was guest of Dr. Kulge, Lord Mayor. Visited industrial centres and other places of interest (12-13/10/38).

(e) At Goblenz A/Nice in Sudetanland. He was the first foreigner to visit this area after its occupation by Germany on 14th October, 1938 as guest of Mr. L. N. Khanna, an Indian merchant settled at that place. At this place he studied the organisation of the cottage industry of artificial jewellery, and visited a biggest-carpet factory at Maffersdorf and factories in Christianthal area in company with the Nazi Officers and an interpretor. His card was placed in the Golden Book of the city (14-17/10/38)

(f) Similarily he studied the glass industry of Venice and Mozaic industry of Florence and other places, and studied the industrial organisation under the Nazi and Fascists regimes, and also the secret of cordial relations subsisting between the industrialists and labourers in Germany, Italy and Hungary in the economic interests of respective countries.

33. (a) Guest of Honour at the Luncheon by Deutchen Orient Varien, Berlin—an Organization of the German Foreign Office to entertain foreign potentates on 5th October 1938. H.E. Von Hentig presided at the function.

(b) Guest of Honour at a party arranged by the Budapest Chamber of Commerce, Budapest (Hungary) on 20th October, 1938. Here the Chamber gave all facilities for study of various industrise,

cottage industries, peasant arts and farmers' organisatians.

34. President, Society of Registered Accountants in N.India in 1937-38 and 1941-42. Please see item Nos.20 and 21 as he was responsible for the organisation of the Accountancy Profession.

35. Member of India Accountancy Board (Government of India) in 1939-44 as representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi.

36. Member, Prices Control Board, Punjab in 1939-44

37. President, Incorporated Secretaries Association (India) in 1941-48.

38. President of Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, in 1942-43. Please see item No. 24

39. Member of Panel, E-P.T. Board of Referees in 1941-46.

40. (a) Member, the Punjab Industrial Development Committee in 1945.

(b) Member of the Board of Industries, Punjab 1942-47, and now a Member of the Board of Industries of the East Punjab.

41. Member, Executive Committee, Boy Scouts Association, Punjab 1945 to 1947 and now of the East Punjab. He was specially nominated on account of his special study of Youth Movement in the Central European Countries.

42. Member of the Reception Committee, Inter-Asian Conference held in Delhi in March 1947.

43. Ex-Member of Committee, Indian Economic Association in 1948. He is a member of this Association since 1925 and wrote many papers on economic problems of the country.

44. Member of Advisory Committee, Ministry of Relief & Rehabilitation, Government of India 1947-48. He was obliged to migrate from Lahore in August 1947. His residence and all belongings were looted on 25th and 26th August 1947.

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45. Signatory to the Pledge given to late Mahatma Gandhi, for communal harmony enabling him to break his fast, and he was the first to implement the same on 24th January 1948 by inviting Nationalist Muslim friends and congressmen at a Tea Party at his residence situated in Paharganj, a prohibited area.

46. Gave evidences before—

(a) The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee in 1925.

(b) The Royal Commission on Indian Reforms in 1928.

(c) The Frenchise Committee on Constitutional Reforms, in 1932.

(d) The Delimitation Committee in 1936.

(e) The Income Tax Inquiry Committee in 1936.

(f) The Wedgewood Railway Inquiry Committee in 1936.

(g) The Indian Sugar Tariff Board in 1937.

(h) The Punjab Unemployment Committee in 1938.

(i) The Punjab Land Revenue Committee in 1938.

PUBLICATIONS, "Indian Accountant" since 1922; Three Essentials for Industrial Development 1916; Economic Planning of India 1934; Export of Gold; Economic Development of Punjab 1937: German Problem in Europe in 1936 and 1938; India and League of Nations 1937; Industrial Development of India, 1937; Development of Accountancy Profession in India.—the National Paper submitted to the 5th International Congress on Accounting held in Berlin 1938; Indians Abroad, 1939; Need of a National Flag, 1940; Sikhs Position in India, 1st Edition 1942, second Edition 1947; Indian Trade Relations with Foreign Countries 1939; The Wheat Position in the Punjab 1943. Food Problem in India 1943. Etc., etc.

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INDEPENDENCE DAY

By Shree Purushottam Das Tandon

(Reprinted from the 'Leader' of Jan. 26.)

WE salute our national flag and take the independence pledge today. The flag stands for National Unity and the pledge for the Will to Freedom. This is a sacred function. On this day we renovate our resolve to continue unceasingly and with a fixed determination our fight for Freedom till we win it. But this is also an occasion for heart-searching and introspection. Have we made substantial advance towards our goal during all these years since we first took the pledge? Has our constructive effort been full and sustained? Have we been adding strength to our chief political organisation, the Indian National Congress? Have we been able to forge a strong battleworthy machine out of it to serve us in withstanding the onslaughts made on us in various directions and also in covering our march forward? In the very process of putting these questions to ourselves we begin to spot our weak points.

POLITICAL PLANNING WANTING

We undoubtedly possess the confidence of the people. The masses approach us for help in their daily troubles and also whenever any new calamity befalls them. We are not always able to do something substantial for them, but in any case our words of sympathy and comradeship always bring them solace. Mass voting during elections has shown with what burning enthusiasm people go to the polls to record their votes for Congressmen. Even Government officials are conscious that, in spite of interested foreign propaganda about the waning influence of the Congress, elections to the central and provincial Assemblies, if they were to take place today, would go decidedly in favour of the Congress. While all this is certainly a source of legitimate gratification to Congressmen, the feeling thus engendered has itself encouraged them in giving importance in their public work to methods which lead to success at the polls to the neglect of other work which may not be so spectacular but which is essential for more substantial success for a country groaning under the yoke of a foreign power. The consequence is that while we have learnt to organise demonstrations, conferences, large gatherings and processions which have all helped in drawing mass attention to political questions and making the people dreamily conscious of their self-importance, political planning which could foresee and produce definite results from definite actions, has been entirely wanting. We have vaguely believed that mass contact and rousing mass consciousness will usher in a revolution which will in some manner lead the British to abandon their hold on the country and instal a people's government in its place. We have not generally cared to remember that while mass awakening is a huge potential force, it may like forces of nature be wasted if not wisely harnessed under a well thought-out plan and with necessary technical devices and that constructive planning in politics as in other directions is essential for progressive action.

UNITY OF PURPOSE AND UNITY OF STRATEGY

It seems to me that our first task lies in making our chief national organisation, the Indian National Con-

gress, more compact and therefore more effective. Compactness implies discipline and discipline implies a certain unity both in theory and practice. To talk of the Congress representing all kinds of views prevailing in the country and being a common platform for all elements is to ignore realities and to indulge in an auto-hypnotic dreaminess. The Congress, divided into groups with diverse views and opposing purposes, may be a good arena for spectacular debates and fireworks of rhetoric but it will not develop the necessary strength to lead the country to freedom. That strength will come only from a unity of purpose and a unity of strategy. The tactics of some groups in the army may differ somewhat but they must coalesce and concentrate on a common end and they must not be counteracting and neutralising one another. Thus the temptation born of a certain softness to give a standing invitation to all varieties of political thought to enter the Congress has to be subdued. Only persons having fundamentally common views should be admitted into the Congress fold.

TO MAKE CONGRESS A REAL FIGHTING MACHINE

Another important question to be considered in this connection is that of quality **versus** number. Should the control of the Congress continue to vest in those who, by the only qualification of paying a small fee —4 annas under the Congress rule —become full members with the power to vote at all primary elections of the Congress which lead to ultimate power in the Provincial Committees, the All-India Committee and to Congress presidentship? Congressmen are aware how these four-anna members come into existence. They are mostly enrolled by and in the interest of individuals who wish to have the control of offices and executive committees and very often even their membership fee is found by others. What abuses and demoralisation this system has led to is generally known to active Congressmen. They all talk of it freely among themselves. Half-hearted attempts have been made in the past to introduce greater decency in Congress elections by laying down some qualifications for membership in addition to the payment of 4 annas, but they have failed and the Congress has continued as a lax organization. I am clear that the attempt to strengthen the Congress by cleansing it of useless and pernicious elements and give the serious-minded and virile element the full opportunity for action has to be continued and experiments have to be tried in various directions to make our organization a real fighting machine.

QUALIFICATION FOR ACTIVE CONGRESSMEN

At present the Congress is under a ban, the Congress rules are in abeyance and the Congress committees are not functioning. It may be said therefore that it is not possible to make new rules for the Congress. This is correct so far as it goes, but even the fact that the Congress is not functioning gives an opportunity to all those bodies which have come into existence in the different provinces to carry on Congress work, to make their own experiments in constitution-making and then to evolve a common policy. The line of action which has been favoured by the Executive Committee of the Representative Assembly of U. P. Congressmen, though it has not yet been adopted by the general body, is that while primary members may continue to be enrolled on the 4-anna franchise, the real power, that is, voting should vest in those members only who possess some other qualification also and who may be classed as active Congressmen. The qualification which the committee has fixed for active Congressmen is wearing hand-spun and hand-woven **khadi** habitually. For candidates for offices or for membership of executive committees, the U. P. Committee has laid down an additional qualification, namely, giving at least one hour daily for Congress work. This plan, if effectively carried out, will probably reduce the number of primary

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members, for they will not have the incentive for voting at elections but it is calculated to encourage and put the power of action in the hands of those who take their work somewhat seriously. A part of this plan will naturally be to make some arrangement for testing that the qualification demanded is actually possessed—whether by the active member or by the candidate. The device of having judges appointed for this purpose has been recommended. I submit that something definitely on new lines has to be introduced to lead the Congress from the old rut in which it has been ineffectively moving for years.

EVOLVE NEW PLANS FOR STRENGTHENING CONGRESS

I would suggest that in other provinces also Congressmen should think over these matters and adopt their own measures to strengthen their organisation. All the experiments that we make can usefully be discussed later on by representatives of all these bodies coming together and discussing them among themselves. We cannot say how long the ban on the Congress committees will last and how long the substitute bodies will have to work. My hope is that if the provincial assemblies or committees, which are functioning at present, evolve new plans for strengthening the Congress organization, their efforts in this direction will prove useful to the Indian National Congress when it begins to function normally and that the Congress may then by adopting some of the lines evolved by the interim bodies, come out stronger, purer and more virile from the trial through which it would have passed.

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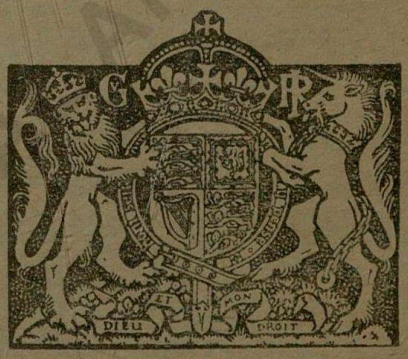
RULES

DETERMINING THE STRENGTH OF, AND REGULATING THE METHOD OF RECRUITMENT TO, THE UNITED PROVINCES CIVIL (JUDICIAL) SERVICE IN THE AGRA PROVINCE

Corrected up to February 15, 1936



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Rules determining the strength of, and regulating the method of recruitment to, the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province

MISCELLANEOUS

9th March, 1935

No. 1068/II—321.—In exercise of the powers conferred by the Bengal, Assam and Agra Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887), the Governor in Council hereby makes the following rules to determine the strength of, and to regulate the method of recruitment to, the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province :

Rules determining the strength of, and regulating the method of recruitment to, the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province

PART I—General

Short title and date of commencement.

1.—These rules shall be called the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service Agra Branch Rules and shall take effect from the date of their notification.

Definition.

2.—In these rules, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(*a*) "The Service" means the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province.

(*b*) "Member of the Service" means a government servant appointed in a substantive or officiating capacity under the provisions of these rules or of the rules in force previous to the introduction of these rules, to a post in the cadre of the service.

(*c*) A "natural born British subject" is as defined in section 1 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914.

(*d*) The "High Court" means the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad.

Constitution of the service.

3.—The service consists of Subordinate Judges and Munsifs.

PART II—CADRE

4.—The strength of the service is as follows :

Cadre.

Munsifs	*108
Subordinate Judges in the time-scale ..	32
Subordinate Judges in the selection grade ..	4

NOTE—The posts in the selection grade will disappear with the disappearance from the service of the last officer who was appointed or approved for appointment to the service before 4th July, 1931.

*The last post of munsif will be filled in a provisionally substantive capacity so long as an officer from the Agra cadre holds the appointment of Deputy Legal Remembrancer to Government. If a member of the Oudh cadre becomes Deputy Legal Remembrancer, the last post of munsif will be held in abeyance.

PART III—RECRUITMENT

5.—(1) Appointment to the service will be made by the Governor in Council of persons who have been duly nominated by the High Court.

Appointment.

(2) No person will be nominated—

(i) who is already in the permanent service of the Government

or

(ii) who does not satisfy the conditions of rule 6.

(3) In making nominations the High Court shall take care to secure reasonable representation of the different communities and to prevent the preponderance of any one class or community. Preference will be given to members of families of tried loyalty and distinguished service and good social status. Before making nominations the High Court will satisfy themselves that the candidate to be nominated is of good character and is suitable in all respects for appointment to the service.

(4) First appointment under these rules shall be made to the posts of munsifs.

PART IV—QUALIFICATIONS

6.—No person may be appointed to the service, unless he satisfy the following conditions :

(1) that he be a male and either—

Domicile and nationality.

(*a*) a natural born British subject who has himself resided in the United Provinces for at least three years otherwise than as a student at a University or other educational institution, and whose father is (or if dead, was at the time of his death) domiciled in the United Provinces ;

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or

(*b*) a natural born British subject who has himself resided in the United Provinces for at least ten years otherwise than as a student at a University or other educational institution and is himself domiciled in the United Provinces;

or

(*c*) a subject of either the Rampur or the Benares or the Tehri-Garhwal State;

(2) that he possess a thorough knowledge of the Vernacular and be able to read and write Hindustani (both in the Hindi and Persian characters);

Academic qualification.

(3) that he be either—

(i) a Bachelor of Laws of a University established by Law in the United Provinces;

or

(ii) an advocate, vakil or pleader on the rolls of, or entitled to practise in, the High Court or the Chief Court of Oudh,

or

(iii) a Barrister of England or Ireland or a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland;

N.B.—In selecting recruits preference will be given to those who have practised at the bar.

(4) that he has attained the age of 20 years and has not attained the age of 27 years on the first day of July in the year in which the qualifying examination referred to in sub-rule (7) of this rule is held, provided that if no qualifying examination is held in any year and he completes his 27th year on or before the first day of July of that year he shall be eligible to take the next qualifying examination as if he was not above 27 years of age;

Age.

(5) that he be in good mental and bodily health and free from any physical defect likely to interfere with the efficient performance of the duties of a member of the service, and to ensure this he must be examined by a Medical Board before his final selection;

Physical fitness.

NOTE—Candidates are recommended to consult a Civil Surgeon before applying for admission to the service.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(6) that he be of good character and has produced a clear certificate from a responsible member of the staff, preferably the principal or the head of the institution at which he was last educated, to the effect that he has not taken active part in any association of a character subversive of law and order, and that he has not come under the influence of such an association so as to be guilty of acts of indiscipline;

Character.

(7) that he shall have satisfied the High Court of his educational qualifications by passing to their satisfaction a qualifying examination conducted for this purpose.

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RULES

REGULATING APPOINTMENT TO, AND THE CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF THE UNITED PROVINCES UPPER SUBORDINATE ENGINEERING SERVICE, IRRIGATION BRANCH

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

ALLAHABAD:
SUPERINTENDENT, PRINTING AND STATIONERY, UNITED PROVINCES
1934

Price, 3 annas.]

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Rules regulating appointment to, and the conditions of service of, the United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch.

Part I—General

Short title.

These rules may be called the "United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch, Rules," and will take effect from 7th May, 1932, the date on which they are notified in the *United Provinces Gazette*.

Status and functions of the service.

2. The United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch, is a subordinate service constituted for the purpose of replacing the service hitherto known as the permanent Upper Subordinate establishment in the Irrigation Branch. All members of that service on the date on which these rules are notified will be deemed to be members of the United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch, in the same order of seniority as in the permanent Upper Subordinate establishment.

Definitions.

3. In these rules, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

(*a*) "The Service" means the United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch.

(*b*) "Member of the Service" means a government servant appointed in a substantive capacity to a post in the cadre of the service.

Part II—Cadre

Strength of cadre.

4. The sanctioned strength of the cadre of the service at any time is the actual number of members of the service at that time.

Part III—Recruitment

Recruitment.

5. Recruitment to the service ceased after the candidates who under went training in the Thomason College, Roorkee, during the year 1920, were appointed to the number guaranteed, and the service will eventually cease to exist on the retirement or promotion to the United Provinces Service of Engineers, Irrigation Branch, of all the existing members.

Part IV—Pay

Rate of pay and procedure regarding increments and efficiency bar.

6. The pay of the service is on a time-scale of Rs.110—7½—200—15—260—20—360—30—540 with an efficiency bar at the stage of Rs.300.

Part V—Other provisions

Designations of members of the service.

7. Those members of the service who are in receipt of pay at Rs.200 a month or less on the time-scale shall be designated "Overseer," those in receipt of pay above Rs.200 and below Rs.360 a month "Supervisors," and those in receipt of pay at Rs.360 and above "Sub-Engineers."

Gazetted status of Sub-Engineers.

8. Sub-Engineers of the service are gazetted officers and their postings, leave, etc. shall be notified in Part I of the *United Provinces Government Gazette*.

Pay and allowance of members of the service when in charge of sub-division.

9. (*a*) A member of the service who on the date of issue of these rules is in charge of a permanent irrigation sub-division and is in receipt of a special pay of Rs.75 a month will continue to receive special pay at this rate, so long as he continues to hold his existing appointment or an appointment of a similar nature without reversion to sectional charge. A member of the service placed in charge of a regular permanent irrigation sub-division in future will receive a special pay of Rs.50 a month.

(*b*) A member of the service who is in charge of a temporary irrigation sub-division and for whom a temporary post has been created on a consolidated pay equal to his substantive pay *plus* Rs.75 a month, will continue to receive a consolidated pay at this rate so long as he continues to hold his existing appointment or an appointment of a similar nature without reversion to sectional charge. A member of the service placed in charge of a temporary irrigation sub-division in future will be appointed to a temporary post on a consolidated pay equal to his substantive pay *plus* Rs.50 a month.

Part VI—Regulation of pay, allowances and pensions

Regulation of pay, allowances and pensions.

10. The pay, allowances and pensions of the members of the service will be regulated by the rules made under rule 44 of the Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules and pending the issue of such rules by the declaration made in G. O. no. A-5822/X—303, dated the 14th November, 1930.

RULES

REGULATING APPOINTMENT TO, AND THE CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF THE UNITED PROVINCES PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT (IRRIGATION BRANCH) DEPUTY REVENUE OFFICERS' SERVICE

ALLAHABAD:
SUPERINTENDENT, PRINTING AND STATIONERY, UNITED PROVINCES
1934

annas.]

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Rules regulating appointment to, and other conditions of service of the United Provinces Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch) Deputy Revenue Officers' Service

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Part I—General

1.—These rules may be called the United Provinces Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch) Deputy Revenue Officers' Service Rules, and shall take effect from the 1st April, 1933.

Short title and commencement.

2.—The United Provinces Deputy Revenue Officers' Service is a subordinate service constituted for the purpose of replacing the service hitherto known as the permanent Deputy Magistrates establishment in the Irrigation Branch. All members of that service shall now be deemed to be members of the United Provinces Deputy Revenue Officers' Service, Irrigation Branch.

Status.

3.—In these rules unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context —

Definitions.

(*a*) "the Service" means the United Provinces Subordinate Service of Deputy Revenue Officers ;

(*b*) "member of the service" means a Government servant appointed in a substantive capacity under the provisions of these rules to a post in the cadre of the Service.

Part II

4.—The sanctioned strength of the cadre is 21 provided that the Government may leave unfilled or hold in abeyance any post, or may increase the cadre by creating permanent or temporary posts from time to time as may be found necessary.

Cadre.

Part III

5.—Recruitment to the post of Deputy Revenue Officer shall be made by selection from ziladars who have passed the Canal Law Examination and are drawing pay in either of the three grades of Rs.150 per mensem, Rs.130 per mensem or Rs.110—5—125 per mensem.

Methods of recruitment.

NOTE.—In making appointments, care shall be taken to secure reasonable representation of the different communities and to prevent the preponderance of any one class or community.

6.—The appointing authority is the Government in the Public Works Department, Irrigation Branch.

Appointing authority.

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Part IV

Probation.

7.—The period of probation of a Deputy Revenue Officer appointed to a permanent vacancy will be two years.

Officiating service in the post of Deputy Revenue Officer will count towards the period of probation provided it is continuous up to the date of permanent appointment. The appointing authority may in its discretion extend the period of probation for any further term in the case of any particular person. A probationer will draw the pay of the lowest grade of the scale to which under rule 9 he would become entitled on confirmation.

Part V

Seniority.

8.—Seniority of members of the Service shall be determined by date of appointment on probation in the lowest grade and according to date of permanent appointment in the other grades.

Part VI

9.—(i) The pay of the service is :

Pay.

First grade..	..	..	.. Rs. 500 per mensem.
Second grade	..	..	.. Rs. 375 ,, ,,
Third grade	..	..	.. Rs. 250 ,, ,,

for :

(1) persons who are appointed to vacancies before the 4th July, 1931 ;

(2) ziladars who were in service before the 4th July, 1931.

(ii) The pay of all other members of the service shall be :

First grade ..	..	..	.. Rs. 325—25—350 per mensem.
Second grade..	..	..	.. Rs. 200—12½—300 ,, ,,

No increment in the above scales shall be allowed until the expiry of one year after the date of confirmation.

Part VII—Other provisions

Regulation of leave, allowances, pension and other conditions of service.

10.—The leave, allowances, pension and other conditions of service of the members of the Service will be regulated by the rules made under rule 44 of the Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules, and pending the issue of such rules by the declaration made in Government notification no. A-5822/X—303, dated the 14th November, 1930.

1934 70 I/11 903

RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

[INCORPORATED UNDER THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA ACT, 1934 (II OF 1934)]

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES

AND THE

RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Printed by the Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, United Provinces, Allahabad, India

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AN AGREEMENT made this seventh day of July 1937 BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES of the one part and THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA (hereinafter called "the Bank") of the other part.

WHEREAS the Bank was constituted and incorporated and is regulated by the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 [being Act no. II of 1934 (hereinafter called "the Act")] as adapted and modified pursuant to the Authority contained in section 293 of the Government of India Act, 1935, by an Order of His Majesty in Council, dated the eighteenth day of March 1937, cited as the India and Burma (Burma Monetary Arrangements) Order, 1937, with and subject to the various powers, provisions, and restrictions in and by the Act set forth and it was thereby *inter alia* particularly provided as follows, viz.,

(1) By section 20 of the Act that the Bank should undertake to accept moneys for account of Provincial Governments and to make payments up to the amount standing to the credit of their accounts and to carry out their exchange, remittance and other banking operations including the management of the public debt and

(2) by section 21 (1) of the Act that Provincial Governments should entrust the Bank on such conditions as might be agreed upon with all their money, remittance, exchange and banking transactions in India and, in particular, should deposit free of interest all their cash balances with the Bank provided that nothing in that sub-section should prevent Provincial Governments from carrying on money transactions at places where the Bank has no branches or agencies and that Provincial Governments might hold at such places such balances as they may require and

(3) by section 21 (2) of the Act that Provincial Governments should entrust the Bank, on such conditions as might be agreed upon, with the management of the public debt and with the issue of any new loans.

NOW IT IS HEREBY MUTUALLY AGREED AND DECLARED by and between the said parties hereto as follows, that is to say :—

1. This agreement shall be deemed to have come into force on the first day of April, 1937.

2. The general banking business of the Government of United Provinces (hereinafter referred to as "the Government") including the payment, receipt collection and remittance of money on behalf of the Government shall be carried on and transacted by the Bank in accordance with and subject to the provisions of this agreement and of the Act and with and to such orders and directions as may from time to time be given to the Bank by the Government through any Government officer or officers authorized by the Government in that behalf and at any of the offices, branches or agencies of the Bank for the time being in existence as may from time to time be so directed and for this purpose such accounts shall be kept in the books of the Bank and at such offices, branches or agencies of the Bank as shall be necessary or convenient or as the Government shall from time to time direct in the manner aforesaid.

3. The Government shall employ the Bank as the sole banker in India of the Government who shall deposit or cause to be deposited with the Bank or allow the Bank to receive and hold as banker the whole of its cash balances at any places at which for the time being the Bank shall have an office, branch or agency and the Bank shall subject to such orders as may from time to time be given by the Government in the manner aforesaid receive and hold for the Government all such moneys as may be or become payable to the Government or on its account and the Bank shall transact at its offices, branches and agencies for the time being existing respectively all such business for the Government regarding the receipt, collection, payment and remittance of money and other matters, as is usually transacted by bankers for their customers. The Bank shall make the said moneys at the said offices, branches and agencies available for transfer to such places and at such times as the Government may direct. No interest shall be payable to the Government on any of the moneys for the time being held by the Bank.

4. The management of the rupee public debt of the Government and the issue of new rupee loans by the Government and the performance of all the duties relating thereto respectively including the collection and payment of interest and principal and the consolidation, division, conversion, cancellation and renewal of securities of the Government and the keeping of all registers, books and accounts and the conduct of all correspondence incidental thereto shall be transacted by the Bank at its offices in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and at any of its offices,

branches or agencies at which respectively the administration of any portion or portions of the public debt of the Government is for the time being conducted or interest thereon is for the time being payable and the Bank shall also keep and maintain such registers, books and accounts in respect of the said public debt as the Government may from time to time direct and shall audit all payments of such interest and act generally as agents in India for the Government in the management of the said public debt and shall conduct such agency subject to such orders and directions with regard to the general management thereof as may from time to time be given to the Bank by the Government.

5. The Bank shall not be entitled to any remuneration for the conduct of the ordinary banking business of the Government other than such advantage as may accrue to it from the holding of the Government cash balances free of obligation to pay interest thereon, and such balances shall be maintained at an amount not below such minimum as may be agreed upon between the Government and the Bank from time to time.

Provided that if the Government wishes to remit funds outside the area within its jurisdiction except as otherwise provided for in this agreement the Bank shall be entitled to make a charge for such remittances at rates not exceeding those which the Bank charges to Banks referred to as "scheduled banks" in section 42 of the Act subject to a minimum charge of 4 annas for each remittance.

6. The Bank shall make ways and means advances to the Government if so required at such rate of interest not exceeding bank rate as may be fixed by the Bank from time to time, provided that the total of such advances outstanding at any one time shall not exceed the amount of the minimum balance prescribed under Clause 5 and any subsidiary agreement provided under the clause and provided further that the advances outstanding shall be fully paid off at intervals not exceeding three months.

7. The Government shall employ the Bank as its sole agent for investments by Government either of Government funds or of funds managed by the Government and the Bank shall be entitled to charge commission for sales (but not for purchases nor for conversion) at the rate of 1/16 per cent. in addition to any further charges which the Bank may have to pay by way of brokerage, etc. The Bank shall collect interest and the maturity values of such investments on behalf of the Government without charge.

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8. As remuneration to the Bank for the management of the public debt as aforesaid the Bank shall be entitled to charge to the Government half yearly a commission at the rate of Rs. 2,000 per crore per annum on the amount of the public debt as aforesaid at the close of the halfyear for which the charge is made. In calculating this charge the following amounts shall be excluded from the amount of public debt, viz. :—

(*a*) The amounts of loans discharged outstanding after one year from the date of a notice of discharge.

(*b*) The amount of stock certificates for Rs.50,000 and upwards held by the Government or by any officer or officers of the Government authorized in that behalf provided that such amount exceeds one crore.

And in addition to the charge of Rs.2,000 per crore per annum the Bank shall be entitled to charge to the Government a fixed sum of Rs.2,000 a year on account of the stock certificates referred to in head (*b*) of this clause and the Bank shall be also entitled to charge the public (but not the Government) all such fees and charges as are now or may hereafter from time to time be prescribed by the Governor General under the powers conferred upon him by the Indian Securities Act, 1920 (Act no. X of 1920) for duplicate securities and for the renewal, consolidation, division, or otherwise of all Government securities which the Bank issues.

Provided that loans not directly issued by the Government but issued under the guarantee of the Government shall not be included in the calculation for the purpose of this clause but shall be a matter for separate arrangement if the management of such loans is entrusted to the bank.

9. The bank shall maintain currency chests of its issue department at such places within the United Provinces, as the Government may with the previous sanction of the Central Government, prescribe and the Government shall provide sufficient accommodation for such chests as may be required for the deposit of notes or coin and shall be responsible to the Bank for the safe custody of the said chests, notes and coin. The Bank shall keep the said chests supplied with sufficient notes and coin to provide currency for the transactions of the Government and reasonable remittance facilities to the public at the said places. The Government shall supply the Bank with such information and returns as the Bank may from time to time require as to the composition of the balances in the said chests and the

amount and nature of the transfers to and from the said chests. The Bank shall have access to the said chests at all reasonable times for the purpose of inspecting and checking the contents. The Government shall be responsible to the Bank for the examination and correctness of coin or notes at the time of deposit in or withdrawal from the said chests.

10. The Bank shall not be at liberty to close any of its offices or branches except on Sundays, New Year's Day, Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on any other day declared to be a public holiday by any notification published in pursuance of the Negotiable Instruments Act (Act XXVI of 1881) subject nevertheless and notwithstanding the provisions of that Act to any special orders or directions which may be issued by the Government and the Bank shall be responsible that no one of its agencies doing Government business for the time being existing shall be closed except on Sundays and on public holidays authorized by the Government within whose jurisdiction such agencies may be respectively situated.

11. The responsibility for all loss or damage to the Government which may result from any act or negligence or omission of the Bank or its agents in conducting the business of the public debt aforesaid or the payment of interest or discharge value thereon or the renewal, conversion, consolidation, sub-division, or cancellation of any Government security shall rest with and be borne by the Bank provided however that it shall not be incumbent on the Bank to verify signatures and endorsements on Government securities which *prima facie* appear to be in order and in the acceptance of which the Bank shall not be guilty of any negligence and in such cases no liability shall be incurred by the Bank in respect thereto PROVIDED ALSO that in regard to the ordinary banking business at the offices, branches and agencies of the Bank of receiving and realizing money and securities for money on account of the Government and paying cheques, orders, draft bills and other documents whether negotiable or not in the Bank's capacity of bankers for the Government and whether such business be done by the Bank or by agencies on its behalf the responsibility to the Government shall be that of the Bank and such responsibility shall be that of a banker to an ordinary customer.

12. The Bank shall remit on account of the Government between India and London such amounts as may be required

by it from time to time at the market rate of the day for telegraphic transfers, subject to the proviso that if a large transfer has to be effected in connexion with the flotation or repayment of a sterling loan or analogous operation, and if it is considered by either party to be inappropriate to apply the rate of a single day, an average rate based on a longer period may be fixed by agreement between the two parties.

13. This agreement may be determined by either party giving to the other party one year's notice in writing expiring on the 31st day of March, in any year, such notice if given by or on behalf of the Government to be addressed to the Governor of the Bank and to be served by leaving the same with the Head Office of the Bank or addressing the same to him at the Head Office of the Bank by registered post and if given by the Bank to be served by leaving the same with or addressing the same by registered post to the Secretary to the Government in the Finance Department and immediately upon the expiration of such notice this agreement shall absolutely cease and determine save as to rights or liabilities acquired or incurred prior to such termination.

14. In the event of any dispute arising as to the terms and conditions of this agreement, or as to the rights or obligations of the parties hereto such dispute or difference of opinion shall, in the event of the parties hereto failing to reach an agreement, be referred to the Governor General whose decision shall be final and binding as between the parties hereto.

15. Nothing in this agreement shall operate to affect in any way the obligations imposed either on the Government or on the Bank by or under the Act or any subsequent amendment or amendments of the Act.

16. The Bank shall be entitled to perform all or any of the matters contained in this agreement through such agency or agencies as may be prescribed by the Act or any amendment thereof or as may be approved by the Government.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF Mr. A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E., Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces in the Finance Department, by the order and direction of the Governor of United Provinces, has hereunto set his hand and the common seal of the Reserve Bank of India

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pursuant to a resolution of its Central Board has been hereunto affixed in the presence of its subscribing officials the day and year first above written.

Signed by the said Mr. A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E., Secretary to the Government of United Provinces in the Finance, Department for and on behalf of the Governor of United Provinces in the presence of

A. C. TURNER,
Secretary to the Government of United Provinces, Finance Department.

SURAJ DIN BAJPAI,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces.

The common seal of the Reserve Bank of India was affixed hereto in the presence of Sultan Meherally Chinoy and Devi Das Madhowji Thakersey two of its Directors and Sir James Braid Taylor, Kt. C.I.E., its Governor.

Common seal of the Reserve Bank of India.
SULTAN CHINOY,
DEVIDAS MADHOWJI THAKERSEY,
Directors.

J. B. TAYLOR,
Governor.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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AN AGREEMENT made this seventh day of July one thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven *BETWEEN* THE GOVERNOR OF UNITED PROVINCES of the one part and the Reserve Bank of India (hereinafter called "the Bank") of the other part supplemental to an agreement (hereinafter referred to "as the principal agreement") made on the 7th day of July 1937 between the parties hereto.

WHEREAS under clause 5 of the principal agreement it is provided that the Government of United Provinces (hereafter referred to as "the Government") shall maintain a daily balance with the Bank not below such minimum as may be agreed upon NOW IT IS HEREBY MUTUALLY AGREED AND DECLARED AS FOLLOWS :

1. The Bank shall inform the Government by telegram of the Government daily balance with the Bank at the close of each working day.

2. The Government shall take steps by taking a ways and means advance from the Bank or by issuing treasury bills to ensure that the Government balance on each Friday is not less than a credit of thirty lakhs. If a reduction in the Government balance is to be anticipated before the following Friday, e.g. owing to the-beginning-of-the-month disbursements, etc., the Government shall also take steps to ensure that this balance does not fall below the said minimum by more than five lakhs.

3. The Government will not repay ways and means advances or invest any surplus of the Government balances unless the said balance exceeds a credit of thirty-five lakhs.

4. Ways and means advances may be taken and repaid on any day without previous notice by telegraphic or such other intimation to such branch of the Bank as the Bank may prescribe provided that such advances shall be for a minimum period of seven days and provided further that such advances shall be in minimum amounts of five lakhs.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF Mr. A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E., Secretary to the Government of United Provinces in the Finance Department, by the order and direction of the Governor of United Provinces, has hereunto set his hand and the common seal of the Reserve Bank of India

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pursuant to a resolution of its Central Board has been hereunto affixed in the presence of its subscribing officials the day and year first above written.

Signed by the said Mr. A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E., Secretary to the Government of United Provinces in the Finance Department, for and on behalf of the Governor of United Provinces in the presence of

A. C. TURNER,
Secretary to the Government of United Provinces, Finance Department.

SURAJ DIN BAJPAI,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces.

The common seal of the Reserve Bank of India was affixed hereto in the presence of Sultar Meharally Chinoy and Devi Das Madhowji Thakersey two of its Directors and Sir James Braid Taylor, Kt., C.I.E., its Governor.

Common seal of the Reserve Bank of India.
SULTAN CHINOY,
DEVIDAS MADHOWJI THAKERSEY,
Directors.

J. B. TAYLOR,
Governor.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

January 24, 1930.

No. 163/I(A)—54-1923—In accordance with rule 64 of the rules relating to settlement published with Government notification no. 855/I(A)—197-A, dated June 6, 1929, the Governor in Council is pleased to order the publication of the following papers regarding the final settlement report of the Lucknow district, for general information and objection. Any criticisms or opinions received within one month will be considered by Government.

FINAL SETTLEMENT REPORT, LUCKNOW.

EXCLUDING the city and cantonment areas, the district of Lucknow has an area of 955 square miles. The Gumti river flows through the centre of the district from north to south-east, receiving several small tributaries on the way. The Sai river flows along the south-western border for a short distance. These two main physical features have necessitated several special assessment circle.

2. The rural population is slightly less than at last settlement. In 1901 it amounted to 5·29 lakhs, but fell at the census of 1921 to 4·80. It averages nearly 900 to the square mile of cultivation.

3. The principal landowners are Muhammadans and Thakurs, who hold three-fifths of the whole area between them. Both castes have lost ground, particularly the Thakurs, since last settlement, and many of the transfers have been to the Rastogi bankers and Kashmiris of Lucknow. The chief cultivators are Ahirs, Pasis, Thakurs, Chamars and Lodhs. There is a considerable percentage of the more skilled classes of cultivators, especially in and round Lucknow city. Under pressure of circumstances the Brahmans and Thakurs are beginning to do their own ploughing, and caste privilege seems to be disappearing to a large extent. On the whole, both zamindars and cultivators are in prosperous circumstances, although the great majority of the tenants have very small holdings, averaging less than 3½ acres. On the other hand, there is a substantial proportion of tenants with much larger holdings.

More than a quarter of the district is owned by zamindars paying over Rs. 4,000 land revenue, the principal estates being those of Salempur, Itaunja, Sissendi and Sahlamau.

4. Cultivation has increased by some 21,000 acres and is still well above the area at last settlement, in spite of large acquisitions in the city and for the construction of the Sarda canal. Irrigation facilities have increased, especially as regards masonry wells, and the Sarda canal will in future protect the greater part of the district.

Rents have increased by approximately 60 per cent. and now average Rs. 10 an acre, and the price of land has trebled since last settlement. The district is stable and progressive, cultivation is still increasing and is becoming more and more intensive, and rents continue to rise. Communications are excellent, and Lucknow city affords a ready market for all kinds of agricultural produce.

5. The revenue assessed at the summary settlement in 1858 was 6·8 lakhs. This was increased by a lakh at the first regular settlement which followed shortly after, and by another lakh at the second settlement in 1894, when the assessment was made at 47 per cent. of the assets. On several occasions remissions of revenue have been rendered necessary by special circumstances, but on the whole the assessment was fair and lenient and the revenue has been paid without difficulty.

For assessment purposes, 25 circles have been used. These closely follow those framed at last settlement, except in pargana Lucknow, where the Settlement Officer has rightly reverted to the six circles of the first regular settlement. For reasons fully explained in the report, a somewhat elaborate soil classification has been found necessary. Irrigated Har I has been selected as the basic soil class. The rate for it varies from Rs. 11 to Rs. 21, but it is the main and most stable soil and it has been possible to deduce proper rates from the rents of adequate areas held by tenants of average skill and industry.

7. The area assessed is 360,837 acres. This is 11,000 acres above the actual cultivated area in the year of verification, but is 5,000 acres below the average, and 14,000 acres below the holdings area. It is certainly safe, and it excludes practically all the land of a precarious nature which is included in the holdings.

8. Owing to the prevalence of nazrana in most of the larger estates—the Salempur and Kasmandi Khurd estates are mentioned as exceptions to the general rule—additions to the recorded rents have had to be made in a considerable number of cases, but on the other hand liberal deductions have been made for instability where the recorded rents are too high for safety. The total recorded rental of the ordinary revenue paying land is 24·15 lakhs, with a valuation of 22·5 lakhs and the Settlement Officer has accepted 23·8 lakhs for assessment. The great bulk of the holdings come under the class of non-privileged statutory, which constitutes 61 per cent. of the total holdings area. The assumption areas have ordinarily been valued at 25 per cent. below the rates, and the accepted assets of the grain-rented area, which includes a considerable proportion of really good land, are 16 per cent. below the valuation at rates.

The Settlement Officer has dealt generously with the very numerous, but very petty under-proprietary holdings.

9. The total net assets amount to 33·67 lakhs, on which revenue of 12·22 lakhs, or 36·3 per cent. has been assessed. This gives an increase of 25·8 per cent. on the expiring demand. Excluding the nominal revenue, the actual sum payable to Government will be 10·99 lakhs, which is an increase of 2·1 lakhs.

This amounts to 18·6 per cent. only of the additional assets since last settlement. The average incidence is Rs. 3·4 per acre assessed, as compared with an average competition rent of Rs. 12·83.

10. Although the assessments were made before the Settlement Bill became law, the concessions granted under the new rules have been given to the Lucknow district, and the settlement is for 40 years ending in 1968 and 1969.

11. The total cost of the settlement is 3·62 lakhs, and it has been carried out without waste of time and with marked economy. Rai Sahib Pandit Brij Chand Sharma is a careful and experienced officer. He has been scrupulously fair in his assessments and they may be accepted with confidence. He has written an accurate and interesting report, and his work merits emphatic commendation. He was ably assisted by Mr. Anwar Ali Faruqi, to whom was entrusted the bulk of the record work and who afterwards became Assistant Settlement Officer, and by Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra, Assistant Record Officer. The excellent work of other members of the staff has been acknowledged in the last paragraph of the Settlement Officer's report.

The report is recommended for the sanction of Government.

J. C. SMITH,

January 2, 1930. *Junior Member, Board of Revenue, United Provinces.*

NOTE ON THE FINAL SETTLEMENT REPORT OF DISTRICT LUCKNOW.

THE district of Lucknow shows considerable diversity in its physical character. The principal drainage line is the Gomti, which passes roughly through the centre from north west to south-east. It is joined by five tributary streams, the largest being the Behta, which flows into it rather nearer Lucknow than the north-west border. All these streams join the Gomti in the upper half of its course through the district. The northern half is, therefore, better drained than the southern. The Sai river forms part of the south-western border and has only one tributary of any importance. The variety of the district is best illustrated by the natural qualities from which the 25 assessment circles originate. Rivers are responsible for 9, of which two are tarai and seven bhur circles. Proximity to Lucknow city gives one circle and combined with Gomti influence another. Predominant loam and clay soils are each responsible for five circles, usar for two and jhils for one, while one circle is intermediate between sand and loam. There is thus every variety of natural feature and of soil. The population shows a decline of Rs. 20,000 since last settlement, but still reaches the high figure of 900 per cultivated and 500 per total square mile. Hamlets are numerous and the homesteads number 2·6 per square mile. Substantial proprietors own a considerable proportion of the whole area, 29 per cent. being held by landlords paying over Rs. 4,000 land revenue. The Rajas of Salempur and Itaunja pay respectively Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 43,000, the Rani of Sassendi Rs. 38,000, and the Nawab of Sahlamau Rs. 29,000, The percentages of the more important kinds of tenure are pattidari 30, single zamindari 21, taluqdari and joint zamindari 20 each, while bhaiachara is only ·5 per cent. of the whole. Among the castes Thakurs who at last settlement headed the list of proprietors have now receded to second place with 29 per cent. of the whole, while Muslims own 31, Brahmans 12, and Kayesths 5·2 per cent. Muslims and Thakurs have both lost considerable ground during the period of settlement, their property having passed by dedication to religious institutions and to Vaishyas, Kashmiris, Kayesths and Kurmis. Among the cultivators Ahirs hold the first place with 17 per cent. of the whole, and Pasis the second with 14½ per cent.; 15½ per cent.; is held by castes of special skill, Lodhs having 9, Kurmis 4, and Muraos and Kachis 2½ per cent. Among the high castes Brahmans and Thakurs hold together 18 per cent. Both have in recent years taken to handling the plough themselves. Cultivation is, generally speaking, of a good standard and the economic condition of the tenantry satisfactory. An economic census has been taken in selected villages during settlement and shows that three-fourths of the tenants are either altogether free from debt or indebted only to an extent which they can at once discharge. The average size of holdings is 5 acres, but 20 per cent. of the tenantry have substantial holdings, while 80 per cent. hold on the average 3⅓ acres. The cultivated area has increased during the period of settlement by 21,000 acres, but the additions have been mainly in the inferior soils; 60 per cent. of the whole area is now cultivated. Future development is likely to be rather in the direction of afforestation than of more extended cultivation. Facilities for irrigation have developed substantially. The area actually irrigated in the present year of record is less than that of the year of record of last settlement, but the reason is to be found in the character of the seasons. Both masonry and earthen wells have nearly doubled during the intervening years, and now number 17 and 24, respectively, to each square mile of cultivation. Wells have continued steadily to replace tanks as the main source of irrigation. The proportion of well to tank irrigation at the first settle-

ment was 29 to 71, in the years 1329-33 56 to 44, and in the period 1334-38 66 to 34. This change makes for more stable irrigation which is not liable to fail when it is most wanted in years of drought. Of the cultivated area 42 per cent. has been classed as wet at the present settlement. With an average rainfall of 37 inches irrigation facilities are now reasonably good, and, with the advent of the Sarda Canal, the district will be fully protected from drought. Crops sown in the kharif cover 64 per cent. of the total area and those in the rabi 56 per cent. This gives a dofasli area of 20 per cent. of the whole, but in extent it has decreased by 30,000 acres since the previous settlement. This is due to a decline in the rice area which was unusually extensive at last settlement owing to the cycle of wet years which preceded it. Wheat occupies 37 per cent. of the rabi area and has increased by 8,500 acres, while the extensions under cane and maize are 1,000 and 2,000 acres, respectively. Agricultural stock shows a substantial all-round increase. The recorded cash rents of combined statutory and non-statutory tenants show a rise of 60 per cent. since the previous settlement from Rs. 6·3 to Rs. 10·1 per acre. The incidences in the different kinds of proprietary tenure are in taluqdari 8·8, in zamindari 9·9, and in pattidari 11 3. Concealment of rent is rare, but the practice of taking nazarana is popular especially with the Taluqdars among whom notable exceptions are the Raja of Salempur and the Taluqdar of Kasmandi Khurd. Grain rents still prevail in 19,000 acres, an area 1,000 acres less than that at last settlement. Of the grain-rented area 3,200 acres lie in superior soils. The share of grain taken by the landlords is generally half. The price of land sold by private negotiation has risen from Rs. 48 to Rs. 149 per acre during the period of settlement.

2. The revenue-paying capacity of the district, both physical and fiscal, is therefore high. The natural capacity of the land is shown by the percentage of the whole assigned to the principal soil classes, which is as follows :—

Har	I wet	...	... 19·4	
„	II wet	...	... 13·8	
„	III dry	...	... 13·5	
„	IV dry	...	... 8·7	
„	II dry	...	... 8·5	
„	III wet	...	... 6·8	
Tarai	...	...	... 5·1	fairly equally divided into 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class.
Goind	I wet	...	... 5·0	
Har	IV wet	...	... 3·4	
„	I dry	...	... 3·2	
Matiyar	I	...	... 3·2	
„	II	...	... 2·7	

The home lands cover 7 per cent., good wet loam, 25 per cent., fair loam 22 per cent., poor loam 20 per cent., sandy soil 12½ per cent., rice land 6½ per cent., and tarai 5 per cent. Fiscally the district is stable and progressive. The proprietary body contains many substantial landlords, and the tenantry is on the whole prosperous. Cultivation reaches a good standard, and communications both by rail and road are excellent, enabling the produce to be easily marketed. The recorded rents show a 60 per cent. rise and the price of land has trebled during the period of settlement. Agricultural stock has increased considerably, and protection against drought has much improved and will improve even more with the opening of the Sarda Canal. All the factors are, therefore, present which justify an enhancement of the revenue demand.

3. There is little to relate about the fiscal history of the district. The expiring settlement was moderate and its distribution even, while the policy of the liberal remissions of revenue in times of calamity has enabled the demand to be realised with ease.

4. The present settlement is based on a soil classification partly natural and partly artificial. The Settlement Officer has divided homeland from the outlying areas, and has sub-divided the homeland into kachhiana 1st and 2nd class, and goind 1st, 2nd and tarai. He has distinguished in the outlying matiyar in three classes and tarai in four classes, and has sub-divided the remainder of it into four classes of har according to soil and position relative to the homesteads. Wet and dry have been distinguished in all the main soil classes except matiyar and tarai where the rents do not recognize any distinction. The classification is a good one. It accounts for all the main distinctions of rental values both natural and artificial and is easily intelligible without being too complicated. The division into assessment circles is topographical, and, as already mentioned, is based on distinctions of natural qualities. The Settlement Officer has in this matter followed the division of the previous settlement with minor variations except in pargana Lucknow, where he has reverted to the six circles of the first settlement in place of three adopted at the last. The division into assessment circles has passed the certain test of easy assessment. The evolution of the rates follows the usual process of soil proportions and unit-value. The rates actually applied are tabulated in Appendix VIIC. They range between Rs. 1·1 per acre for the sand hills of the Bhur circles of pargana Mohana and Rs. 50·5 for the market gardens of Lucknow city. Har I wet may be taken as the basic soil class. The highest rate for it is Rs. 21·3 in the City circle of Lucknow pargana and lowest Rs. 11·2 in the Bhur circle of the same pargana. The modification of circle rates in particular villages has, generally speaking, been restricted to a variation of 12½ per cent. up or down, and has, been rightly based on the quality of the soil, the character of the tenantry, and the density of population rather than on the level of the actual rents.

5. The assessment is discussed at length in the report, but the figures given in it in illustration of the manner in which the various tenures have been treated relate to the whole district. More representative perhaps are the figures for the area which pays revenue to Government and is not permanently settled. These will be found in Appendix VII-B (ii) and it is worth abstracting the parts which relate to the tenants' land. The figures are as follows :—

	Recorded rent.	Valuation at rates.	Accepted.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Exproprietary	12,015	12,824	12,000
Occupancy	16,980	31,297	20,811
Total ex-proprietary and occupancy ..	28,995	44,121	32,811
Statutory privileged	78,493	79,582	76,957
„ non-privileged	20,16,606	20,28,743	19,80,915
Non-statutory privileged	28,425	26,442	26,798
„ non-privileged	2,62,545	2,71,510	2,63,253
Total ..	24,15,064	24,50,398	23,80,734
Total of statutory and non-statutory ..	23,86,069	24,06,277	23,47,923

The moderation of the assets of the cash-rented area is evident. The ex-proprietary rents are accepted as they stand. The occupancy area is valued at only two-thirds of the valuation at standard rates. For the most important class of tenant is the non-privileged statutory. The figure accepted for them is in spite of nazrana Rs. 35,500 below the recorded rental and Rs. 47,800 below the valuation at standard rates. The recorded rental of statutory and non-statutory tenants combined is Rs. 23,86,000, the valuation at standard rates is Rs. 24,06,000, while the accepted figure is Rs. 23,48,000. The Settlement Officer states that he has made additions for inadequacy amounting to 15 per cent. to the recorded rents of the mahals concerned, and for non-genuineness 24 per cent. It is clear, therefore, that, where the recorded rents are high, he has made substantial allowance for instability and short collections. In the grain-rented area the recorded rental is Rs. 1,41,000, the valuation at standard rates Rs. 1,22,000; while the accepted assets are Rs. 1,11,000, the last figure leaving a 16 per cent. margin on the valuation at rates. Out of a recorded *sayar* income of Rs. 98,244 the Settlement Officer has assessed revenue on only Rs. 15,012, of which Rs. 11,699 is in the *khalsa*. Under-proprietary rents deserve a word of special mention. The figures in Appendix VII (ii) show that the incidence of the recorded under-proprietary rents is only 2·6, while that of the figures accepted is 9·4. The pity is that these dues are called rents at all. The under-proprietor has, generally speaking, to pay to the proprietor the land revenue with the addition of 10 per cent. thereon. The incidence of 2·6, therefore, represents 2·4 as revenue and ·2 as 10 per cent. addition. The accepted assets, on the other hand, are not the amount which will actually be paid, but the figure from which the demand, which will actually be made, will be calculated. The accepted assets of this land are, therefore the assets which will give the revenue which the under-proprietor will actually have to pay with 10 per cent. added. To ascertain, therefore, the actual amount which the under-proprietor must pay with assets at an incidence of 9·4, it is necessary to deduct 10 per cent. from 9·4 and to take 36 per cent. the revenue incidence of the balance. This will give the revenue on the accepted assets, and the actual payment by the under-proprietor will be the revenue plus 10 per cent. Applying this principle to actual figures we get the following figure:—9·4 – 10 per cent. is 8·5 of which 36 per cent. is 3·1. The incidence of the sum which the under-proprietor must pay is, therefore, 3·4 instead of 2 6.

6. The total amount payable to Government, excluding assigned and nominal revenue, is as follows:—

——	Khalsa.			Permanently settled.	Total.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Expiring	8,32,266 2 5	+ 3,292 5 6		52,969 6 0	8,88,527 13 6
Proposed	10,42,054 6 0	+ 4,157 8 0		52,969 6 0	10,99,181 4 0
Initial	9,89,690 10 0	+ 3,890 0 0		52,969 6 0	10,56,550 0 0
Intermediate	10,41,929 6 0	+ 4,157 8 0		52,969 6 0	10,99 056 4 0
Final enhancement.. ..	..			..	2,10,653 6 6
Initial enhancement ..	..			..	1,68,022 2 6

The revenue payable to Government falls just below 36 per cent. of the assets of the land for which it is paid. In the Khalsa the percentage of enhancement is slightly above 25 per cent., while if the permanently-settled revenue is also added the enhancement of the Government demand falls to 23·8 per cent. This enhancement is moderate in view of a 60 per cent. rise in the recorded statutory rents and the increase of 200 per cent. in the sale price of land and

of 100 per cent. in the prices of agricultural produce. The additional assets which have accrued since last settlement and the revenue assessed on them are as follows :—

—	Assets.	Revenue.
	Rs.	Rs.
Last settlement	21,03,530	9,36,569
Present settlement	33,67,233	12,21,899
Increase	12,63,703	2,35,330

The percentage of the additional assets assessed as additional revenue is thus only 18·6.

7. The incidence of the proposed revenue on each acre of assessed area is Rs. 3.4. It is of interest to compare this incidence which that of the rents paid by tenants-at-will. The figures are as follows :—

Incidence per acre of tenants of sir .. .. .. $\frac{\text{Rs. } 1,23,664}{\text{Acres } 7,925}$ = Rs 15·60

Ditto sub-tenants .. .. .. $\frac{\text{Rs. } 4,36,593}{\text{Acres } 35,742}$ = Rs. 12·22

Ditto tenants of sir and sub-tenants combined .. $\frac{\text{Rs. } 5,60,257}{\text{Acres } 43,667}$ = Rs. 12·83

The incidence of the proposed revenue is only 21·8 per cent. of the valuation of the district at the incidence of the rents, paid by tenants of sir, 27·8 per cent. of the valuation at the incidence of sub-tenants' rents, and 26·5 of the valuation at the incidence of the rents paid by tenants of sir and sub-tenants combined.

8. The cost of settlement has been Rs. 3,61,570. The initial enhancement of the demand is Rs. 1,68,000. The whole cost of settlement will thus be recouped in a little over two years after the imposition of the new demand. The term of settlement proposed is for 40 years to conclude at the end of June, 1968, for tahsil Lucknow, and a year later for tahsils Malihabad and Mohanlalganj.

9. The proposals for the new revenue are moderate for such a progressive district as Lucknow. The assets have been calculated on a safe basis, and a low percentage of them has been taken. An enhancement of 25 per cent. is reasonable in the circumstances of the tract. The enhanced revenue could be paid comfortably even if there were no prospects of further development. With the Sarda Canal stretching to every quarter of the district the new demand should prove unusually light. The settlement as proposed may confidently be recommended for final sanction.

10. Rai Sahib Pandit Brij Chand Sharma came to Lucknow with many years of settlement experience behind him. He has put his knowledge to good use, and kept the balance even between the revenue payer and the State. He has assessed with reasonable caution a demand which will be fair to both parties and has conducted the operations with energy and skill. His assistant, Mr. Anwar Ali Faruqi, has also made a promising start in his first essay at inspection and assessment. Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra's work as Assistant Record Officer has also been good. It is satisfactory to note the cordial relations between the Settlement Officer and the District Officer and the efficient performance of the Settlement Office.

H. A. LANE,
Settlement Commissioner.

Final report of the settlement of the Lucknow district.

Physical description,

THE district of Lucknow is an irregular quadrilateral lying north-west and south east with a steady slope south-eastwards. It has an area of 955 square miles excluding the city and cantonments, and comprises three tahsils and seven parganas. It is bounded on the north-east and east by Sitapur and Bara Banki, on the south-east by Rai Bareli, on the south-west and west by Unao and on the north-west by Hardoi. The boundary with the surrounding districts is purely conventional except for short distances in the south-west and the south where the Sai forms a broken boundary with Unao and in the east centre where the Gumti separates it from Bara Banki.

The district is an "open champaign" unrelieved by rocky ridges or high eminences. It is very diversified in physical features, which are determined by the chief drainage lines. The main arterial drainage line is the Gumti, which with its affluents the Akhaddi, the Jhingi and the Behta on the right bank and the Kukrail and the Reth on the left, drains the greater portion of the district in the north, the east and the south-east. The Sai with its tributaries the Nagwa and the Bankh, drains the south-west of pargana Bijnor and the south-eastern half of pargana Nigohan.

The banks of the Gumti are generally steep and are marked by high sand-hills and scour. But in tahsil Malihabad and in pargana Lucknow the banks recede leaving narrow belts of lowlying *khadir* which close to the city is very fertile. Further inland away from the Gumti Bhur tract the sandy uplands are lined by narrow belts of excellent level loam. From the good loam belt in pargana Mahona, the level gently slopes away eastwards. The south-east of that pargana on either side of the metalled road to Kursi is crossed by large *usar* plains, where the Kukrail takes its rise and runs southwards to fall into the Gumti close to the city. The north-eastern portion of pargana Mahona is a lowlying clayey tract abounding in *jhils* and patches of *dhak* jungle of varying sizes. These *jhils* give rise to the Reth, which runs into Bara Banki eventually to fall into the Gumti. From the good loam central belt in pargana Malihabad, the level falls south-westwards. The west centre of the pargana is a somewhat lowlying and ill-drained tract of *usar* intermixed with patches of stunted *dhak* jungle. The extreme west and the south of pargana Malihabad are traversed by the Behta whose course is marked by ravines. The Ghazi-uddin Haidar canal, which cuts across the centre of pargana Kakori from west to east, following very nearly the line of the watershed between the Behta and the Nagwa divides the pargana into two distinct tracts. The northern portion consists of a good light loam characteristic of the valley of the Gumti, while the southern is a part of the extensive lowlying ill-drained *matiyar* plain occupying the south-west of the district and embracing the centre of pargana Bijnor, the north-eastern half of pargana Nigohan and the great bulk of pargana Mohanlalganj. This tract is distinguished by the existence of large *usar* plains and numerous *jhils* dotted all over. The *jhils* get deeper in the south-east of pargana Bijnor where the Bankh *nala* begins to form which ultimately finds its way into the Sai across pargana Nigohan. With the fall of the level in tahsil Mohanlalganj the *jhils* become more numerous and more extensive and give rise to the Loni, which falls into Gumti near Salempur.

Communication.

2 Means of communication as might be expected are excellent. Lucknow is a railway junction of the first importance, recently embellished by a fine station. It lies on the main line of the East Indian Railway and the mail from Calcutta to Peshawar runs daily through Lucknow. There are daily services to Cawnpore, Bombay, Allahabad and Fyzabad. The Rohilkhand and Kumaun Railway running northwards links up the district with the submontane districts of Oudh and

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Rohilkhand, while the Bengal North-Western railway running eastwards links it up with the densely populated trans-Ghagra districts and with Nepal. The railway lines radiate in all directions and parallel to these run the metalled roads to Sitapur, Malihabad, Cawnpore, Rai Bareli and Fyzabad. In addition, there are metalled roads to Sultanpur and to Kursi. The only portions somewhat difficult of access are the north of Malihabad and the east centre of Mohanlalganj, but even these are fairly well-served by unmetalled roads.

Towns, markets and trade.

3. The district has 5 towns—Kakori, Bijnor, Malihabad, Amethi and Nagram. They are more or less in a decaying condition and are really places of historic or pious associations rather than centres of economic importance, but Malihabad is famous for its *safeda* and *dusshri* mangoes and trade in grafted mangoes and mango grafts in this town is of more than local importance. There are several large villages with a population of 1,000 persons each, but they are merely overgrown agricultural estates.

Markets are held at no less than 46 places either weekly or twice a week for the sale of ordinary country produce. Their utility consists in catering to the day-to-day wants of the villagers and beyond that these bazars have hardly any economic importance. Trade in agricultural produce is rather shy of Lucknow and favours Cawnpore, but the recent abolition of the octroi duty might place Lucknow in a more favourable position to suck in trade of the surrounding country.

The cattle markets at Banthara and Ain in tahsil Lucknow which are local centres of cattle trade are well known in the neighbourhood and attract dealers from such distant places as Kosi and Hissar.

Population.

4. The population of the district at the various censuses is shown in Appendix V.

Despite the two widespread famines, the rural population reached its zenith during the decade ending in 1901, but has declined during the last two decades owing to the ravages of the plague and the malaria and influenza epidemics of 1908 and 1918 respectively, resulting in a net loss of about 21,000 or 4 per cent. since last settlement. This loss, however, is by no means serious. For despite the decrease, the number of sites has increased by 247 and the spreading of population leads to extension in the cultivated area and conduces to intensive cultivation. There are 4·5 abadis per square mile of the average cultivated area and all but very small villages have more than one abadi, the average being 2·6 per village. The rural population is entirely agricultural and is scattered about in small abadis, which as a rule are fairly prosperous looking. Moreover, the density per square mile of cultivated area as shown in the following table is still fairly high for Oudh :—

To square mile of total area.		To square mile of cultivated area.		
Last settlement.	Present settlement.	Last settlement.	Present settlement.	Twelve years' average.
497	502	926	877	839

Proprietary tenures.

5. The 960 towns and villages of the district are subdivided into 2,211 mahals, the distribution of which over the different proprietary tenures is given in Appendix VIIIA. Single zamindars just hold about 21 per cent. of the total area and are followed closely by taluqdars and joint zamindars with 20 per cent. each. Small coparceners—both perfect and imperfect pattidari taken together—hold 30 per cent. The constitution of the proprietary body, therefore, shows a goodly proportion of well-to-do substantial proprietors.

The entire revenue assigned mahals comprise 3 per cent. of the total area with another 1 per cent. included in a partly khalsa and partly revenue assigned mahals. The revenue-free and the revenue-assigned mahals are for the most part in the possession of the relations of ex-King Wajid Ali Shah and are practically confined to tahsil Lucknow. Some of the conditional life *muafi* have been resumed after the death of certain wives of the late king.

Losses and gains of proprietors.

6. The areas held in proprietary right by the different castes are given in Appendix VIIIB.

Muhammadans occupy the first place among the proprietors with Thakurs a close second. Both Muhammadans and Thakurs are still the largest land owners in the district—the two holding together about three-fifths of the total area. Both of them have lost heavily since last settlement and money-lending Rastogis of Lucknow and Kashmiri Brahmans have gained at their expense Kayasthas have also strengthened their position. The larger proprietors are fairly well off. The losses have been chiefly among the petty and impoverished proprietors, who are for the most part indebted. Alienations of large properties are rare. At last settlement Muhammadans and Thakurs had already lost about 7,000 acres and 45,000 acres respectively. Since then, their position has further weakened and their gradual displacement by money-lending *Mahajans* is ominous. A noteworthy feature is the expansion of the area dedicated for charitable purposes A tendency is noticeable among Muhammadans to dedicate their property for the benefit of their descendants (*waqf-al-al-aulad*) with a view to prevent alienations.

A list of the leading proprietors is given in Appendix VIIIC. About 29 per cent. of the total area of the district is in the possession of substantial proprietors paying over Rs. 4,000 as revenue and the increase in the new revenue in their case is a moderate one of only 20 per cent.

Cultivating castes

7. The areas in the cultivation of the different castes may be studied in the following table :—

Consolidated statement of cultivating castes of district Lucknow.

Castes.	Occupancy		Statutory.		Non-statutory.		Grain rented area.	Sir and khudkasht area.	Total.
	Area.	Incidence.	Area.	Incidence.	Area.	Incidence.			
Muhammadans ..	762 21·9	5·2	18,249 6·5	10·7	3,157 8·3	11·2	517 2·6	5,925 17·8	26,615 7·8
Brahmans ..	486 13·9	5·0	18,433 7·4	9·2	4,618 12·2	8·8	985 5·0	4,600 13·8	2122 8·5
Thakurs ..	1,907 54·4	5·3	9,490 3·5	8·5	5,244 13·8	8·8	939 4·8	16,028 48·1	33,608 9·8
Ahirs	67 1·9	4·4	48,522 19·5	9·2	5,787 15·2	9·4	3,988 20·3	1,260 3·7	59,624 17·3
Kurmis	57 1·6	6·3	9,706 3·9	13·3	1,486 3·9	11·9	192 1·0	1,538 4·6	12,979 3·8
Lodhs	17 ·5	6·3	26,266 10·6	10·1	3,253 8·6	10·6	1,696 8·7	172 ·5	31,404 9·2
Chamars ..	3 ·1	2·0	26,487 10·7	10·5	2,554 6·7	9·7	3,402 17·4	2 ·	32,448 9·5
Pasi	8 ·2	6·0	41,462 16·7	9·3	4,042 10·7	8·8	4,067 20·7	20 ·1	49,599 14·5
Morai and Kachhi ..	..	..	7,703 3·1	14·5	880 2·3	15·2	805 1·6	372 1·1	9,260 2·6
Others	193 5·5	5·8	44,292 17·8	10·1	6,972 18·3	9·7	3,510 17·9	2,432 10·3	58,399 17·0
Total ..	3,505 100	5·3	248,610 100	10·0	37,993 100	9·8	19,601 100	33,349 100	343,058 100

Among the tenant body Ahirs, Pasis, Chamars and Lodhs are the most numerous. Ahirs hold 17 per cent. of the holdings area and are followed closely by Pasis with 14 per cent. Chamars and Lodhs occupy over 9 per cent. apiece, while Kurmis hold less than 4 per cent. and Kachhis and Muraos about 2½ per cent. Ahirs, Pasis and Chamars are average cultivators, while Kachhis and Muraos are cultivators of special skill and industry and devote themselves entirely to vegetable and tobacco cultivation. Kurmis and Lodhs are excellent husbandmen, most industrious and painstaking. These three castes taken together occupy about 16 per cent. of the holdings area. The district, therefore, is fortunate in having a fair proportion of excellent cultivators. Thakurs and Brahmans occupy 10 per cent. and 8 per cent. respectively. Most of the Thakurs and Brahmans have now descended from their high pedastal and economic pressure has driven them to handle the plough, which they till recently disdained to do. Their cultivation can now scarcely be styled as slip-shod or careless. Muhammadans, Brahmans and Thakurs are practically the only three castes who hold substantial areas as occupancy tenants. Kachhis and Muraos pay the highest rents chiefly because they have the best lands in their possession.

Style of cultivation.

8. Lucknow as an agricultural district may not bear comparison as a whole with some of the fertile western districts of the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions, but there is no doubt that cultivation in some parts, specially in the homelands, which comprise 27,000 acres is of a very high order and will not suffer in comparison with the best of the fertile western districts. Homelands are very highly cultivated with tobacco, garden crops, spices and drug, and cultivation in the Superior Dumat and the Usar circles and in the City circle of Lucknow is generally excellent.

Condioion of tenants.

9. A detailed enquiry into the average size of holdings and indebtedness of tenants was held in tahsils Malihabad and Mohanlalganj. A fairly large number of holdings and tenants were dealt with in this enquiry. It was found that three-fourths of the agriculturists were well off or fairly well off and only one-fourth were badly off or very badly off. There is a noticeable rise in the cultivator's standard of living as a result of the enormous rise in the prices of agricultural produce which has benefitted him directly.

The average size of an agriculturist's holding is just less than 5 acres. This approaches a fair economic standard, but the majority of tenants, namely, just over 80 per cent. cultivate more than half the area with on an average of 3·35 acres apiece.

Cultivated area.

10. Cultivation has increased considerably. Despite the large acquisitions for the Sarda canal and for the Lucknow Improvement Trust for building schemes as well as the expunction of five villages (Bibipur, Manoharpur, Garhimadarpur, Mawayanazul and Karehta) under orders* of Government from the village list, the cultivated area shows a rise of 3,551 acres since last settlement. The year of record was a year of unusually heavy rainfall, which injured the *tarai* as well as the upland *bhur* and the cultivated area, therefore, was on the low side. The 12 years' average cultivated area shows a still higher rise of 20,963 acres since the last settlement. Of the total area of the district 3·5 lacs of acres or just above 57 per cent. is under cultivation as against 56 per cent. at the last settlement. Just over 20 per cent. has been classed as unculturable and just over 18 per cent. as culturable including the old new fallow. In a district in which the unculturable area is so large owing to the existence of *usar* and *jhils* and roads and railways and in which the areas of the old and the new fallow are bound to be extensive owing to the presence of a large area of infertile *bhur* too poor to repay continuous cultivation, the proportion of the

*G. O. no. 3993/IA—197, dated August 5, 1925.
*G. O no. 3147/IA—197, dated May 15, 1927.
*G. O. no. 5171/IA—197-25, dated October 23, 1925.

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cultivated area is by no means low. When we take into consideration the 12 years' average cultivated area 60 per cent. of the total area is under cultivation—a proportion as high as can reasonably be expected under the special circumstances of the district. The Gumti ravines and the *usar* where *babool* is the only tree which seems to grow, afford a wide field for afforestation. The problem is worthy of consideration by the Forest department. Extensive plantations of *babool* are likely to add materially to the wealth of the district.

Irrigation.

11. The irrigated area of the year of verification shows a decrease of 23,000 acres since last settlement. At that time 33 per cent. of the cultivated area was actually irrigated, whereas only 26 per cent. is returned as irrigated in the present year of record. The decrease is more apparent than real and is due to the unusually heavy rainfall of recent years. During the inter-settlement period, facilities for irrigation have considerably increased as the following table would show :—

Wells.	Settlement of 1862.	Settlement of 1894.	Present settlement of 1924.	Number of wells per square mile of cultivation.		
				Regular settlement.	Last settlement.	Present settlement.
Masonry ..	3,045	4,952	9,243	6	9	17
Earthen	6,700	6,680	12,979 average of 29 years 1304 to 1333 Fasli.	13	12	24

The number of masonry wells in use at this time has trebled since the first regular settlement and is close upon double of what it was at last settlement and *kachchi* well irrigation is also now more extensively practised than at any time before. That the increased facilities for irrigation have resulted in an actual extension in irrigation, the following table would show :—

Period.	Total irrigated area from all sources.
Last settlement	114,665
Average of 5 years 1305 to 1309 Fasli	112,207
Average of 5 years 1324 to 1328 „	118,476
Average of 5 years 1329 to 1333 „	93,079
Year of verification	91,782

The irrigation figures of the last quinquennium are vitiated by a cycle of wet years, but the penultimate quinquennium shows an advance of 3,800 over the last settlement figure.

At the first regular settlement the need of protection against drought by extensive construction of wells was emphasized. Construction of wells has been whole-heartedly encouraged by a lavish distribution of *taqavi*, with the result that well irrigation has steadly increased while irrigation from tanks has as consistently declined as the following table shows :—

Period.	Irrigated area.	
	Wells.	Others.
First regular settlement	29·2	70·8
Last settlement	36·0	64·0
Average of 5 years 1305 to 1309 Fasli	61·7	32·3
Average of 5 years 1324 to 1328 „	66·1	33·9
Average of 5 years 1329 to 1333 „	56·3	43·7

The percentages in the last quinquennium are affected by the unusually heavy rainfall of recent years. During that period tanks being full of water, tank irrigation was preferred as being more economical. But the penultimate quinquennium shows that two-thirds of the irrigation is now done from wells both masonry and non-masonry as against less than one-third at the first regular settlement. Wells are now the chief source of irrigation but irrigation from some of the big *jhils*, which hold considerable water and of which there are several in the district is by no means inconsiderable.

Owing to rotations of crops and vicissitudes of the seasons the area actually irrigated in any one year would hardly be satisfactory for assessment purposes. At this settlement, therefore, a field irrigated in any two out of the five recent normal years has been taken as "wet". The "wet" area as calculated at this settlement is shown in the following table :—

Years.	Total cultivated area.	Wet area as worked out at this settlement.			Percentage.			Actual irrigated area of the year of verification.
		Wells.	Others.	Total.	$\frac{3}{5}$	$\frac{4}{5}$	$\frac{5}{5}$	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Year of verification	3,49,877	98,295	49,625	1,47,920	28·1	14·2	42·3	91,782

N. B.—The area of revenue-free and Government property plots is excluded from this statement.

The "wet" area as calculated is 61 per cent. above the area actually irrigated in the year of record. The district is fairly well protected. More than two-fifths of the cultivated area would at first sight seem to be protected against drought, but this percentage is pulled down by the disturbing figures of the Tarai and the Bhur circles where irrigation for various reasons is scarce. When these circles are omitted, at least half the cultivated area would work out to be "wet" and as such protected against drought.

This irrigation supplemented by a fairly large rainfall which the district receives—the average of 31 years, 1895 to 1925 both inclusive, being 36·88 inches would seem to be ample for local needs. But the advent of the Sarda canal would further extend the facilities for irrigation.

Crops

12. The *kharif* occupies about 64 per cent. of the total cultivated area and the *rabi* about 56 per cent. or in other words the *kharif* is in advance of the *rabi* by 14 per cent. *Kharif* in this district has always been the principal harvest. This is due partly to the fairly large Gumti Bhur area, which grows *bajra* and the small millets and partly to the growing importance of the city of Lucknow. Pargana Lucknow has a fairly large population who follow cultivation only as a subsidiary occupation and favour the *kharif* in preference to the *rabi*, as the former interferes less with their primary occupations in the city and supplies plenty of fodder for cattle. Moreover, the cost of labour is rising and the *rabi* requires more labour than *kharif*. Appendix VI compares the crop statistics of the year of record with those of the last settlement. Despite the actual increase in the total cultivated area, the area under both the harvests has fallen off—under the *rabi* by just under 22,000 acres and under the *kharif* by just over 13,000 acres, with the resultant fall in the *dofasli* area of just less than 33,000 acres. This is a direct result of succession of abnormally wet years, which caused floods in the Gumti and damaged both the *kharif* and the *rabi*.

For the purpose of studying closely the progress made in cropping, it is necessary to study the crop statement of the last settlement. The striking feature at that time was as Mr. Hooper observed " the great increase in the area under rice and the coarser grains on which the people chiefly subsist ..The increase in the production of the commoner food grains appears from the statistics to have been obtained by a great extension of the system of double cropping .. .. " The extension in double cropping was the direct result of the cycle of wet years, which culminated in the very wet year, 1894. A series of favourable monsoons led to an abnormal increase in rice and gram as the following abstract from the last settlement report shows and the enormous increase in the *dofasli* area was the inevitable result :—

—	Gram and peas.	Rice.	Dofasli.
Settlement of 1894	69,852	90,005	1,08,215
Ditto 1862	44,5 5	34,497	31,369
Increase	25,287	55,508	76,846

The area under rice has now declined by 32,000 acres since last settlement though in the *kharif* rice still leads with 25 per cent. of the total *kharif* area. With the reversion to normal seasons a marked decline in rice was the natural result. It will, however, be noted that the areas under rice and gram are still just under 23,000 acres and 20,000 acres respectively. Following the example of the last settlement coarser grains *juar*, *bajra* and the millets on which the people chiefly subsist show considerable increases and there is a satisfactory rise of 948 and 2,038 acres in sugarcane and maize respectively.

In the *rabi* wheat takes the lead with 37 per cent. of the *rabi* area and shows an increase of 8,558 acres. This is a commercial crop and the increase is to be attributed to the stimulus of the high war prices.

The double cropped area was at last settlement 31 per cent. of the cultivated area—a percentage which was considered high for the provinces generally. With the decline in rice, which has carried in its train the fall in gram and with the tendency to concentrate on the commercial crop of wheat, the fall in the *dofasli* area which has gone down to 21·6 per cent. is not at all surprising. The *dofasli* area is even now 2½ times of what it was in 1862, the first regular settlement. The apparent fall since the last settlement, therefore, does not in any way indicate deterioration in cropping.

Movement of rents.

13. The system of lump rents prevails, but a fairly large area is held on field rents and differential rates are found varying according to the quality of the soil. This has been an invaluable aid to the working out of the standard rates. Even these lump rents have been arrived at after taking into consideration the different qualities of the soils composing the holding. In grain rents division half and half is the most usual practice and *kankut* is not in favour. *Zabti* rents are extremely rare. Even the *juar* and sugarcane are sown in grain rented lands, the produce *rab* or grain is divided half and half. Straw is not usually divided with the grain but in the newer agreements of tenancy a stipulation about the division of straw is sometimes found. Grain rents are found not only

in poor precarious soils, but in superior soils as well The following table shows the movement in rents since last settlement :--

Description.	Incidences of rent per acre.								Percentage of rise in rents of statutory and non-statutory tenants since last settlement.
	Last settlement.			Present settlement.					
	Occupancy.	Statutory and non-statutory.	Shikmi.	Occupancy.	Statutory.	Non-statutory.	Total statutory and non-statutory.	Shikmi.	
Khalsa ..	4·4	6·4	8·3	5·5	10·2	9·7	10·1	11·9	57·8
Permanently settled	4·9	5·6	8·5	3·5	8·4	7·4	8·2	10·9	46·4
Revenue assigned ..	5·0	6·5	11·9	5·0	11·2	9·0	11·0	14·4	69·2
Revenue free ..	4·1	7·4	10·6	11·1	13·4	11·5	13·3	15·1	79·7
Total ..	4·4	6·3	8·8	5·2	10·1	9·6	10·1	11·9	60·3

Rents of statutory and non-statutory tenants taken together have risen by about 60 per cent. over the district as a whole, but there are inequalities in the rents prevailing in the different proprietary tenures as reflected in the following table :—

Name of district.	Total statutory and non-statutory.							
	Taluqdari.		Zamindari.		Pattidari.		Total.	
	Area.	Incidence.	Area.	Incidence.	Area.	Incidence.	Area.	Incidence
Lucknow ..	62,659	8·8	101,817	9·9	74,952	11·3	239,428	10·0

Taluqdari rents are on the whole low. They are largely not genuine, being vitiated by nazrana, though there are some *taluqdars* like the Raja of Salempur and Khan Bahadur Muhammad Yusuf Khan of Kasmandi Khurd who have screwed up their rents to an unusually high pitch. In the bigger estates—both *taluqdari* and *zamindari*—*nazrana* at the rate of one to two years' rent is largely levied at every enewal of a lease, though no uniform underlying principle is clearly discernible, the amount realized largely depending on the vagaries of individual landlords. Concealment also takes the form of extra realizations by the proprietors over and above the recorded rent, but is on the whole rare. On the other hand rack rents are also fairly common. The heavily involved coparcenary bodies have tried to retrieve their position by screwing up their tenants' rent to an inordinate pitch. But the proprietors have in a large number of cases disclosed true rents and between the extremes of concealment and rack renting, there is a wide range of genuine rents, which has rendered the task of selecting the standard rates easy.

14.

Cattle.

Years.	Cow and cow-buffaloes.	Bull, bullocks and buffaloes used in ploughs.	Calves and heifers.	Sheep and goats.	Ploughs.	Carts.
1894	89,414	131,186	58,092	67,969	57,018	4,336
1924-25	97,599	131,779	1,030,909	117,694	63,902	6,936

The number of cattle under each head has increased since last settlement as also the number of ploughs and carts. The increase is very marked under young stock and under sheep and goats. The former specially, augurs well for the future. The following table shows the number of bullocks per plough and plough duty :—

Year.	Number of bullocks per plough.	Plough duty.
1894	2·30	6·08
1924-25	2·06	5·47

A disproportionate increase in the factors on which these figures are based has resulted in a slight decrease in the number of bullocks per plough and also in the plough duty, but there are still more than 2 bullocks to a plough and the plough duty is fairly high for Oudh though not as high as in some of the western districts of the Agra province where cattle are stronger. The indigenous breed of cattle is poor but sturdy foreign breeds are largely imported.

CHAPTER II.

Fiscal History.

Early settlements.

15. No records are available to give an idea of the fiscal history of the district as a whole before annexation. Soon after annexation a summary settlement was made, but the records of this settlement were destroyed in the catastrophe of 1857 and nothing is available to indicate the amount of the revenue fixed at that time. On the restoration of order, a second summary settlement was made in 1858. This was in the nature of a preliminary proceeding to break ground for a regular settlement and was intended to last only for a few years. The demand fixed for the whole district as now constituted was Rs. 6,81,824.

First regular settlement.

16. The preliminary work of the first regular settlement was the demarcation of villages, which was commenced in February 1862 by Mr. Kavanagh and was followed by a *khasra* survey which was completed at the end of the cold season of 1863-64 under Capt. Boulderson. Preparation of records was carried on and claims to different proprietary and under-proprietary tenures were carefully investigated. Pargana Kakori was the first pargana taken up in 1864 and assessed by Mr. Capper. On his going away on long leave the settlement was entrusted to Mr. G. B. Maconochie, who completed it in 1869. On his departure Mr. Butts wrote the final report in 1871.

Mr. Capper's method of assessment " seems to have been the application of certain rates, which he would find by experience to the various soils returned by the amins and a comparison of the estimated assets thus procured with fore-obtained returns of the village. " Mr. Maconochie's method may briefly be summed up in his own words :—" After dividing the pargana to be assessed into convenient *chaks*, following as far as possible natural divisions in soils and capabilities generally, I divide the soil in each village into two main divisions ; I, the goind or fully manured soil ; II, the har or slightly manured and outlying land generally, sub-dividing the *har* lands into ; 1, dumat, which is usually considered the best class of land ; 2, *matiyar* ; 3 *bhur*. By this I get 4 classes of soil which I again sub-divide into irrigated and unirrigated. The rents were analysed by dividing the holdings into three classes ; (1) sir land and land held at lower rents than the cultivators' rents ; (2) no rent of every description ; (3) land held by mere tenants-at-will, giving amount of land and the rent paid by each class. " The rents of resident and non-resident tenants were also

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separated. The average rate paid by tenants-at-will was taken as the village rate and from these village rates *chaks* and pargana rates were deduced by the simple process of addition. Mr. Maconochie then proceeded to check the rates by the capabilities of the village or population, soils, irrigation and fully manured land. The final touch was then given by a visit to the village and the modifications suggested by circumstances were made. From this description it is clear that circles, and *chaks* were formed on topographical lines. But as " Both officers disputed apparently the existence of a natural average rate—that is, a general rate, which the farmers and landlords would *prima facie* apply . . . . . and which would vary with the nature of the soil or the position of the land in the village ", they were led into a soil classification on natural lines, which did not take into account the position of the land with respect to the village site, a factor which in Oudh has always been considered in arriving at average rent rates. The soil classification therefore was obviously defective and the result of it was that " land growing *pan* and melons was classed as *matiyar* equally with land growing a precarious crop of rice and land growing poppy and garden crops was classed as *dumat* equally with experimental cultivation on *usar* plains. Mr. Butts himself suggests the refutation of the theory of both the assessing officers :—" There may be no rates but, the farmer and the cultivator talk in rates. So much a *bigha* for land near the village, so much for the land farther off . . In observing the uniformity in the rates, I have always been referred to the position of the land in the village with respect to homestead, and this probably lies at the bottom of all rents . . ", Mr. Maconochie's method was a skilful one and with the present day modifications it is still in vogue, but the basic defects in soil classificatiou disturbed the rates and Mr. Butts found it difficult to justify them.

The demand fixed at this settlement was Rs. 7,79,854 an increase of 15 per cent. on the summary settlement *jama* giving an incidence of 2·46 per cultivated acre and 1·5 per acre of the total area. The demand was at that time calculated to be " at least half-a-lakh under half assets " and was considered by the Chief Commissioner to be " not only moderate on the whole but fairly even in its incidence. " At the beginning it was realised without difficulty specially as the years before 1870 were particularly favourable for Oudh, but subsequent experience proved that the demand was undoubtedly a full one. With the advent of a succession of unfavourable seasons in 1871-72, 1877 and 1880 considerable difficulties were experienced in realising the revenue and in spite of numerous transfers (temporary as well as permanent) made by landholders to pay off their liabilities, a large part of the demand remained unrealised. At the same time, the collection of revenue was not distinguished by elasticity. A more generous policy in the matter of collections would have enabled the landholders to tide over the years of distress without the necessity of borrowing.

Expiring settlement.

17. Lucknow was one of the three districts of Oudh in which the experiment of entrusting the settlement operations to the Deputy Commissioner in addition to his normal duties was tried at the last settlement. No survey or revision of records was undertaken. The existing village maps and papers were considered sufficiently accurate to form the basis of assessment without correction. The settlement operations commenced in November 1893 and were brought to a close in November, 1896. The operations were thus certainly characterised with rapidity. Pargana Lucknow was assessed by Mr. Mulock, Deputy Commissioner with the help of Mr. Molony, Assistant Settlement Officer ; pargana Malihabad and Mahona by Mr. Darrah, Deputy Commissioner ; and parganas Bijnor, Kakori, Nigohan and Mohanlalganj by Mr. Molony under Mr. Darrah's supervision. The inability of Mr. Butts to justify the rates of the first regular settlement and " to draw any conclusions

from the rates" led Messrs Mulock and Molony at last settlement to discard the system of soil classification on which those rates were based. In pargana Lucknow they made a fresh soil classification based on the conventional system and divided the soils of the pargana into Goind, Manjhar and Palo, but in the rest of the district the admittedly defective soil classification of the first regular settlement had to be retained" as there was no time to revise it" an inevitable result of combining the office of the Settlement Officer with that of the Deputy Commissioner.

Assessment circles were formed on topographical lines and, from my own knowledge, I can confidently corroborate the testimony of Mr. Hooper that "villages seem to have been judiciously grouped; and the circles follow broad distinctions of soil, position and class of cultivation." Circle rates for different soils were worked out, but the differentiation based on irrigation, which was recognised in the standard rates of the first regular settlement was dropped for reasons, which I have not been able to discover from the published reports. These rates, however, were used very rarely. The different assessing officers employed different methods of assessment. "In pargana Lucknow Mr. Mulock almost invariably applied to the assumption areas village or local soil rates, which appear to have been derived from the field rents recorded by the patwaris. It was doubted, however, whether these rates represented the rates actually paid; their application resulted in very high valuations and in two out of the three circles, into which pargana Lucknow was divided, the assumption rates exceeded the recorded cash rate for ordinary tenants. Mr. Mulock also included cash rate for ordinary tenants. Mr. Mulock also included in sayar some unassessable items like rent of land taken for brick-kilns, but all these inaccuracies were corrected by the Settlement Commissioner. Mr. Darrah, on the other hand, largely accepted the nominal rents on assumption areas. This resulted in low valuations and introduced serious inequalities. Mr. Molony's method was more judicious. "He relied chiefly on rates graded in accordance with the soil classification at last settlement, which after inspection of the village he selected as representing the rates paid by similar cultivators for similar land in places adjacent.", and he valued the nominally rented, rent-free and grain rented areas, which were inferior, at specially low rates and his results were generally fair.

The underproprietary land seem to have escaped very lightly. The recorded underproprietors' rents are really revenue plus a certain small percentage thereon, and these low rents were largely accepted for purposes of assessment. The result was that when the underproprietors' rents came to be fixed, the old rents of 1867 has in most cases to be retained. Consequently, these rents are generally low, and in many cases only nominal. To quote an instance which by no means is a solitary one; an underproprietor with a holding consisting of about 6 acres is paying only Re. 1 as rent, whereas he is realizing Rs. 67 from his tenants.

The area assessed was also somewhat on the high side and included uncultivated land in holdings, which should not have been assessed. But his uncultivated land assessed was found to be included in underproprietary holdings and when rents on these holdings were fixed mistakes were discovered, the valuations corrected by excluding unassessable uncultivated area from assessment and the revenue reduced. Three-fourths of the total area assessed was at that time held by ordinary tenants at cash rents, which "were found to be recorded with great accuracy", so that rates were required for the valuation of a comparatively small area. These rates, as has already been described, were in 4 parganas selected by judicious discrimination and in the remaining three parganas valuations were revised and corrected by higher authority. The assumption rate

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for all classes worked out a little over 71 per cent. of the accepted cash rate. The final valuations, therefore, were certainly not excessive, The total revenue demand including revenue-free, revenue-assigned and permanently settled villages was Rs. 9,86,569, which took 47 per cent. of the assets giving a rise of 26·42 per cent. on the expiring demand and incidence per cultivated acre of 2·85 which represented very small advance on the expiring incidence of 2·46. Excluding the nominal demand of revenue-free, revenue-assigned and permanently settled villages, however, the revenue actually payable to Government was Rs. 8,83,592 giving an enhancement of only 22·54 per cent. The burden of this moderate enhancement was lightened by a system of progressions and the final demand was to be reached after the expiry of 10 years. Owing to defects of method, mistakes and inequalities crept in the assessments, but these were largely corrected on objection and appeal. The final demand though full and unevenly distributed was not after modifications excessive. Soon after the settlement in 1901-02 the demand was realized without any difficulty before the end of July. During the currency of the settlement, revenue on the whole has been realized with ease and the settlement has worked satisfactorily.

Rise in land values and prices.

18. As shown in the various tahsil reports the purchasing value of land and the staple food crops of the district have more than doubled since last settlement. Rents have risen and are still rising. With the rise in rents, improvements in irrigation and extension in cultivation the pressure of the revenue demand is becoming progressively lighter than before.

Agricultural calamities.

19. The district has been fortunate in the absence of widespread calamities. Liberal remissions and suspensions of revenue have been sanctioned at times of calamity and the collection of revenue has been characterised by elasticity. *Taqavi* has been unstintedly given to relieve agricultural distress. The district was visited by a severe and widespread famine soon after the last settlement in 1897, during which revenue amounting to Rs. 1,29,000 was suspended and a sum of Rs. 2,66, 678 was remitted. This calamity was closely followed by another similarly severe famine in 1900, but the figures of suspensions and remissions given at that time are not available. There was extensive damage by floods in 1904-05 wheat, gram, barley, half the poppy and the whole of *arhar* crops were destroyed, necessitating a remission of a large sum of Rs. 2,05,906. The district was visited by a drought in 1907-08. The autumn harvest failed and though the distress was never keenly felt here, yet a large amount of Rs. 2,04,604 was remitted and *taqavi* was also liberally distributed. The Gumti floods of recent years have necessitated suspensions of Rs. 18,962, Rs. 2,665 and Rs. 7,172 in the year 1923-24, 1924-25 and 1925-26 respectively.

CHAPTER III.

Preliminary operations.

20. The current settlement was due to expire on June 30, 1926, in tahsil Lucknow; on June 30, 1927, in tahsil Mohanlalganj and on June 30, 1928, in tahsil Malihabad. In anticipation of the new settlement Mr. Muhammad Anwar Ali Faruqi, Deputy Collector, was posted to this district as Special Land Records Officer on May 17, 1923. He looked into the state of records and found that the maps were bad and a number of villages required re-survey and most of the rest map correction. His report on the condition of the maps and records was submitted to the Board by the Deputy Director with his office no. 823/II—13, dated December 28/29, 1923. In his letter forwarding this report, Mr. Ruttledge observed "that the failure to have verification done at last settlement resulted in a somewhat inaccurate settlement." It was, therefore, decided to have the *khewat* and the *khatauni* attested, the latter on the abbreviated system of attestation sanctioned in G. O. no. 1488/1-A.N., dated May 9, 1923. The

preliminary work of the settlement was started under Mr. Faruqi's supervision, and the patwaris were as usual trained and when in July, 1924, the district was formally declared under record operation, he was appointed as Assistant Record Officer with the Deputy Commissioner as Record Officer. Survey and revision of records were, therefore, carried on under the district authorities and under the instructions of the Deputy Director of Land Records, who took a great deal of interest in survey and examined its accuracy by throwing chak lines personally on the spot. As many as 159 villages were re-surveyed. From what I have seen, the work of map correction and preparation of records has been done with great care and accuracy.

According to the programme fixed under Board's order no. 653/Sett.-640-C., dated July 1, 1924, 1924-25 (1332F.) was the year of record for tahsil Lucknow and the following year 1925-26 (1333F.) for the other two tahsils. Accordingly survey, map correction and preparation of records were carried on in tahsil Lucknow in the former year and in the other two tahsils in the following cold weather. The record work of tahsils Lucknow and Malihabad was completed by Mr. Faruqi and that of tahsil Mohanlalganj by Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra, who was appointed as Additional Assistant Record Officer for a temporary period extending from October 30, 1925 to January, 1927, when he was transferred to Ballia. Owing to the Legislative Council turning down the settlement budget for reasons which it is unnecessary to expatiate upon here, the appointment of the Settlement Officer was delayed, and the revision was already overdue, when the district came under settlement operations on October 1, 1926, under Government notification no. 6625/A-54, Department Revenue (A), dated September 28, 1926. I was appointed as Settlement Officer under notification no. 4255/II—520, dated October 7, 1926, and took over charge on October 9, 1926.

Under G. O. no. 3394/1A—541-1923, dated August 20, 1926, sanctioning the programme of settlement operations in this district, the year 1926-27 was the year of inspection for tahsil Lucknow and the following year for the other two tahsils. After finishing off the record work, Mr. Faruqi was appointed as Assistant Settlement Officer towards the beginning of October, 1927. Tahsil Lucknow was inspected and assessed by me in the first year and pargana Malihabad and half of pargana Mahona in the second year. The other half of pargana Mahona and tahsil Mohanlalganj were inspected by the Assistant Settlement Officer in the second year. The programmes laid down for both the record and the settlement operations were, therefore, strictly adhered to.

Forecast.

21. The customary forecast had been prepared by the Deputy Director of Land Records and was originally forwarded to Government with the Board's letter no. 247/Sett.-640C., dated February 23, 1924. But the Land Revenue Amendment Bill (Settlement Bill) was still in the melting pot. The proposed Bill provided certain concessions for the *zamindars*—notably the reduction of the percentage of assets to be taken as revenue from 50 to 40 and the limitation of enhancement in revenue to 33,1/3 per cent. Government, therefore, issued instructions in G. O. no. 5337/1A-308—25, dated May 25, 1925, for the purpose of revising the forecast in the light of the provisions of the new Land Revenue Amendment Bill. The Director of Land Records, therefore, revised the original forecast and his revised forecast no. 2259/II—357 of 1926 was submitted to the Government along with Board's Order no. 270-C., dated July 17, 1926, and published in the *Government Gazette* (notification no. 3257/1A—1923, Revenue (A) department, dated August 10, 1926), for general information.

Soil classification.

22. On my arrival in the district, the first problem that I had to tackle was the question of soil classification. From what has already been said, it will

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be readily admitted that it was impossible to adopt the old obsolete soil classification, which dated as far back as the first regular settlement and failed to bring out the differences in cultivation and rental values of the various soils. No soil classification based entirely on natural soils can adequately bring out the difference in cultivation and rental values. At the same time an entirely conventional system in a district like Lucknow would land one into difficulties. *Abadis* frequently lie on the sandy and scored edge of the upland or on the edges of *usar* plains. And in these cases better soils always lie away from the *abadis*. It would be difficult to find Goind, which would be superior in value to the average Manjha and demarcating Goind on the conventional system would only disturb the rates. Moreover, under the present-day conditions, with the improvement in irrigation, the impetus of rising prices, and sense of security engendered by the new Oudh Rent Act, cultivation is tending to become intensive. Cultivators are more prone to carry manure to the outer-most zone and to invest capital and labour wherever irrigation is available. The availability of irrigation, therefore, found in the Palo zone at once shifts the position of a *chak* and the land round pucca wells in the outer-most zone can now hardly be held as third class stuff. These considerations have led me into a soil classification which combines the features of both the conventional as well as the natural soil classification. The soils of each village have been classified on the merits into *chaks* of similar natural quality or similar advantages or both. As at the first regular settlement, I have also divided the lands of a village firstly into two main classes—goind and har, dividing the latter not into the natural soil classes of dumat, matiyar and bhur of the first regular settlement, but into four classes, har I to har IV into which all gradations of dumat (loam) light and stiff and bhur have easily been fitted on the basis of their values. *Ekfasli* rice lands and rice lands which are primarily devoted to rice cultivation though a scratch *rabi* crop is sometimes raised, have been separated and have been designated *matiyar* and divided into three classes, matiyar I to matiyar III.

Goind has been divided into two classes. The ordinary goind in which cultivators grow vegetables by rotation has not been demarcated as kachiana. This includes super-fertile, highly manured and well irrigated land used for tobacco, potato and *ponda*-cane cultivation. In the city and suburbs of Lucknow where this kind of high cultivation is found in abundance, kachhiana has been divided into two classes. Class I includes kachhiana in villages lying within the municipal limits where facilities for manure and irrigation are abundant and a ready market is available; and class II includes kachhiana outside the municipal limits, where cost has to be incurred in transporting manure and octroi duty had till recently to be paid when the produce was brought to the market. Betel-leaf plantations in tahsil Lucknow were separately demarcated, but in the other two tahsils were included in kachhiana.

Distinctive *khadir* soils in the valley of the Gumti have also been separately demarcated under the designation of tarai and divided into four classes, tarai I to tarai IV. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish *khadir* from the upland soils. There is always a high sandy ridge marking the edge of the upland above the valleys of rivers and the principle I have kept in view for demarcating the *khadir* soils is to classify all the lowlying land in the valley below the slopes, which has at any time been the play ground of the river as tarai. A separate class for *fulez* or melon beds has not been found necessary, as melons in this district are not exclusively confined to sandy tracts along the immediate banks of a river. They are sown in any village in stiffish soil where irrigation is available.

Following the precedent of Muttra, the crop and irrigation marks on the village maps have been used as aids to soil classification and despite the

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inaccuracy of the record of irrigation these aids have been found on the whol to be useful. The following are the classes which have been adopted:—

1. Bhitapan.
2. Kachhiana. } As described above.

3. Goind I is land of good quality lying round the site receiving natural manure and generally sufficient irrigation.

4. Goind II is land of indifferent natural quality or receiving insufficient irrigation, but lying round the village site, or land lying round a hamlet provided it is above har I in quality.

5. Har I is land which lies ordinarily outside the Goind belt; as a rule it is a soil of good natural quality on a level surface well worked and manured with adequate sources of irrigation.

6. Har II is (*a*) land of good natural quality but far from the village site or deficient in facilities for irrigation; or (*b*) land of inferior natural quality but with special advantage in being near to the site or possessing good facilities for irrigation.

7. Har III is (*a*) sandy or stiff soil of poor quality at a distance from the site with no irrigation facilities or insufficient irrigation facilities; or (*b*) land on the borders of an *usar* plain, mixed with *usar* patches and definitely inferior from this cause.

8. Har IV is the poorest soil in the village found on undulating sand hills and in scored ravines. It includes experimental cultivation in the midst of *usar* plains or very precarious land liable to oversaturation or prolonged submersion.

9. Matiyar I is superior rice land with facilities for irrigation, growing good transplanted rice, which is secure from damage either from flooding or lack of water.

10. Matiyar II is (*a*) land with deficient facilities for irrigation or without such facilities which grows insecure late rice or (*b*) superior early rice land with facilities for irrigation which as a rule grows a scratch crop of gram or peas.

11. Matiyar III is early rice land growing only a single crop of rice which is entirely dependent on rainfall.

12. Tarai I is rich alluvium on a level surface in the bed of the Gumti.

13. Tarai II is average alluvium often on a slope.

14. Tarai III is sandy uneven soil or somewhat lowlying land liable to suffer from *reh* infection or excess of moisture.

15. Tarai IV is very poor sandy stuff on undulating sand hills or liable to suffer from oversaturation or excess of *reh*.

Soils which required a distinction based on irrigation were further subdivided into "wet" and "dry", areas being taken as explained already. The *khadir* soils in which water is very near the surface and the *matiyar* soils in which facilities for irrigation have been taken into consideration at soil classification do not require this distinction. The physical character of both the "wet" and "dry" soils where the distinction has been observed is the same.

23. I confess that the soil classification is a little elaborate though not too elaborate, but in these modern days of roster operations when enhancement of rent is controlled by the state it is safe to be as accurate as possible; for comminution of holdings has proceeded apace and it is by no means universal to find all the holdings containing all the varieties of soils. No pains have been spared in endeavouring to secure as great an accuracy in soil classification as possible and as many cultivators as were available have been consulted. As in Saharanpur, I have never passed the soil classification done by the Munsarims without personally plodding "on foot, map in hand" through every *chak* in every village, and the Assistant Settlement Officer has done the same.

24. The area demarcated under each soil class and the proportions they bear to the total holdings area will be found in Appendix VIIA. Homelands including *kachhiana* occupy a little over 7 per cent. of the holdings area, good level loam fairly fully irrigated about 25 per cent., and loam of fair quality about 22 per cent. Inferior loam comprises about one-fifth and poor sandy stuff along the Gumti high bank about one-eighth. About one-sixteenth is taken up by rice lands, and one-tenth of this area grows excellent transplanted rice. 5 per cent. of the total holdings area is classed as *tarai*, and one-fifth of this comprises fertile *tarai* on a level surface. Goind has been rather strictly marked, nothing but really superior soil above 16 annas in value lying round the village site being included in this soil class.

Assessment circles.

25. Assessment circles have been formed on the basis of topography. The last settlement circles being eminently suitable have with minor variations been adopted. But the conditions are very varied in pargana Lucknow, and only in this pargana have I found it impossible to adhere to the last settlement circles and had to go back to six circles which was the number of *chaks* formed at the first regular settlement by Mr. Maconochie, though they were amalgamated by Messrs. Mulock and Molony to form only three circles at last settlement.

The influence of the Gumti has been recognized in framing the two Tarai circle (nos. I and VI) in parganas Mahona and Lucknow and the four Bhur circles (nos. I, II, V and III) in parganas Malihabad, Mahona, Lucknow and Mohanlalganj respectively. Both the *khadir* and the *bhur* are precarious. Excessive rain is equally injurious both to the *tarai* and to the upland *bhur*. The *kharif* is liable to suffer from flooding in the *khadir*, but the rich stiff alluvium free from water-logging produces excellent wheat in ordinary years. In the *bhur* tract the population is low, the cropping is inferior, *bajra* and the small millets predominate and irrigation is scarce.

At places, however, in pargana Lucknow the *bhur* has been considerably improved with the application of manure and irrigation. *Pucca* wells begin to appear, the population tends to rise and the cropping improves. Conditions are sufficiently distinct to necessitate a separate Inferior Outer circle III in this pargana.

With the increasing distance from the river and the considerable improvement in the quality of the soil the precariousness of the Gumti tract gives place to more stable cultivation. The drainage is effective, the population rises and cultivation becomes more intensive. Competition for land leads to higher rents, and with the ample facilities for irrigation and easier access to market better crops are raised. The fertile loan belts along the Sitapur road in pargana Mahona, along the unmetalled road from Malihabad to Mal in the former pargana, along the roads to Bara Banki and Kakori in pargana Lucknow, and along the Sultanpur road in pargana Mohanlalganj form the four Dumat circles (nos. III, II, IV and I) in the parganas named.

In the outlying *hars* of the two *usar* tracts in tahsil Malihabad *reh* infection is conspicuous and cultivation is bald with *usar* patches, but when not injured by *reh* and specially round the *abadis* it is excellent. *Pucca* wells in these tracts being most numerous, irrigation is extensive and the cropping is good. The Lucknow *safeda* melons are a speciality. The Mahona Usar circle has an advantage over its confrere in the other pargana, in that the former has easier access to the city market to which it is closer. These conditions have been recognized in the two Usar circles (nos. III and IV) in pargana Malihabad and Mahona respectively. The Behta in pargana Malihabad causes certain amount of damage by ravining portions of villages along its banks and at its junction with the Gumti damage by scour is considerable. The general soil is

ligh loam of a fairly good quality which when not injured by the Behta ravines is very carefully tilled and bears excellent crops. This is the Behta circle of pargana Malihabad (no. IV).

The abundance of *jhils* and patches of *dhak* jungle affects cultivation considerably in the north-east of pargana Mahona and keeps the rents sufficiently low to necessitate a separate Jhil circle (no. V) in that pargana.

The influence of the Behta on pargana Kakori, of which it forms a broken northern boundary, is almost negligible, and the soil to the north of the Ghazi-ud-din Haider canal is good *dumat* fairly fully irrigated and well cultivated. This forms the Dumat circle (no. I) of pargana Kakori.

The great south-western *matiyar* plain with its sluggish drainage produces *reh* along the edges of depressions as a result of oversaturation. The soil is a stiffish heavy loam, alternating with extensive shallow rice depressions. Rice is the predominant crop, but the water level being high, *kachcha* wells can be made with ease and *pucca* wells are numerous, and with the ample facilities for irrigation the soil produces excellent *rabi* crops also. The distinctive physical features of this tract have been taken into consideration in forming the five Matiyar circles (no. II) in the five parganas of tahsils Lucknow and Mohanlalganj.

The south-west of the district is influenced by the Sai which lightens the soil of 27 villages in pargana Bijnor and of 20 villages in pargana Nigohan and is responsible for the two Sai circles (no. I) in those parganas. Sand tends to predominate in these tracts, irrigation is scanty and the cropping is comparatively poor. The north-eastern portion of pargana Bijnor beyond the Rae Bareli road which follows the line of the watershed between the Gumti and the Sai lies on the high bank of the former river and consists of fair light loam degenerating into sand on the slopes of ravines and on the edge of the high bank. Proximity to the city and cantonments raises the rents, and this tract requires a separate circle to itself (the Gumti circle III).

The suburban portion round the city which forms the City circle I, pargana Lucknow, has an importance of its own and has for a long time past been in a high state of development. It is very highly cultivated with garden crops and spices and commands an abundant supply of manure, plentiful irrigation and a ready market for its produce. Competition, therefore, is keen and rents rule high.

Soil proportions

26. For the purpose of working out standard rates the usual mathematical processes were employed. The tentative values given to the various soil classes were finally accepted after checking them with the single soil and field rented incidences. The actual soil proportions determined by these incidences followed closely the tentative values adopted at the soil classification, and the soil proportions finally selected agreed closely with the actual soil proportions, except where adjustments had to be made to avoid overrating of weaker soils in order to arrive at a figure conformable with what experience and local inquiries suggested. The best soil after the homelands, i.e., Har I " wet ", was taken as the basic soil and reckoned as 16 annas. From this starting point I worked upward and downward to assign values to the other classes. The system of valuing different soils in terms of annas was found to be useful as the cultivators at the time of soil classification readily understood the differentiation in terms of annas.

Unit values

27. For the purpose of determining the pitch of rents prevailing the usual system of unit values was employed. The unit values are only index numbers. A unit value is the value in decimals of a rupee of one-sixteenth of an acre of Har I soil as demarcated at the soil classification. The recorded cash rents of

statutory tenants were analysed by separating them under the following three heads :—

(*a*) Those whose rents have not been enhanced for 10 years or over, and, therefore, are liable to immediate enhancement.

(*b*) Those whose rents have been enhanced within the last 10 years by agreement between the parties or by order of court.

(*c*) Those who had been admitted to tenancy for the first time within the last 10 years.

The unit values were worked out for each village. Rents of tenants of specially superior skill like Kachhis and Muraos and also of tenants belonging to special castes who enjoy rental privilege were excluded from this analysis. Villages with inadequate, concealed, abnormal or rack rent were then excluded and a standard unit value for each circle was selected on the basis of genuine, adequate and stable rents paid by substantial tenants of average skill and industry in the selected villages. As a rule people in this district have avoided courts as a medium for obtaining enhancement in rents and have preferred to enhance them by mutual agreement. Consequently enhancement by order of courts have been extremely rare. The measure of the enhancement that the proprietors may expect and the tenants should agree to must be the rents, which have been enhanced by mutual agreement between the parties during the last 10 years and have stood the test of time. On this principle, the enhanced unit value, as a rule, provided the basis of selection for the standard unit value in most of the circles. The standard unit value after selection was tested with the help of the record of collections and by a comparison with the *shikmi* unit values. The standand rates both for assessment and enhancement purposes must be based on the recent rents, which year in and year out can be realized by the proprietors from their tenants without hardship to the latter. The unit values of the recent rents, therefore which are affected by high war prices were discounted by suitable percentage for unrealizability and instability to bring them down to the level of stable collections and were then compared with the standard unit values. The standard unit values multiplied by the selected soil proportions give the standard rates which will be found in Appendix VIIC. By far the best test of the suitability of the rates will be furnished by a comparison with the single soil incidences given in the various rent-rate reports.

Rental privilege.

28. The next question was to determine the existence and extent of rental privilege in favour of special castes who had for a long time past been enjoying a concession in rents. The conclusion drawn at last settlement that "the difference in favour of high caste tenants was barely 11 per cent." (or less than 2 annas a rupee) was based on a comparison of the average incidences of rents paid by Brahmans, Thakurs and Kayesths with the incidences of other castes. For a detailed discussion of the subject I must refer to the Lucknow rent-rate report. It is sufficient here to note that the privilege is now rapidly disappearing, and where it still exists, the extent of it is not uniform in favour of all the three castes. It was, therefore, necessary to determine the extent for each caste in each village where the privilege still lingered. The amount of the concession was generally fixed on the basis of the difference between the respective caste unit values and the ordinary tenants' unit values on the total area of each village. A concession varying from 2 to 4 annas was allowed to Brahmans in 254 villages, to Thakurs in 202 villages, to Kayesths in 120 villages and to Saiyids and Pathans in one village each. The specific villages in which the privilege has been allowed together with the extent of the privilege in favour of each caste are given in the various assessment reports. The extent and the existence of this privilege has also been noted in the assessment volumes for the guidance of enhancement courts.

Assessment.

29. In spite of the Legislative Council throwing out the new Land Revenue Bill, Government considered it advisabls to incorporate in the rules the concessions to proprietors originally provided in that Bill. Lucknow is one of the first district which have come under assessment under the revised settlement rules, and the Settlement Officer was directed in Government Press Communiqué Revenue (A) Department, dated October 7, 1926 to keep view the particular concessions allowed by the rules. The assessment of the district has presented many unusual problems which are inseparable from the existence of a large city like Lucknow which was till not very long ago the seat of the late Nawabi Government. The disappearance of that Government has given rise to an extremely complicated nature of proprietary tenures in and around the city.

Village rates.

30. In a district so diversified as Lucknow one of the most difficult questions was the modification of rates. Circle rates have had to be freely modified to suit the agricultural and economic condition of individual mahals. In the majority of cases modifications are restricted to 12½ per cent. both upward and downward. The soil classification being based on the merits of individual villages, rates as a rule, have been modified for all the soils and modifications for specific soils are rare. Obviously, it would be very dangerous to modify rates on the basis of unit values only, in a district where both non-genuine and rack rents largely prevail. Rates, therefore, have not been modified merely on the basis of high or low unit values, but after a careful study of the economic conditions of a particular village, e.g., character of tenants, the system of cropping, the facilities for irrigation, the quality of soils and the density of population, which is a very important factor affecting rents.

Assessed area.

31. Another difficult problem was about the area to be assessed. The area shown as assessed in the district aggregate is 365,289. Additions have been made as below :—

Description.	Area in acres.	Valuation.
Addition for grafted mango groves	7,170	16,958
Addition for land thrown out of cultivation	495	2,085
Cultivated area built upon after last settlement	54	1,226

Additions for land formerly cultivated but now built upon have been made mainly in the Nazul villages which have been assessed to a nominal revenue. Grafted mango groves have been assessed as agricultural land, not on the value of their produce. Old fallow and country mango groves not assessable under the rules and areas in excess of the normal cultivated area have been excluded from assessment. Where the cultivated area plus new fallow in holdings exceeds the normal cultivated area allowance for unstable cultivation has been given by excluding the assets of the excess at the lowest soil rate. But where the cultivated area plus new fallow in holdings falls short of the normal cultivated area, no addition for the shortage has been made. A large area of 6,171 acres with a valuation of 24,499 has thus been excluded for unstable cultivation and this deduction far exceeds the additions made. The Bhur and the Tarai circle villages in pargana Mahona which enjoyed a long spell of prosperity during the inter-settlement period are at present in a deteriorated condition. Great caution has, therefore, been exercised in selecting areas for assessment in these villages, and the complication of a short-term settlement on the basis of the 12 years' average figures has been avoided by accepting low areas for assessment. Not infrequently the low actual cultivated areas of the year of verification have been

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accepted. The area actually assessed works out to 360,837 acres and may be compared with the cultivated and the holdings area in the following table :—

Description.	Area in acres.
Area actually assessed	363,837
Average cultivated area of 12 years preceding the year of verification	366,270
Actual cultivated area of the year of verification	349,877
Holdings area	374,842

The area actually assessed exceeds the low cultivated area of the year of verification by 10,960 acres, but falls short of the holdings area by 14,005 acres and is 5,433 acres below the average cultivated area of the past 12 years. The area actually assessed, therefore, is safe and stable. And when it is remembered that the average cultivated area of the past 12 years is itself on the low side as the deodecinial period includes at least one lean year 1326 F. the caution exercised in accepting areas for assessment will be readily endorsed. It will not be out of place to mention here that a large super-fertile area in the heart of the city has been excluded from the record and settlement operations under G. O. no. 5215, dated October 24, 1925. This area was never assessed before. Details about its exemption will be found in the correspondence ending with G. O. no. 1117/I-155B., dated April 14, 1897. Mr. Mulock at last settlement calculated 46,721 as the assets of this area of 3,326 acres and anticipated a revenue of Rs. 23,340. At this time, the revenue would obviously have been considerably higher.

Treatment of cash rents.

32. *(a) Ex-proprietary and occupancy.*—These areas are very small being in each case less than 1 per cent. of the total cultivated area plus new fallow in holdings or what for convenience sake I might call as assessable area. The recorded rents have been compared with the valuations less the statutory deduction of 25 per cent. or 12½ per cent. respectively and also less the amount of rental privilege where allowed. It is probably not legal according to the strict letter of the law to allow this concession to exproprietary tenants, and all I can say is that I have erred on the side of leniency in allowing the privilege to them. The bulk of the occupancy tenants who can legally claim the privilege are in Oudh really old ex-proprietors and I do not see why the new ex-proprietors who are now included under the designation of ex-proprietary tenants should be deprived of the concession. But the amount involved is so small (734) that it really means no loss to the State. On the whole, the ex-proprietary rents are generally fair, the valuation (13,616) being only less than 7 per cent. above the recorded rent (12,767) which has been accepted.

The occupancy rents on the other hand are extremely low and in some cases only nominal, the valuation (35,452) after allowing 2,144 for rental privilege being 90 per cent. above the recorded rent (18,688). An addition of only 23 per cent. on the whole has been made to these low rents and a figure of 22,945 has been accepted, which is 35 per cent. below the valuation. As a rule, low rents have been brought up to a valuation subject to the statutory limitation on enhancement of rent and also subject to the maximum addition of 20 per cent. under the recent instructions in the two tahsils of Malihabad and Mohanlalganj assessed in the second year.

(*b*) *Statutory.*—The privileged statutory tenants occupy just over 3 per cent. of the assessable area. The recorded rents are very fair as concealment in their case can hardly be expected. The valuation (95,231) after allowing 22,590 for rental privilege is only 3½ per cent. above the recorded rent (91,989), which has practically been accepted on the whole.

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The non-privileged statutory tenants hold the largest assessable area over 61 per cent. and contribute over 66 per cent. to the total net assets. The valuation (23,57,283) is only one per cent. above the recorded rent of 23,32,177. The excess is obviously due to the prevalance of non-genuine rents in the bigger estates. In spite of the additions made for inadequacy and non-genuineness, the accepted valuation of 23,04,488 is 27,689 below the recorded rent and 52,795 or over two per cent. below the valuation. The totals, however, do not give a correct idea about the real state of affairs. As a matter of fact large allowances have been given on the recorded "unenhanceable" rents for instability, unrealizability and rack-renting and additions for inadequacy in "enhanceable" rents and for non-genuineness have been made very cautiously. In view of the fact that inadequate rents might not be enhanced up to full valuation, I had a sliding scale in tahsil Lucknow for making additions for inadequacy, and never raised the inadequate rents to the maximum statutory limit, unless the valuation was at least 50 per cent. above the recorded rent. In tahsils Malihabad and Mohanlalganj, however, in accordance with the recent instructions of the Board of Revenue, additions for inadequacy have been restricted to 20 per cent. In cases in which the recorded inadequate rent gave a fair increase in revenue even very low rents were accepted. On the whole district the addtion for inadequacy works out to 15 per cent. as shown below :—

Number of mahals.	Recorded rent.	Accepted assets.	Difference.	Percentage.
443	2,00,708	2,31,306	30,598	15·2

Large areas are awaiting enhancement and overcautious restrictions on additions for inadequacy tend to pull down the figures very low. This overcaution is certainly very safe for an assessment for 10 years and provides for possible future contingencies, but in actual practice I have no doubt whatever that the proprietors will immediately be able to obtain a very much larger enhancement in "enhanceable" rents.

One hundred and twenty-two mahals have been treated as non-genuinely rented. These are found chiefly in tahsils Mohanlalganj and Malihabad and an addition of 24 per cent. on the whole has been made as shown below for non-genuineness. In spite of the fact that rates do already make an allowance for instability and unrealizability an allowance from 5 to 10 per cent. on the valuations has been given in accordance with the recent instructions as a precautionary measure :—

Number of mahals.	Recorded rent.	Accepted rent.	Difference.	Percentage.
122	97,286	1,20,647	23,361	24·0

(c) *Non-statutory.*—The non-statutory tenants both privileged and non-privileged, hold about 9·5 per cent. of the assessable area and contribute 10·4 per cent. of the total net assets. The net valuation after giving an allowance of 7,663 for rental privilege works out to 3,61,884 which is not materially different from the recorded rent of 3,57,612, being only 1·2 per cent. above the latter, but an amonnt of 3,50,435 which is 7,177 or 2 per cent. below the recorded rent has been accepted. As regards allowances for instability and addition for inadequacy or for non-genuineness these rents have also been treated in the same manner as the statutory rents.

33. These areas have under the rules been assessed at standard rates or a modification thereof less 25 per cent. Assumption areas.

(*a*) *Sir and Khudkasht.*—The proprietors hold in their own cultivation 6·9 per cent. of the assessable area as *sir* and 1·9 per cent. as *khudkasht*. As a rule. full 25 per cent. proprietary allowance has been given for land regularly cultivated by the proprietors themselves and only in a few rare cases of wealthy landowners or speculative purchasers was it found necessary to reduce the full allowance. The actual amount of proprietary deduction is 38,417 and 13,677 which works out to 16 per cent. and 23·3 per cent. of the valuation of *sir* and *khudkasht* respectively.

(*b*) *Grain-rented.*—Just over 5 per cent. of the assessable area is held on grain rents. This area lies in all soils superior as well as inferior, and it predominates in the poorer soils in the Bhur and the Tarai circles. The record of grain rents being generally unreliable, this area has been treated very tenderly. The various assessment reports bear ample testimony to the overcaution exercised in valuing this area, specially in the poorer soils in which two-thirds of the valuation has generally been accepted and full valuation extremely rarely. And in several cases I have gone as low as half valuation. The twelve years' average grain incidence has also been taken into consideration. The accepted valutaion (1,04,365) on the whole is 16 per cent. below the valuation at standard or modified rates.

(*c*) *Favoured area.*—Under this are included relations of proprietors, their *karindas* and sepoys, patwaris, both old and new, and their relations and the like. They hold about 3 per cent. of the assessable area but in many cases this area as classified by patwaris is 'favoured' only in name, the recorded rent being well above the valuation. In such cases in order to be on the safe side, allowance for unrealizability has been given, while inadequate rents have been brought up to valuation subject, in several cases, to a maximum of 33⅓ per cent. The accepted valuation (96,680) is only 10 per cent. above the recorded rent of 87,681.

(*d*) *Rent-free and unrented.*—The area under this head is 3·6 per cent. of the total assessable area. The valuatio n is 87,449, but an amount of 76,624 or 12·4 per cent. below the valuation has actually been accepted. In order to enable the proprietors to treat the village servants leniently only half valuation has been accepted in service tenure.

34. Under-proprietary holdings in this district consist of specific plots. The nature of tenure on which these under-proprietors hold is not always the same in all cases. At the first regular settlement an inquiry into the different proprietary and subordinate tenures was begun "before the statutory laws on the subject (the Sub-settlement Act of 1866 and the Rent Act of 1868) were passed." Consequently all the different kinds of subordinate tenures, e.g., *sirdars*, *chakdars* and the real under-proprietors seem to have been separately recorded, but "by the Rent Act of 1868 the definition of an under-proprietor was extended so as to include anyone having a heritable and transferable right for which he was liable to pay rent" and when the Oudh Land Revenue Act was passed, Deputy Collector Rai Hazari Lal was deputed to prepare a list of under-proprietors under section 56 (*c*) of the Act. "As the *sirdars* and *chakdars* all had transferable and heritable rights they were transferred in a body as were the holders of *muafi* land and groves, who were admitted by the zamindars to have transferable rights. Thus the register contains (*a*) all the under-proprietary originally so classed (except sub-settlement holders): (*b*) all the *chakdars*; (*c*) all the *sirdars*; (*d*) some of the holders of *muafi*; (*e*) some of the holders of groves." At last settlement it was doubted by Mr. Gray whether the *chakdar* could come under Under proprietary

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the definition of an under-propietor because " he held a small parcel of land on separate tenure acquired by purchase or grant. " As Mr. Butts says (vide paragraph 72, part II of the first regular settlement report) the *chakdar* was rarely assessed but when he was assessed he had to pay his proportionate share of the total revenue assessed on the village. Obviously, therefore, he is a miscellaneous plot proprietor and in the modern days would be recorded as the holder of *haqiyat mut-farrika* and assessed separately to his share of revenue. The under-proprietors of Kakori town wanted to reopen the whole question and to get themselves recorded as plot proprietors. It was, however, impossible to go back on the records, which has obviously been prepared under full legal authority and granting their request would have necessitated overhauling of the record of the whole district at a time when record operations have practically been finished.

At present there are 14,563 under-proprietary holdings comprising a total area of 17,443 acres or less than 3 per cent. of the total area of the district and giving on an average 1·2 acre per holding. Out of this, an area of only 13,825 acres has been assessed. Following the precedent of the last settlement the under-proprietary area in the town of Kakori, in Kasmandi Kalan pargana Malihabad, and in Dulapur Husenabad, pargana Mohanlalganj, has not been assessed. These under-proprietary holdings are in the nature of *chaks* " granted during the time of Muhammadan Kings in the vicinity of large towns for groves or pleasure-houses or gardens and were always held rent-free ". (Vide paragraph 85, part I of Mr. Butts' report of the first regular settlement). The under-proprietary area in the first mentioned town was exempted from assessment under G. O. no 4315 - IA-495-1927, dated November 12, 1927, Revenue (A) department. The exemption of this area means a loss of Rs. 3,526 to the coffers of the State.

The under-proprietary area has under the rules been treated as assumption area and valued at 25 per cent. below the standard or modified rates applied to the village. Full proprietary deduction has been given except on *sir* sub-let and also allowance for *pucca* wells at the difference between " wet " and " dry " rates. The accepted valuation Rs. 1,31,253 looks apparently very high being three times the rent (Rs. 41,195) paid by the under-proprietors to their superior proprietors. But as already indicated these under-proprietary rents at last settlement were not treated adequately in assessment. That this area has been treated very leniently will be borne out by the following table :—

Tenures.	Ordinary villages		Permanently settled.		Total.	
	Rents realized by the under-proprietors.	Valuation at village or standard rate which has been accepted.	Rents realized by the under-proprietors.	Valuation at village or standard rate which has been accepted.	Rents realized by the under-proprietors.	Valuation at village or standard rate which has been accepted.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Statutory ..	99,772	63,772	8,432	4,703	1,08,204	68,575
Non-statutory ..	13,729	12,004	2,107	1,290	15,836	13,294
Total ..	1,13,501	75,776	10,539	5,993	1,24,040	81,769

The accepted valuation of the cash-rented area in under-proprietary is 34 per cent. below the cash rents actually realized by the under-proprietors from their cash-paying tenants. The assets of the under-proprietary area are 131,253 and the revenue assessed is Rs. 47,757-8 giving the same percentage of the assets (36·4) as that taken for the mahals. In

addition, there are a host of miscellaneous property holdings assessed to a revenue of Rs. 2?,835-15 which falls at the rate of 35 per cent. on the net assets of 65,249.

35. The following table shows the incidence of the accepted valuation of different tenures for the whole district:— Valuation incidences.

Tenures.	Incidence.
Underproprietary	9·5
Exproprietary	8·1
Occupancy	6·8
Statutory:—	
Privileged	8·3
Non-privileged	10·3
Non-statutory:—	
Privileged	8·7
Non-privileged	10·2
Sir	7·9
Khudkasht	6·9
Grain-rented	5·4
Favoured	8·2
Rent-free and unrented	5·9
Total ..	9·4

The incidence of the privileged statutory tenants is about 20 per cent. lower than the incidence of the non-privileged statutory tenants and the incidences of privileged and non-privileged non-statutory tenants agree closely with the corresponding incidences of the statutory tenants. The incidence of the accepted valuation of *sir* is 23 percent. below the incidence of the non-privileged statutory tenants, while the incidence of *Khudkasht* is still lower. Very low incidences of the grain-rented and rent-free area bear out what has already been shown, that these areas have been very leniently treated. The incidence of the under-proprietary area appears to be high, but this tenure has a very high proportion of superior soils. The proprietors never fail regretfully to stress the point that the best lands of the village are in the possession of under-proprietors.

36. The bulk of the recorded item of sayar income is unassessable. It includes (specially in the neighbourhood of the city and large towns) large amounts realized by the proprietors from owners of brick-kilns for digging earth for preparing bricks and ground rents for houses and building plots, sale proceeds of *kankar* and mangoes. All such items have been omitted from assessment. The amount accepted consists of income from all such natural sources as fish, *tar* trees, thatching grass, palm trees, grazing dues, *dhak* jungle and saltpetre. Great caution has been exercised in tapping this uncertain source of income. An amount of 15,012 has been accepted out of the recorded sayar income of 98,244. The rule usually followed was to accept only half the 12 years' average recorded income from assessable sources The increase from sale proceeds of mango groves has invariably been omitted. As the land under country mango groves is exempt from assessment under the rules, it seems inconsistent to assess the sale proceeds of the fruit of such groves. Grafted mango groves having been assessed as agricultural land, the sale proceeds of these groves recorded as sayar income have not been taken into consideration. The value of this concession regarding the assessment of grafted mango groves can hardly, by any stretch of reason, be littled or minimized when it is remembered that in the town of Malihabad alone the accepted valuation for 352 acres of such groves is only 6,009 against the 12 years' average recorded sayar income of 27,500. Sayar income.

37. Improvements mainly consist of masonry wells belonging to the proprietors and under-proprietors and a large amount of 80,365 has beenallowed for such improvements, usually at 10 per cent. on the estimated cost of a Improvements.

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well. In cases, however, in which the "wet" area irrigable from such wells is insignificant and the assets have not been raised by the construction of such improvements to an appreciable extent commensurate with the outlay or where the well is used as an insurance against drought, the allowance has usually been given at the difference between "wet" and "dry" rates.

Revenue.

38(*a*). The net assets thus calculated amount to 33,67,233 for the whole district, and the revenue both nominal and payable to Government comes to Rs. 12,21,899-6 which is 36·3 per cent. of the net assets and gives an increase of 25·8 per cent. on the expiring demand of the year of verification. Out of this amount, the revenue actually payable to Government both from *khalsa* and the permanently settled villages is Rs. 10,99,181-4 giving an increase of Rs. 2,10,653-6 or 23·7 per cent. over the expiring demand. A certain amount of revenue is also likely to be reduced in appeals and in the process of revising unduly high under-proprietary rents and also on account of the acquisitions for the Sarda canal subsequent to the year of verification. The increase will work out to be much the same as at last settlement (22·54 per cent). In cases in which information was supplied by the canal authorities in time before my departure, the new revenue on the land acquired for the canal was worked out and noted in the assessment volumes, but there are many more cases which will require the attention of the Deputy Commissioner. The increase anticipated in the forecast was Rs. 2,55,000 and the sanctioned revenue as actually worked out is 17 per cent. below that estimate. Details of the nominal demand on the permanently settled, revenue free, revenue assigned nazul and Government property villages are given in Appendix II. The bulk of the permanently settled villages lie chiefly in tahsil Mohanlalganj, a few in parganas Bijnor and Lucknow and belong to the Sisendi, Maurawan and Gopalkhera estates. The Government property mahals which have not been assessed before have not now been assessed even to a nominal revenue. Both the revenue and the cesses have heen remitted on Government estate villages entrusted to the nazul or Improvement Trust. It would, therefore, have been useless to assess them even to a nominal revenue. Only those nazul mahals have, therefore, been assessed to a nominal revenue which contain under-proprietary areas. The revenue-paying Government villages and villages belonging to the Municipal Board have been treated as *khalsa*.

(*b*) *Percentage.*—The resultant percentage of the assets taken as revenue is well below the ordinary percentage of 40. It is only in mahals where a nominal revenue had to be fixed that as a rule the full percentage has been taken. Percentages in the other mahals have been carefully and cautiously selected. In the interest of excessively subdivided coparcenary bodies or of the heavily involved proprietors or where a heavy *malikana* is payable, I have never hesitated to go as low as 30 per cent., even though special sanction to the low percentage has had to be obtained.

The following table will show how leniently the coparcenary bodies and specially those who have to pay a heavy *malikana* have been treated in assessment:—

Tenures.	Accepted valuation incidence.	Revenue rate per acre assessed.	Percentage of col. 3 on 2.	Percentage of increase.	Remarks.
Taluqdari	9·2	3·3	35·9	25·4	
Zamindari	9·4	3·4	36·2	35·4	
Pattidari Sub-settled in Taluqdari	9·4	3·2	34·0	24·9	
Tenure other than Permanently settled.	9·1	3·0	33·0	22·9	
Permanently settled	8·8	3·5	39·8	21·0	
Sub-settled estates in Permanently settled villages.	8·2	2·8	34·1	14·8	

Figures speak for themselves and comment is unnecessary.

Talugdari and permanently settled estates seem to have been fully assessed before.

(*b*) *Incidences.*—The proposed revenue both nominal and actually payable to Government falls on the cultivated acre at the rate of 3·5 and on the assessed acre at the rate of 3·4, representing an advance of about 25 per cent., over the corresponding incidences of 2·8 and 2·7 of the expiring demand. The rental incidence of the corrected rent roll on the accepted area is 9·4 and the incidence of the proposed revenue per assessed acre is only 36 per cent., of this rental incidence. It is obvious, therefore, that the sanctioned revenue is very moderate and errs, if anything, on the low side.

(*d*) The net assets of the temporarily settled *khalsa* villages leaving the proportionate *khalsa* assets of the partly *khalsa* and partly revenue assigned villages are Rs. 28,97,280. Under the old rules a 50 per cent. assessment would give a revenue of Rs. 14,48,640, but as a result of the limitations imposed by the new Settlement Rules and otherwise the sanctioned revenue on the entire *khalsa* villages (Rs. 10,42,054-6) falls short of this amount by Rs. 4,06,586 or by 28 per cent. A 50 per cent. assessment would have given an increase of Rs. 6,16,374 over the expiring demand of the entire *khalsa* villages, but the sanctioned revenue of these villages gives an increase of Rs. 2,09,788 only. In other words Government takes only 34·3 per cent. of the actual increase to which under the old rules it would have been legitimately entitled—obviously a huge sacrifice on the part of the state in the interests of the zamindars.

(*e*) *Progressions.*—The increase in revenue has been further moderated by means of progressions and a revenue of Rs. 52,631-4 has been postponed for the first five years. In only a solitary instance of undue hardship, a second progression has been allowed. As a rule no progressions have been allowed where only a nominal revenue has been fixed.

(*f*) The 12 years' cash rental incidence of the district is 8·8—just 15 per cent. below the cash rental incidence of the year of verification (10·3). The former is obviously on the low side, as it includes low rents of past years and over and above this, it is based to a considerable extent on non-genuine and inadequate rents. It is, therefore, very safe to take this incidence for purposes of our calculations. If we value the 12 years' average assumption areas including the under-proprietary and the grain-rented area at this incidence, we will have a valuation of Rs. 7,63,646. Adding this to the average cash rents of the past 12 years Rs. (27,34,127) we will have Rs. 34,97,773 which exceed the amount of the net assets as calculated by Rs. 1,30,540. The margin of safety, therefore, is very large and the assets have been very liberally calculated.

(*g*) The area assessed at last settlement was 357,464 acres (vide paragraph 9, page 7, Mr. Hooper's review of the last settlement report). From this must be excluded the assessed area of the 5 villages which have been expunged from the village list after the last settlement and we have 356,894. The area now assessed exceeds this area by 4,033 acres. The extension in cultivation has taken place in the poorer circle—Bhur and Tarai—and mainly in the poorer soils, Har III, Har IV and Har IV—. For purposes of calculations we may take the Har IV soil to be mainly responsible for the extension. The rates for this soil in the different poorer circles vary from 2·4 to 4·7 and the average works out to 3·4 per acre. The assets of the extension in cultivation would then work out to about Rs. 13,700 and would give a revenue of about Rs. 5,000. The increase in revenue, therefore, is mainly due to the rise in rents, very little of it being due to the extension in cultivation.

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Subsettled mahals.

39. At the first regular settlement "out of the *taluqdari* villages, some 51 villages and fractional parts" were held in sub-settlement. Owing to lapses, however, the number has now gone down to 48 in addition to some fractional shares. The decrees which created these sub-settlement rights have been qnoted from the last settlement volumes for facility of future reference. In the bulk of the mahals, rents on the basis of these decrees were fixed at the time of assessment, but the Assistant Settlement Officer is now revising them in the light of the changes in the sanctioned revenue.

Subsidiary occupations,

40. (*a*) *Distribution.*—At last settlement *mahalwar* revenue was distributed on *pattis* on the basis of fractional shares. That method was good enough for old days, when allowance for improvements and proprietary cultivations were rare, but now when Government policy has developed in the direction of greater generosity to the small peasant proprietor and in the direction of encouraging improvements, that method is out of date. At this settlement, therefore, the distribution has been done on the basis of net assets as calculated at assessment. This is the only just and equitable method to secure the advantage of the concessions for proprietary cultivation and improvements to the proprietors who actually deserve them. In rare instances, in which the proprietors were unanimous in desiring some other method, their wishes were duly respected and the distribution done accordingly. Some difficulty was caused in allowing for unrealizability uniformly in the *pattis*, the percentage allowed in assessing the mahal. With a view to avoid inequalites in the distribution, therefore, the method employed was to work from the valuation at village rates both upward and downward to the accepted valuation. I am glad to be able to note that the work has already been finished.

(*b*) *Fixation of underproprietry rents.*—Fixation of underproprietary rents under section 79 of the Land Revenue Act has been a task of unusual difficulty, but no trouble has been spared in endeavouring to fix them on an equitable basis. Owing to the apathy of the underproprietors in responding to the notices under settlement rule 71 calling upon them to file copies of decrees under which they hold, immense trouble has had to be undertaken and a large staff employed at the cost of the State involving labour and expense, which ought to have reasonably fallen on the underproprietors themselves. A responsive apathy on our part was obviously undesirable in the interest of justice and equity. A form was devised for the purpose of collecting at one place all the material which forms the bassis of fixation of these rents. For facility of comparison of the present plots with those given in the decrees passed at the first regular settlement, a double *jardmutabikat* had to be prepared. This comparison has necessarily been a slow process. The Deputy Commissioner's record room has had to be ransacked to obtain copies of the decrees from the *Haqiyat* files. The terms of these decrees were noted on the form devised, and the old revenue of the underproprietary plots and the rent which might be expected on the basis of the proportion which the new revenue bears to the old have been worked out by different methods. For this purpose constant reference to the last settlement volumes was unavoidable. Lastly, the *misls* by which these rents were fixed at the last settlement and the resumption of *muafi* cases creating the newer underproprietary rights were invariably examined, and a suitable rent was then fixed having regard to the rules now in force. Owing to the insufficient treatment accorded to these rents at last settlement a large enhancement is in some cases inevitable, but as the Board have observed in their review of the settlement report of pargana Mohanlalganj, the irregular procedure of the last settlement cannot now be ignored, and attempts must be made to prevent sudden and severe enhancement of these underproprietary rents. Cases of undue hardship, therefore, are now receiving attention at the hands of

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the Assistant Settlement Officer. Rents on the bulk of the under-proprietary holdings were fixed before my actually giving over charge, and the rest of this work is expected to be finished before the office is finally closed.

(*c*) *Re-allocation of patwari circles*, - Re-allocation of patwari circles, preparation of *muafi* registers and list of groves exempt from assessment and Mauza Registers, Pargana Books and Pargana Registers have been finished. Owing to an intermediate revision of patwari circles extensive changes have not been found necessary. Proposals regarding tahsil Mohanlalganj were published for objections and have already been submitted to higher authority, while those regarding the other two tahsils are being published now and will be submitted before the end of February 1929.

(*d*) *Nazul city survey.*—Some of the *mohallas* forming part of the city were surveyed during the operations of the first regular settlement and a *khasra* and map of each *mohalla* were prepared showing details about the *abadi* land. The map was prepared on a scale of 2 inches to the chain and was "coloured topographically to show every tenement and plot of land with character and ownership of each." That detailed survey, however, did not "include the whole of the city lying within the jurisdiction of the city authorities." There were villages lying to the north of the left bank of the Gumti, which either wholly or in part were included in the city, but were omitted from the survey. Mr. Harrington "adverted to the advisability of utilizing a well-trained establishment for the purpose of securing a record and map, such as the authorities in charge of the city lands and tenements ought to have." But the Financial Commissioner vetoed the scheme on the ground "that he could not propose that Government should sanction any expenditure on any object which, however desirable in itself, would not bring any return to the State."

For want of a proper record of this nature in the villages referred to above, the Nazul department had been experiencing difficulties and sustaining loss in establishing its title to unoccupied land in the *abadi* and in collaboration with the Court of Wards, it got a record of rights prepared in the year 1917 for four villages, Qutubpur Khalispur, Iradatnagar, Baraulia, and Birhana. The work was carried out under Mr. J. B. Smart, a Deputy Collector, who was invested with the powers of an assistant record officer. This record has lost much of its importance in view of the Hon'ble Judicial Commissioner's decision published in XXIV, Oudh Cases, in which it has been held that land occupied by houses in the city of Lucknow was the property of the owners of the houses. It was, therefore, deemed necessary to compile the record afresh in the light of this decision, for the purpose of guarding against future encroachments on nazul land and for dealing with intestate properties and also with a view to avoid unnecessary expenditure that might have been incurred on defending claims based on the Judicial Commissioner's decision. The importance and utility of a duly attested record was too apparent for the nazul to let slip the opportunity of the settlement operations without taking full advantage of it. The Nazul department proposed the scheme of a city survey of seven entire villages (Birhana, Baraulia, Qutubpur, Khalispur, Iradatnagar, Rahimnagar, Mahnagar, Mawaia and Sheikhapur) to which an eighth village Rappur Khadra was subquently added and of portions of four villages (Bhadewan, Harchandpur Kanuara, Jiamau and Madhi Madarpur) and undertook to defray the cost of the scheme. Government sanction was duly obtained and the work was entrusted to the Settlement Officer. Special rules for this survey under section 234 of the Land Revenue Act were framed and were published by Government in notification no. 3036/I-A - 197-1925 Revenue (A) department Miscellaneous dated August 16, 1927. Through the kindness of the Survey of India department the services of a theodolite surveyor

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and a computor were obtained and the whole scheme was put under the immediate charge of Pandit Kamta Prasad Avasthi, who was appointed Special Naib-Tahsildar and was invested with the powers of a Tahsildar for making local inquiries. Mr. Anwar Ali Faruqi, Assistant Record Officer, was entrusted with the work of attestation and supervision, and the survey was started about the end of February, 1927 on a scale of 64 inches to a mile. A *khasra abadi* showing details of ownership of, and subordinate rights in, tenements and other particulars has been prepared in the form sanctioned by Government in notification Revenue (A) department no. 3331/IA—197-1925, dated September 7, 1927.

The difficulties of a city survey are too patent to need any detailed description, and the complicated nature of the work in which accuracy is of the utmost importance makes progress necessarily slow. During the 18 months that I have been in charge theodolite survey of all the 12 villages under the scheme has been finished and the detailed survey and *khanapuri* of six villages (Birhana, Baraulia, Qutubpur Khalispur, Iradatnagar, Sheikhapur and Rahimnagar Mahnagar) which contain an area of about 1,000 acres of *abadi* land and over 10,000 properties has been completed and 25,500 *khewat khasra* slips have been attested. The remaining field work of the scheme is expected to be finished by the end of March, 1929. But the distribution, attestation and final disposal of the slips now remaining, which are estimated to be about 45,000, must take another financial year. The immensity of the task was hardly foreseen when the scheme was initiated. But the perseverance with which the work has been pushed on will be realized when it is noted that Mr. Smart took about 4 years in getting through only four villages under his charge. The number of disputed cases up to date has been only 596, out of which 422 have been decided by compromise between the nazul and the public. The work is marked by a singular absence of friction, and it is gratifying to note that it is meeting with general satisfaction and is proving a source of profit as well to the nazul. A sum of Rs. 6,000 has already been realized by way of compensation for encroachments disclosed by the survey out of a total expenditure of Rs. 25,700 incurredup to date.

Costs.

41. The total cost of the settlement and record operations comes to Rs. 3,61,570 as shown in Appendix X or Rs. 379 per square mile and will be recouped in 2 years. It is just a little less than what it was at the long drawn-out proceedings of the first regular settlement, but since then much water has flowed down the Gumti and cost all round has more than doubled. The work has been carried out as economically and expeditiously as circumstances permitted. The cost is high mainly owing to the postponement of the settlement and carrying out of the record operations practically separately from settlement proper, but also to a certain extent owing to the exigencies of life in a large city. Moreover, this is one of the first settlements in which the new provision of patwari's allowance has been in force throughout the period.

Prospects of th new settlement

42. So far as can be judged from conversation with a few leading proprietors of the district and a few others of the neighbouring tahsil in Hardoi, the new revenues on the whole seem to have been well received. The new settlement, however, has opened with unfavourable seasons. A cycle of "wet" years had deteriorated the Gumti valley and the overlooking *bhur*, but the deterioration was very fully taken into consideration at assessment. The year 1334 Fasli, in the cold weather of which actually the settlement operations were started, was a favourable one. Government ordered under Settlement rule 67 the realization of the *rabi kist* of 1335 Fasli in parganas Kakori and Bijnor, and in spite of the damage by excessive and untimely winter rains to a superb *rabi* crop, the like of which

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had not been known for a long time past, a large part of the demand in the two parganas in which alone the new demand has so far come into force was realized. Government has not yet brought into force the new demand in the remaining parganas owing to the unfavourable *kharif* of 1336 Fasli, which has necessitated suspensions of Rs. 96,426 for the whole district. There are reasons to believe that the zamindars have already started enhancing rents with a view to ease off the burden of the increase in revenue. Rents are everywhere rising, and a network of the Sarda canal will further revolutionize the rents and the system of cropping at no far distant date and add considerably to the prosperity of the district, incidentally lightening even the present demand. All this augurs well for the future of the settlement. No pains have been spared in working out a fair assessment—fair for all the parties concerned—the zamindar, the tenant and the Government. Whether the settlement works fairly or otherwise time alone will show. Sanction for the new demand is solicited for a period of 40 years to expire in June, 1968 for tahsil Lucknow and in June, 1969 for the other two tahsils.

Miscellaneous.

43. My thanks are due to Messrs. C. Y. Gwynne and T. J. C. Acton, Deputy Commissioners, for the kind assistance they have always so ungrudgingly rendered. Without their close co-operation, the task of bringing the settlement to a speedy close would have been well nigh impossible.

The brunt of the record work fell on Mr. Mohammad Anwar Ali Faruqi, and laterly when he was promoted to the post of Assistant Settlement Officer he was saddled with the extra work of supervising the nazul survey scheme in addition to his ordinary duties of assessment. He has been fully up to task, has worked hard and well throughout, and the Board are themselves aware of the quality of his assessment work, which is careful and sound and is highly creditable.

Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra's work as Assistant Record Officer was careful and his judgements especially were always lucid and clear.

Credit is due to Pandit Kamta Prasad Avasthi for his efficient and close supervision of the nazul survey scheme. He has never spared himself and the success and smooth working of the scheme is largely due to his tact and energy.

Babu Bijay Bahadur, supervisor kanungo, did particularly well as Survey Expert and was rewarded for his good services by the Deputy Director of Land Records by promotion to the post of Inspector of Kanungos.

The difficulties of office management were the usual ones, concomitant on the entertainment of a large, temporary and consequently irresponsible staff. In addition to the ordinary difficulties, however, there were some special difficulties also to be faced. Owing to the stoppage of settlements in the United Provinces Native States had absorbed a large number of experienced settlement officials and simultaneous starting of no less than seven settlements in the United Provinces, at a time when experienced settlement hands were scarce, put a premium on the abilities of inexperienced men. Despite the fact that in advance of my arrival I had selected a good staff of soil classifiers, none of them turned up, preferring cheaper places to expensive life in Lucknow. Had it not been due to the courtesy of Messrs. D. L. Drake-Brockman and Himmat Singh in supplying soil classifiers from the Jodhpur settlement, I should have been stranded indeed. The high cost of living in a large city tended to raise bickerings among the staff, which had to be allayed in various ways. All the difficulties have been surmounted, and I am glad to record that the office has worked smoothly and well and my thanks are due to the whole English and

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Vernacular office staff, including the permanent staff—the supervisor and registrar kanungoes and the officials of the Deputy Commissioner's record room—who have never failed to respond to the extra calls made on their time and energy and have never grudged working against time at high pressure when the exigencies of work demanded a whole-hearted devotion to duty.

The Head Clerk, M. Yunis Ali, was entirely new to the work, he was called upon to perform. He applied himself to the task with untiring energy, picked it up quickly and acquitted himself well.

The Sadar Munsarim M. Muhammad Siddique had some previous office experience but was also new to the complexities of work in Oudh and though he foundered at the beginning, he was soon able to feel his ground and on the whole did well. On my arrival in the district the Second Clerk, Babu Sukhdeo Rai was the only experienced clerk in a responsible position. The bulk of the technical work including the preparation of the final report figures fell on him and he has discharged his duties creditably.

My Chief Reader, Babu Devi Sahai, is an intelligent and experienced official—honest and reliable and has worked with zeal and energy inspite of the impediment of his weak health, which compelled him to take leave towards the end of the settlement.

Lastly I must not forget Rai Sahib Babu Gopi Nath, Manager, Sisendi estate, whose help in analysing the rents of that estate was invaluable.

BRIJ CHAND SHARMA,

February 12, 1929. *Settlement Officer.*

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APPENDIX I.—*Comparative area statement.*

Serial number.	Period.	Total area.	Revenue free.	Not culturable.				Groves.	Culturable.				Cultivated.							Total of columns 12 and 19.	Incidence of revenue per acre of cultivation.
				Village site.	Covered with water.	Otherwise barren.	Total.		Waste.	Fallow.		Total.	Irrigated.					Unirrigated.	Total.		
										Old.	New.		Canals.		Wells.	Other sources.	Total.				
													Flow.	Lift.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1	Former setttlement	617.641	718	12,634	26,289	87,157	126,080	23,196	47,492	55,118	19,730	122,340	..	..	41,333	73,332	114,665	230.642	345,307	467,647	2·8
2	Present settlement (year of verification).	611,341	*338	18,078	26,006	†80,680	124,764	24,581	60,157	30,707	21,305	112,169	..	..	44,579 98,29.	47 203 49,62	91,782 147,920	217,207 201,069	348,989	461,158	3·5
3	Increase	..	120	5,444	..	..	..	1,385	12,665	..	1,575	..	..	..	3,246	..	..	26,565	3,682	..	..
4	Decrease	6,300	..	..	283	6 477	1,316	..	..	24,411	..	10,171	..	..	..	26,129	22,883	..	..	6,489	..

* Includes .. Tru t 3 .. Cultivated .. 2; Uncultivated .. 1 — Municipal Board 310 Cultivated .. 231; Uncultivated .. 79 — Khalsa 151 .. Cultivated .. 130; Uncultivated .. 21 — Revenue free 374 .. Cultivated .. 261; Uncultivated .. 113 (Acres.)

† Includes Government property 6,101 .. Cultivated .. 264; Uncultivated .. 5,837 (Acres.)

APPENDIX II.

Statement of Jamas.

..	Revenue of Settlement.			Expiring revenue.			Proposed revenue payable to Government.							Proposed revenue not payable to Government.									Total of columns of 14 and 23.	Percentage of increase or decrease of columns 7 and 24.
							Ordinary villages.			Permanently settled.	Total.			Permanently settled.		Revenue-free.	Revenue assigned.		Nazool.	Government property.	Total.			
	First.	Second.	Third.	Payable to Government.	Not payable to Government.	Total.	First five years.	Intermediate.	Final.		First five years	Intermediate.	Final.	First five years.	Final.		First five years.	Final.			First five years.	Final.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	
Lucknow district ..	6,78,833 0 0	7,76,929 0 0	9,82,708 0 0	8,88,527 13 11	83,187 14 3	9,71,715 12 2	9,96,580 10 0	10,46,086 14 0	10,46,911 14 0	52,969 6 0	10,46,550 0 0	10,99,016 4 0	10,99,181 4 0	40,560 10 0	40,780 10 0	30,915 0 0	40,548 4 0	43,288 12 0	7,028 12 0	705 0 0	1,19,755 10 0	1,22,718 2 0	12 21,899 6 0	+25·8

APPENDIX III.

Rent rolls and collections.

Years.	Under-proprietor's land.		Tenants land held in—				Siwai demand.	Total demand columns 3, 5, 7 and 8.	Collections including arrears.	Sir area.	Khudkashi area.	Rent-free, unrented and favoured.	Total area in holdings.		Shikmi.	
			Cash.		Kind.											
	Area.	Rent demand.	Area.	Rent demand.	Area.	Rent demand.							Cultivated.	Uncultivated.	Area.	Rent demand.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	Acres.	Rs.	Acres.	Rs.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.			Acres.	Rs.
Former settlement ..	19,496	36,724	274,681	17,28,451	20,595	70,390	40,661	18,76,226	..	11,680	24,257	14,704	345,307	20,107	34,817	,306,357
Twelve years' average ..	20,149	41,587	311,483	27,34 127	19,576	1,05,571	1,34,923	30,16,208	26,02,099	12,729	21,447	12,877	366,270	31,991	59,012	6,92,778
Year of verification ..	17,443	41,185	279,782	28,89,144	19,585	1,44,377	98,244	31,72,950	27,37,104	26,055	7,264	26,108	3,48,989	272,248	43,667	5,60,257

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APPENDIX IV.

Area table and attested rent-roll.

Last settlement.		In the year of verification.								
Area.	Rent.	Description.	Number of khatas.	Cash paying.		Grain-rented.		Sub-tenants.		Remarks.
				Area.	Rent.	Area.	Rent.	Area.	Rent.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
19,496	36,724	Under-proprietors as such	14,563	17,443	41,185	..	..	1,831	32,953	
..	..	Exproprietary tenants as such	600	1,588	12,585	..	..	675	9,821	
4,938	21,801	Occupancy tenants as such	1,347	3,501	18,688	..	..	1,610	26,202	
290,339	17,75,291	Tenants with statutory rights — Privileged castes ..	5,225	11,231	91,919	..	..	4,476	50,646	
		Tenants with statutory rights — Non-privileged ..	1,39,230	2,25,978	23,27,682	17,886	1,31,934	15,663	1,81,992	
		Tenants without statutory rights — Privileged castes ..	1,874	3,667	32,521	..	..	239	2,295	The area of all kinds of plots is excluded from this statement as shown in the statement I.
		Tenants without statutory rights — Non-privileged ..	20,511	32,714	3,17,969	1,699	12,443	4,625	56,500	
11,680	35,490	Sir	7,089	26,055	7	..	..	7,925	1,23,664	
24,257	90,010	Khudkasht	4,722	7,264	17	..	..	..	..	
583	1,749	Favoured tenures	4,977	12,087	87,680	..	..	3,688	47,962	
14,059	399	Rent-free..	14,591	7,376	..	..	..	2,487	23,302	
112	..	Unrented	23,579	6,645	..	..	..	448	5,020	
365,414	19,61,464	Total ..	2,38,308	3,56,652	29,30,353	19,585	1,44,377	43,667	5,60,357	

APPENDIX V.

Census and Agricultural statistics.

Wells.				Depth to water.		Ploughs.		Plough cattle.		Population.				Number of inhabited sites.	
Masonry.		Earthen.													
Old.	New.	Old.	New.	Last Settlement.	Present Settlement.	Last Settlement.	Present Settlement.	Last Settlement.	Present Settlement.	At the census of 1891.	At the census of 1901.	At the census of 1911.	At the census of 1921.	Last Settlement.	Present Settlement.
4,952	9,243	6,680	11,433	17 feet	18 feet	57,018	63,902	131,186	131,779	501,135	529,192	504,613	47,937	2,284	2,531

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APPENDIX VI.

Comparative Crop Statement for the whole District Lucknow.

Year.	Total cultivated area per khasra.	Rabi.							Kharif.								Zaid.	Defasli.
		Wheat alone.	Wheat mixed.	Barley alone and mixed.	Gram and peas.	Tobacco.	Others.	Total.	Rice.	Juar alone and mixed.	Bajra alone and mixed.	Urd, moong and moth.	Sugarcane.	Maize.	Others.	Total.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Former settlement ..	346,326	64,158	24,447	34,794	69,781	3,794	21,557	218,531	89,428	36,273	28,607	1,561	3,320	7,124	69,565	235,878	4	108,037
Average	361,229	69,137	18,405	30,785	54,827	27	9,949	183,130	57,160	44,271	45,950	35,970	4,435	9,499	56,973	254,258	5,046	81,2 5
Year of verification ..	*349,877	72,716	24,125	27,745	64,305	325	7,669	196,885	57,390	40,284	38,216	35,022	4,268	9,162	38,094	222,436	5,915	75,359

* Includes { 2 acres Improvement Trust. 231 ,, Municipal Board. 130 ,, Khalsa. 261 ,, Revenue Free. 264 ,, Government Property.

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APPENDIX VII-A.

Statement of assessments holdings area of the whole district.

Soils.	Circle rates.	Rates applied.	Under-proprietors land.	Tenants cash-rented area.						Assumption areas.						Remarks.
				Ex-proprietary.	Occupancy.	Statutory.		Non-statutory.		Sir.	Khudkasht	Grain rented.	Favoured tenures.	Rent-free and unrented.	Total columns 4 to 15.	
						Privileged.	Non-privileged	Privileged.	Non-privileged.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Bhi Pan	..	..	..	..	..	..	63	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	69	
Kachhiana I	..	..	197	4	2	31	1,142	10	169	50	37	18	27	69	1,756	
Kachhiana II	..	..	76	1	..	6	114	..	82	5	2	..	..	32	318	
Goind I + ...	..	..	25	..	15	..	121	..	29	32	6	1	4	1	234	
Goind I .. { Wet ..	..	..	1,640	137	368	553	10,081	171	1,520	2,408	394	392	602	365	18,721	
{ Dry ..	..	..	174	10	18	37	502	23	161	173	40	51	24	99	1,312	
Goind II .. { Wet ..	..	..	284	36	39	125	2,513	29	308	337	89	127	134	63	4,114	
{ Dry ..	..	..	65	11	2	31	283	5	49	70	15	84	28	25	668	
Har I .. { Wet ..	..	..	3,903	468	1,109	2,303	43,910	681	5,618	7,670	1,345	2,144	2,213	1,311	7,268	
{ Dry ..	..	..	658	98	110	413	6,861	175	923	1,130	337	419	465	513	12,102	
Har II + .. { Wet ..	..	..	560	26	51	239	4,862	65	604	460	108	167	104	154	7,308	
{ Dry ..	..	..	221	4	12	55	1,703	5	234	102	65	64	35	90	2,590	

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APPENDIX VII-A.

Statement of assessments holdings area of the whole district.

Soils.	Circle rates.	Rates applied.	Under-proprietors land.	Tenant cash-rented area.						Assumption areas.						Remarks.
				Ex-proprietary.	Occupancy.	Statutory.		Non-statutory.		Sir.	Khudkasht.	Grain rented.	Favoured tenures.	Rent-free and unrented.	Total columns 4 to 15.	
						Privileged.	Non-privileged.	Privileged.	Non-privileged.							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Har II .. Wet ..	..	..	2,008	277	493	1,970	31,733	520	4,252	4,068	913	2,387	1,839	1,344	51,784	
Har II .. Dry ..	..	..	1,324	143	365	986	19,728	366	2,867	1,830	653	997	1,264	1,236	31,759	
Har III .. Wet ..	..	..	941	65	153	724	16,685	244	2,290	1,124	362	1,177	706	848	25,419	
Har III .. Dry ..	..	..	1,366	124	357	1,263	31,450	479	4,261	2,223	978	3,400	1,754	2,755	50,420	
Har IV .. Wet ..	..	..	434	15	47	232	8,442	141	1,228	361	286	690	274	547	12,797	
Har IV .. Dry ..	..	..	448	65	119	1,050	18,157	262	2,974	1,330	702	3,837	1,210	2,276	32,430	
Har IV	..	..	14	6	23	216	2,704	28	379	78	53	532	74	215	4,332	
Matiar I	..	..	48	9	20	26	1,637	12	315	147	34	167	71	133	2,619	
Matiar II	..	..	143	34	20	285	6,313	122	931	508	159	740	420	492	10,167	
Matiar III	..	..	129	29	31	186	6,942	86	1,296	644	191	895	459	1,014	11,902	
Goind Tarai	..	..	2	..	2	..	17	..	7	44	..	..	..	..	72	
Tarai I	..	..	190	6	32	129	2,592	46	645	237	108	143	56	70	4,254	
Tarai II + ...	..	..	21	8	8	37	540	33	107	42	39	109	14	40	998	
Tarai II	..	..	73	9	44	83	2,739	36	571	229	126	372	62	142	4,486	
Tarai III	..	..	66	10	60	163	2,951	61	805	613	122	282	104	127	5,469	
Tarai IV	..	..	78	2	4	93	2,498	67	498	144	115	299	55	131	3,984	
Total .. Cultivated ..	..	..	14,168	1,517	3,299	10,596	2,13,697	3,381	30,220	24,737	7,048	17,385	11,205	12,074	3,49,877	
Total .. Uncultivated ..	..	..	920	80	205	743	13,616	286	2,986	1,237	231	1,709	883	2,019	24,965	

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APPENDIX VII—B.-I.

Statement of Assets of the whole district including plots.

Assumption Area.	Tenure.	Recorded.			By circle rate.		Accepted.			Sayar.	Addition for grafted mango groves.	Addition for land thrown out of cultivation.	Cultivated land built after last settlement.	Total assets.	Deduction for sir and khudkast.	Deduction for improvement.	Deduction for unstable cultivation.	Net Assets.	Expiring revenue.	Proposed.		
		Holdings area.	Rent.	Incidence.	Assessed area.	Valuation.	Assessed area.	Accepted valuation.	Incidence.											Initial.	Intermediate.	Final.
			Rs.			Rs.		Rs.											Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	Under-proprietary ..	15,088	41,195	2·7	13,825	1,31,651	13,825	1,31,253	9·5													
Cash-rented.	Ex-proprietary ..	1,597	12,767	8·0	1,568	13,616	1,568	12,751	8·1													
	Occupancy ..	3,504	18,688	5·3	3,356	35,452	3,356	22,945	6·8													
	Non-statutory. Statutory. Privileged ..	11,339	91,989	8·1	11,103	95,231	11,103	91,999	8·3													
	Non-statutory. Statutory. Non-privileged.	227,313	23,32,177	10·3	2,23,333	23,57,283	2,23,338	23,04,488	10·3													
	Non-statutory. Privileged ..	3,667	32,521	8·8	3,525	30,419	3,525	30,710	8·7													
	Non-statutory. Non-privileged.	33,206	3,25,091	9·8	31,396	3,31,465	31,396	3,19,725	10·2													
	Sir	26,074	7	..	25,299	2,38,807	25,299	2,38,713	9·4													
	Khudkasht ..	7,279	17	..	7,237	58,670	7,237	58,657	8·1													
	Grain-rented ..	19,594	144,476	7·4	19,351	1,24,324	19,351	1,04,365	5·4													
	Favoured tenures..	12,088	87,681	7·2	11,818	95,645	11,818	96,680	8·2													
	Rent-free and untented.	14,093	..	..	12,973	87,449	12,973	76,624	5·9													
	Total ..	374,842	30,86,609	8·2	3,65,289	36,00,012	36,528	34,88,910	9·6	15,012	16,958	2,085	1,226	35,24,191	52,094	30,365	24,499	33,67,233	9,71,715-12-2	11,66,305-10-0	12,21,774-6-0	12,21,899-6-0

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APPENDIX VII—B. II.

Statement of assets of khalsa with plots.

Tenure.	Recorded.			By circle rates.		Accepted.			Sayar.	Addition for grafted mango grove.	Addition for land thrown out of cultivation.	Cultivated land built upon last settlement.	Total assets.	Deduction for sir and khudkasht.	Deduction for improvement.	Deduction for unstable cultivation.	Net assets.	Expiring revenue.	Proposed.		
	Holdings area.	Rent.	Incidence.	Assessed area.	Valuation.	Assessed area.	Accepted valuation.	Incidence.											Initial.	Intermediate.	Final.
																		Rs. a p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Under-proprietary	11,299	29,383	2·6	10,182	96,401	10,182	96,224	9·4													
Exproprietary	1,502	12,015	8·0	1,478	12,824	1,478	12,000	8·1													
Cash-rented. Occupancy ..	3,093	16,980	5·5	2,964	31,297	2,964	20,811	7·1													
Cash-rented. Statutory. Privileged..	9,4 9	78,493	8·3	9,324	79,582	9,324	76,957	8·3													
Cash-rented. Statutory. Non-privileged.	195,629	20,16,606	10·3	192,771	20,28,743	192,771	19,80,915	10·2													
Cash-rented. Non-statutory. Privileged	3,105	28,425	9·1	3,022	26,442	3,022	26,798	8·9													
Cash-rented. Non-statutory. Non-privileged.	27,042	2,62,545	9·7	26,057	2,71,510	26,057	2,63,253	10·1													
Cash-rented. Sir ..	24,271	7	..	23 934	2,25,256	23,934	2,25,162	9·4													
Assumption Areas. Khud kasht ..	6,594	17	..	6,555	52,798	6,555	22,785	3·1													
Assumption Areas. Grain rented ..	19,236	1,41,070	7·4	18,997	1,21,797	18,997	1,01,833	5·3													
Assumption Areas. Favoured tenures	10,402	76,274	7·3	10,194	83,180	10,194	84,165	8·3													
Assumption Areas. Rent free and unrented.	12,361	..	..	11,415	75,799	11,415	67,807	6·0													
Total ..	324,023	26,61,815	8·2	316,893	31,06,629	316,893	30,08,730	9·4	11,699	15,532	1,685	195	3,037,841	49,471	69,395	21,695	2,897,280	8,32,266-2-5	9,89,690-10-0	10,41,929-6-0	10,42,054-6-0

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APPENDIX VII B III.

Statement of assets of permanently settled.

Tenure.	Recorded.			By circle rate.		Accepted.			Sayar.	Addition for grafted mango groves.	Addition for land thrown out of cultivation.	Cultivated land built after last settlement.	Total assets.	Deduction for sir and khudkasht.	Deduction for improvement.	Deduction for unstable cultivation.	Net assets.	Expiring revenue.	Proposed.		
	Holdings area.	Rent.	Incidence.	Assessed area.	Valuation.	Assessed area.	Accepted valuation.	Incidence.											Initial.	Intermediate.	Final.
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.									Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Under proprietary ..	1,866	5,905	3·2	1,799	15,064	1,799	15,052	8·4													
Cash rented. Exproprietary ..	4	18	3·3	1	7	1	14	14·0													
Cash rented. Occupancy ..	284	994	3·5	269	2,547	269	1,283	4·6													
Cash rented. Statutory. Privileged	1,650	11,414	7·0	1,584	13,584	1,584	13,075	8·3													
Cash rented. Statutory. Non-privileged.	17,592	1,49,880	8·2	17,145	1,68,804	17,145	1,63,719	9·6													
Cash rented. Non-statutory. Privileged	465	3,214	7·0	410	3,171	410	3,195	7·6													
Cash rented. Non-statutory. Non-privileged.	3,065	22,839	7·4	2,843	26,680	2,843	25,261	8·9													
Assumption area. Sir	612	..	..	603	5,907	603	5,407	9·8													
Assumption area. Khudkasht ..	220	..	..	219	1,981	219	1,981	9·0													
Assumption area. Grain-rented ..	126	784	6·2	124	804	124	804	6·5													
Assumption area. Favoured tenures ..	1,274	8,652	6·8	1,224	9,161	1,224	9,256	7·6													
Assumption area. Rent-free and unrented.	904	..	..	830	5,422	830	4,266	5·1													
Total ..	28,062	2,03,695	7·3	27,051	2,53,082	27,051	2,43,793	9·0	1,926	10	303	..	2,46,112	950	5,379	1,291	2,38,192	*7,170	*93,530	*93,750	*93,750

* Actual payable to Government Rs. 52,369-6-0.

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APPENDIX VII B IV.

Statement of assets of partly Khalsa and partly revenue assigned.

Tenure.	Recorded.			By circle rate.		Accepted.			Sayar	Addition for grafted mango grove.	Addition for land thrown out of cultivation.	Cultivated land built for last settlement.	Total assets.	Deduction for sir and khudkasht	Deduction for improvement.	Deduction for unstable cultivation.	Net assets.	Expiring revenue.	Proposed.		
	Holdings area.	Rent.	Incidence.	Assessed area.	Valuation.	Assessed area.	Accepted valuation.	Incidence.											Initial.	Intermediate.	Final.
																		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Under-proprietary ..	56	79	1·4	45	336	45	356	7·9													
Cash rented. Expropriatary ..	82	247	7·7	31	239	31	263	8·5													
Cash rented. Occupancy ..	47	275	5·8	47	361	47	363	7·7													
Cash rented. Statutory. Privileged ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..													
Cash rented. Statutory. Non-privileged.	1,669	15,797	9·4	1,656	15,251	1,656	14,681	8·9													
Cash rented. Non-Statutory. Privileged ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..													
Cash rented. Non-Statutory. Non-privileged.	202	1,714	8·4	197	1 948	197	1,880	9·5													
Assumption area Sir ..	71	..	..	69	629	69	629	9·2													
Assumption area Khudkasht ..	189	..	..	189	1,402	189	1,402	7·4													
Assumption area Grain rented ..	25	224	9·4	25	194	25	188	7·3													
Assumption area Favoured tenure ..	36	196	5·4	35	260	35	260	7·4													
Assumption area Rent free and unrented	69	..	..	65	374	65	355	5·5													
																		3,292 5 6	Khalsa revenue assigned. 3,890 0 0	Khalsa revenue asigned. 4,157 8 0	Khalsa revenue assigned. 8 0
Total ..	2,396	18,542	7·7	2,359	21,272	2,359	20,372	8·7	..	18	68	..	20,458	376	110	785	19,182	1,776 10 6	2,140 0 0	2,342 8 0	2,342 8 0

(3 87)

APPENDIX VII C.

Circle Rates and unit values.

Names of parganas.	Circles.	Unit values.	Ehita pan.	Kachhiana I.	Kachhiana II.	Goind I and wet.	Goind I.		Goind II.		Har I+.		Har II+.		Har II.		Har III.		Har IV.		Har IV.	Makiar I.	Makiar II.	Makiar III.	Goind Tarai.	Tarai I.	Tarai II+.	Tarai II.	Tarai III.	Tarai IV.
							Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.	Wet.	Dry.										
Kakori ..	I	·85	..	..	..	20·6	17·2	13·8	15·5	12·0	13·8	13·8	12·9	..	12·0	8·6	9·5	6·9	3·4		..	8·6	6·0	3·4	..	..	..	..	..	..
	II	·90	25·8	..	..	21·6	18·0	14·4	16·2	12·6	14·4	11·7	12·6	9·9	11·7	8·1	9·9	6·3	7·2	4·5	..	5·4	4·5	3·6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bijnore ..	I	·78	21·8	..	..	..	15·1	12·5	14·0	12·5	12·5	10·1	..	..	10·9	7·8	7·8	5·5	6·2	3·9	..	..	6·2	3·1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	II	·90	25·8	..	28·8	..	18·0	14·4	16·2	12·6	14·4	11·7	13·6	9·9	11·7	8·1	9·9	6·2	7·2	4·5	..	5·4	4·5	3·6	..	..	..	..	..	..
	III	·86	..	..	27·5	..	18·1		15·5		13·8		..	..	11·8	9·9	10·8	6·9	3·4		..	..	6·9	4·3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Lucknow ..	I	1·33	..	50·5	37·2	..	20·3		25·3		21·3		17·3		13·6	14·3	10·6		8·0		..	13·3	10·6	5·3	..	20·0	..	13·3	12·0	..
	II	·99	..	..	..	..	18·0		15·3		14·4		13·6		11·7		9·9	6·3	7·2	4·5	..	15·4	4·5	3·6	..	..	..	..	..	..
	III	·88	..	39·5	..	..	16·4		14·3		13·1		10·7		9·0		5·7		3·3		2·5	..	8·2	4·1	..	..	..	8·2	7·4	4·9
	IV	1·04	..	..	..	..	23·9		18·7		16·6	14·3	15·6	12·5	13·5	11·4	10·4	7·3	4·2		2·1	10·4	8·3	4·2	..	..	..	..	..	..
	V	·70	..	..	..	..	..	..	13·3		11·2		9·8		7·7		4·9		2·1		1·4	..	..	..	..	10·5	9·1	7·0	6·3	4·2
	VI	·85	..	..	30·6	..	17·0		15·3		13 6		11·0		9·3		5·9		3·4		2·5	..	..	..	17·0	12·7	11·0	8·5	7·6	5·1
Malihabad ..	I	·79	..	19·0	..	..	16·6	12·6	14·2	11·1	..	12·6	..	..	..	9·5	9·5	7·1	4·7		3·2	..	6·3	..	..	17·4	..	13·4	9·5	6·3
	II	·97	..	24·9	..	..	20·4	15·5	17·5	14·3	15·5	13·6	..	..	13·6	10·7	10·7	8·7	4·9		2·4	..	7·3	5·3	..	..	..	.	..	..
	III	·92	..	25·8	..	..	20·2		16·6	..	..	14·7	..	..	12·9	11·0	11·0	8·3	6·4		..	9·2	7·4	5·5	..	..	..	..	..	..
	IV	·86	..	25·8	..	..	19·8		17·2	..	13·8		..	..	12·0	10·3	10·3	7·7	3·9		2·1	8·6	6·9	4·3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mahona ..	I	·88	..	21·1	..	..	17·6	14·1	15·3	13·2	14·1	9·7	..	..	11·4	8·8	8·8	6·2	4·4		..	..	..	..	..	10·6	..	8·4	6·2	4·4
	II	·73	..	..	..	..	14·6		13·1		11·7		..	..	9·5		5·3		3·6		1·1	..	..	..	..	12·4	..	9·5	7·3	5·8
	III	·90	..	21·6	..	..	18·0		16·2		14·4		..	..	11·7		9·9	8·1	4·5		..	..	7·2	4·5	..	..	..	..	..	..
	IV	1·04	..	25·6	..	..	20·4		..		16·4		..	..	13·3	11·2	12·2	8·2	5·1		..	..	6·1	5·1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	V	·86	..	20·3	..	..	17·2		15·5		13·3		..	..	11·2	9·5	9·5	6·9	5·2		..	8·3	6·9	5·2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nigohan ..	I	·83	..	21·4	..	..	17·3		14·4	12·3	10·4		..	..	10·4	7·2	2·4	5·3	4·0		..	7·2	5·6	4·0	..	..	..	7·2	5·6	4·0
	II	·85	..	24·6	..	..	17·5		15·8	14·1	11·4		..	..	11·4	8·8	8·3	6·2	4·4		..	7·9	6·2	4·4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mohanlalganj	I	1·04	..	33·4	..	..	21·3		18·7		16·6	13·5	..	..	14·6	11·4	11·4	8·3	4·2		..	..	10·4	5·2	..	..	..	10·4	8·3	3·1
	II	1·01	..	34·2	..	..	21·3		18·3		16·2	13·1	..	..	13·1	10·1	10·1	7·1	8·1	5·0	..	8·1	7·1	5·0	..	..	..	..	..	..
	III	·87	..	29·6	..	..	17·4	13·9	15·7	12·2	13·9	12·2	..	..	11·3	7·3	7·8	5·2	3·0		..	..	6·1	4·3	..	14·8	..	9·6	7·0	3·5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

APPENDIX VIII-A.

Proprietary tenures.

Description.		Taluqdari.	Zamindari.		Pattidari.		Bhaiyachara.	Miscellaneous property.	Revenue-free.	Resumed muafi.	Dedicated.	Government property.	Nazool.	Total.
			Single.	Joint.	Perfect.	Imperfect.								
Number of mahals ..		209	425	681	390	314	2	..	38	23	19	99	11	2,211
Area in acres ..		120,652	131,054	124,822	83,546	98,525	3,866	7,134	9,140	3,605	16,632	10,884	1,981	611,341
Percentage		19·7	21·4	20·4	13·7	16·1	·6	1·2	1·6	·6	2·7	1·7	·3	100
Number of co-sharers.	Resident ..	89	110	1,187	1,940	3,173	89	2,071	19	25	2	..	..	8,655
	Absentee ..	226	422	2,299	2,299	3,214	42	1,584	196	43	4	..	..	10,259

APPENDIX VIII-B.

Caste of proprietors.

Caste of proprietor.	Area held at last settlement.	Area held at present settlement.	Increase since last settlement.	Decrease since last settlement.	Percentage on the total area of area now held by each caste.
1. Muhammadan..	210,834	187,231	..	23,603	30·6
2. Thakur	214,407	174,680	..	39,727	28·6
3. Brahman	77,301	75,707	..	1,594	12·4
4. Kayasth	27,345	32,006	4,661	..	5·2
5. Vaish	18,884	30,861	11,977	..	5·1
6. Khattri	25,715	25,425	..	290	4·2
7 Dedicated	..	16,632	16,632	..	2·7
8. Kashmiri	11,784	20,886	9,102	..	3·4
9 Kurmi	9,121	12,677	3,556	..	2·1
10. Government property	3,073	10,884	7,311	..	1·7
11. Ahir	5,060	4,695	..	365	·7
12. Murai	5,764	4,220	..	1,544	·7
13. Nanak Shahi	680	1,250	570	..	·2
14. Nazool	..	1,981	1,981	..	·3
15. Others	7,673	12,706	5,033	..	2·1
Total ..	617,641	611,341	..	6,300	100·0

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APPENDIX VIII-C.

List of leading proprietors of Lucknow district.

Serial number.	Name of proprietors	Area in acres.	Old demand.	New demand.	Increase or decrease.	Percentage of increase or decrease.
1	Qazi Rashid Ali Khan of Kakori	3,308	4,623	5,966	+1,343	+29·1
2	Rani Subhadra Kunwar of Sisendi	32,998	37,842	38,298	+456	+1·2
3	Nawab Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan, of Sheshmal, Lucknow.	2,129	5,298	6,120	+822	+14·9
4	Babu Tulshi Pat Ram of Golaganj, Lucknow ..	3,809	5,998	7,441	+1,443	+26·0
5	Maharaja Pateshwari Parsad Singh, Taluqdar, of Balrampur.	5,417	12,532	14,724	+2,192	+17·5
6	Raja Mohammad Ejaz Rasul Khan, C.S.I., of Jehangirabad, district Bara Banki.	2,727	4,795	6,010	+1,215	+25·3
7	Lala Indar Prasad, of Raja Bazar, Lucknow ..	1,448	4,249	5,515	+1,266	+29·8
8	Nawab Mirza Mohammad Syed Ali Khan, of Shish Mahal, Lucknow.	4,557	8,731	10,745	+2,014	+23·1
9	Bibi Jai Kishori of Hussainganj	1,723	3,110	4,120	+1,010	+32·4
10	Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan of Sehlamau .	12,578	22,268	28,705	+6,437	+28·9
11	Pandit Iqbal Narain Bakhshi	3,933	12,913	17,957	+4,044	+29·1
12	Khan Bahadur Mohammad Yusuf Khan of Kasmandi Khurd.	6,150	10,360	13 255	+2,895	+27·9
13	Kunwar Sher Bahadur Singh, Thakur, of Bhatpurwa.	3,126	5,460	6,730	+1,270	+23·2
14	Rani Deo Kunwar Sahib of Bharawan ..	3,173	5,449	6,874	+1,425	+26·2
15	Pandit Raj Kunwar Bakhshi	2,637	4,867	6,060	+1,193	+24·7
16	Raja Ram Pal Singh Sahib of Itaunja ..	19,183	33,794	42,715	+8,921	+26·4
17	The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir, Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan, Khan Bahadur K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad.	4,335	4,753	6,745	+1,992	+41·9
18	Raja Shankar Sahai of Maurawan, district Unao.	14,612	13,184	13,184	..	..
19	Thakurain Sri Raj Kunwar of Raja Mau, district Rae Bareli.	4,406	7,442	8,595	+1,153	+15·5
20	Raja Sayed Ahmad Ali Khan of Saleempore ..	21,262	41,474	50,809	+9,335	+20·1
21	Raja Barkhandi Mahesh Pratap Narain Singh of Sheogarh, district Rae Bareli.	5,721	10,771	13,384	+2,613	+24·2
22	Shah Majid Husain, Shah Asraf Husain, Shah Mohammad Ali and Shah Ahmad Ali, Taluqdar, Gauriya Kalan.	3,846	5,991	7,203	+1,212	+20·2
23	Shah Gopi Krishna Agarwal, son of Ganga Prashad, Sarai Malikhan, Lucknow.	4,012	5,216	6,362	+1,146	+21·9
24	Kayasth Patshala of Allahabad	4,501	7,767	9,547	+1,780	+22·9
	Total ..	1,71,591	2,79,887	3,37,064	+57,177	+20·4

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APPENDIX IX-A.

Record Cases instituted and disposed of by the Assistant Record Officer and Assistant Settlement Officer.

Division.	District.	Name of officer.	Designation.	Class.	Cases instituted.	On their merits.			Cases disposed of otherwise on their merits.	Total.	Balance.
						For plaintiff.	For defendant.	Total.			
Lucknow ..	Lucknow ..	Maulvi Mohammad Anwar Ali Faruqi and Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra.	Assistant Record Officers.	Record cases ..	5,294	3,292	1,096	4,388	906	5,294	..
Ditto ..	Ditto ..	Maulvi Mohammad Anwar Ali Faruqi.	Assistant Settlement Officer.	Ditto ..	15	2	1	3	12	15	..
				Rent cases ..	100	38	..	38	26	64	36
				Resumption of muafi cases.	22	1	9	10	12	22	..
				Fixation of rent of pukhtedari and under-proprietary.	693	..	..	..	468	468	225
		Total ..	..	..	830	41	10	51	518	569	261

APPENDIX IX-B.

Settlement Appeals.

Division.	District.	Name of officer.	Class.	Pending at the commencement.	Instituted.	Total.	Decided.						Total.	Balance.
							Confirmed.	Modified.	Revoked.	Remanded.	Dismissed in default.	For any other cause.		
Lucknow	Lucknow	C. W. Gwynne, Esq., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner, as Record Officer.	Appeals of record cases..	..	45	45	4	29	..	..	2	..	35	10
Ditto	Ditto	Rai Sahib Pandit Brij Chand Sharma	Ditto ..	10	74	84	21	6	31	10	5	11	84	..
		Ditto ..	Fixation of under-proprietary rent.	..	50	50	..	..	..	..	..	50	50	..
		Total ..	..	10	124	134	21	6	31	10	5	61	134	..

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APPENDIX X.

Actual Expenditure of Lucknow Settlement.

Serial no.	Heads.	On record.	On assessment.	Total.
1	Pay of settlement officer	..	32,768	32,768
2	Allowance of settlement officer..	..	3711	3,711
3	Pay of assistant settlement officer	..	10,446	10,446
4	Allowance of assistant settlement officer	..	1,600	1,600
5	Pay of assistant record officer	24,416	..	24,416
6	Allowance of assistant record officer	2,600	..	2,600
7	Quasi permanent establishment	2,790	14,401	17,191
8	Temporary establishment	85,861	89,755	175,616
9	Travelling allowance of record officer, assistant record officer, settlement officer, and assistant settlement officer.	1,969	2,829	4,796
10	Travelling allowance of establishment	2,664	1,579	4,243
11	Reproduction of field maps	10,072	481	10,553
12	Charges for the services of processes	772	1,067	1,839
13	Job work	7,266	1,526	8,792
14	Daily allowance of patwaris	13,917	4,627	18,544
15	Reward to kanungos and patwaris	1,970	1,500	3,470
16	Purchase and repair of instruments	148	..	148
17	Office rent	5,131	5,293	10,424
18	Clothings of peons	116	33	149
19	Miscellaneous	3,933	2,245	6,178
20	Purchase and repair of tents	836	51	887
21	Stationery charges	2,521	400	2,921
22	Hot and cold weather charges	672	1,878	2,550
23	Carriage of tents	3,115	1,940	5,055
24	Extra tour establishment	940	771	1,711
25	Purchase of office furniture	3,046	1,002	4,048
26	Rates and taxes	145	178	323
27	Postage and telegram charges	815	625	1,440
28	Pay of menials	430	658	1,088
	Total ..	176,145	181,364	357,509
	Anticipated expenditure during February, 1929 ..	..	4,061	4,061
	GRAND TOTAL ..	176,145	185,425	361,570

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With the Compliments of the Hony. Gen. Secy.

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I 14-423

Inaugural Address

BY

H. H. THE MAHARAO RAJA SAHIB BAHADUR OF BUNDI

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

National Heritage Preservation Society Of Rajasthan

BUNDI

RAJASTHAN (INDIA)

DEC. 5, 1948.

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History is as often written in pictures and art relics as in books. And Rajasthan is abounding in such. To preserve them is to preserve History. I congratulate Maharaja of Bundi on the interest taken by him in this behalf.

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

4. 12. 48.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I am very glad to be able to inaugurate this Society, and still more glad that it should have come into being.

Here in Bundi, we have a rich heritage of history, and the time has been when we have been well-known for our fine workmanship in many of the Arts. In any case, there would have been good reasons to establish a Museum in Bundi.

In these last few months, largely due to the knowledge and skill of Mr. Roy, and the enthusiasm of a small group which has worked with him, the need for a Museum in Bundi has become more pressing. Mr. Roy has done fine work at Lakheri, Patan and Nainwan, on the old town that has at last been re-discovered, and on the magnificient sculptures that have been lying, sometimes hidden and sometimes in the open

These discoveries are of very great interest and value to Bundi. But, from what I have learnt in these past few days, it seems more than likely that they will prove of great interest and value on a far wider scale. It may well be that these discoveries, and the research to which they will give rise, will throw completely new light on our Rajputana history in its earliest days.

It is especially fitting, therefore, that this should be the time when a museum should be opened and I am particularly glad that the initiative should have come from members of the Bundi public. I hope that the group that has formed this society will succeed in spreading its enthusiasm to many others in Bundi, so that the museum, when it is opened will become a living part of Bundi, and not as often happens with a museum, a building which everyone knows from outside, and very few from inside.

I understand that it is the aim of the Society to open, in conjunction with the Museum, an Arts School. Of this, too, I am very glad. In the past fifty years, the old arts of Rajputana have been slowly dying. Workmen who take real pride in the quality of their work are hard to find. But the skill is still there, if it can be found and encouraged.

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It has always been my aim to encourage any fine workman that can be found in Bundi. I assure you all that I shall watch the Arts School that you mean to form with great interest, and I shall give any encouragement that is within my power to all fine workmen that the School may produce.

I should like to congratulate those of you who have formed this Society, and to urge the people of Bundi to share in your work. Today, at the start of a new era in Indian History, there is a temptation to look only forwards. We have a proud and fine past, and while looking forward to the future let us not forget that past. It has much to teach us. The beautiful sculptures, collected in these rooms are one more proof of that.

I should like also to assure you of my very real interest in your work, and to say that it is my intention to be the Patron of your Society in fact as well as in name. May the National Heritage Preservation Society of Rajasthan, which I now inaugurate, be of true service to Bundi, to India and to Knowledge.

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AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY

This Society has been founded with the sole object of preserving the manifold relics of the traditional art and culture of Rajasthan as is manifest in the sculptures and paintings discovered by our Scoiety recently. It shall also strive to collect and record folk songs, ballads and stories. Our immediate aim is to establish a museum in the historic and ancient city of Bundi, as well as an Art School in order to revive the dying arts and crafts, which were once the pride of India and the highest artistic expression of the people of Rajasthan.

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		,, Magan Lal Parashar

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STAFF

Hony. Curator of the Museum	:	Shri Sudhansu Ray Artist Late Rural Craft Surveyor, University Museum, Calcutta	
,, Assistant Curator	:	,,	Jogendra sahai saxena B. A., Sahityalankar
,, Librarian and incharge of the manuscripts	:	,,	Jagdisn Chaturvedi
,, Officer - in - charge of the Exhibitions	:	,,	Rao Udai Singh
,, Hindi Department	:	,,	Magan Lal Parashar Sahityaratna

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Proceedings of the Meeting

of the

Standing Finance Committee

31st March, 1948
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE

Held at New Delhi on Wednesday, the 31st March, 1948

The Committee met in Committee Room No. 53 in the Council House. The following were present:—

THE HONOURABLE SHRI R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTY.
SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH.
SHRI U. SRINIVASA MALLAYYA.
SHRI BIKRAMLAL SONDHI.
SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI.
SHRI BANARSI PRASAD JHUNJHUNWALA.
DIWAN CHAMAN LALL.
SHREE M. ANANTHASAYANAM AYYANGAR.
SHRI BISWANATH DASS.
HAJI ABDUL SATTAR HAJI ISHAQ SAIT.

The Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty took the chair at 5-15 P.M.

2. The following officers represented their respective Ministries :—

MR Y. N. SUKHTHANKAR, Secretary MR. P. R. PURI, Roads Transport Adviser MR. R. S. BAHL, Assistant Secretary	Transport.
MR. R. K. RAMADHAYANI, Joint Secretary GROUP CAPTAIN R. H. D. SINGH	Defence.
MR. B. K. GOKHALE, Secretary RAI BAHADUR A. N. KHOSLA, Chairman, C. W. I. N. C.	Works, Mines & Power.
MR. RAM GOPAL, Joint Secretary MR. R. NARAYANASWAMI, Joint Secretary MR. K. BHAWANISHANKAR RAO, Addl., F. A., Defence. MR. M. V. RANGACHARI, Deputy Secretary	Finance.
MR. S. RAMAYYA, Deputy Secretary, Finance	Secretary, S. F. C.
MR. A. KAUL, Assistant Secretary, Finance	Asstt. Secy., S. F. C.

MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT

3. Memorandum regarding reorganisation of passenger transport in Delhi Urban and Suburban areas.

72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development

1. *Concise statement of the proposal and the reason therefor.*—The passenger transport facilities in the urban and suburban areas of Delhi fall seriously short of the present demand for them and have been the subject matter of severe criticism in the Press and the Legislature and by the General Public. The need for improvement in the services need not be elaborated. In the field of transport it is the policy of Central Government to reduce the scope of private monopolies as far as possible. It is, therefore, proposed that Government should take over the operation of passenger transport services in the urban and suburban areas of Delhi at the earliest possible date. With that object in view, it is proposed to buy out the G. N. I. T. Company and to pay, in lieu of goodwill and loss of business, compensation amounting to not more than three times the average profits of the Company during three financial years ending 1946-47.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

[MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT]

II. *Are the proposals in respect of a new service?*—Yes.

III. *Have the proposals or any part thereof been already considered by the Standing Finance Committee ? If so, with what results?*—No.

IV. *Have the proposals been considered by the Standing Committee of the Ministry and, if so, with what results ?*—No. The G. N. I. T. Company was for sometime considering the proposal to participate in a joint undertaking with Government to run the transport services, Government having the majority share. The company has, however, intimated only recently its unwillingness to participate in such a concern and wants that its interests should be bought over completely. It was not therefore found possible to place the proposals before the Standing Committee for the Ministry of Transport (other than Roads).

V. *Financial effect of the proposals.*—On the assumption that the company will have to be paid compensation for the loss of business, the assets will be valued according to the estimates prepared by the company, and the services will be operated as they are at present, the position will be as follows :—

Expenditure.

Non-recurring .	Rs. 46, 00,000 (*vide* Annexure 'D')*
Recurring . . .	Rs. 38,81,610 (*vide* Annexure 'E')*
Income. . . .	
Gross earnings . .	Rs. 54,05,285 (*vide* Annexure 'F')*
Less.—	
(1) Recurring expenditure	Rs. 38,81,610
(2) Depreciation . .	Rs. 11,50,000 (*vide* Annexure 'G')*
Net profit	Rs. 3,73,675†
	=8 per cent. approximate on Capital.

The services at present provided by the G. N. I. T. Company are not considered to be adequate and more vehicles will have to be put on the road on the existing routes. To connect new colonies that are springing up all round the main city, new routes will have to be opened up to provide a really efficient, and adequate service. It will be necessary to purchase more vehicles and to improve and modernise maintenance and equipment. More lands and buildings will have to be acquired. All this is estimated to entail a further non-recurring expenditure of roughly Rs. 64 lakhs as detailed in Annexure ' B .'*

VI. *Is the proposal final and complete in itself or will it involve further expenditure in subsequent years? If so, what is the nature of further commitments ?*—Yes.

VII. *Has any expenditure already been incurred in respect of the proposals in anticipation of the approval of the Standing Finance Committee ? If so, how much and for what reasons ?*—No.

VIII. *In what manner is it proposed to meet the expenditure ?*—It is proposed to ask for supplementary grant for the year 1948-49 under head '72—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development '.

IX. *Supplementary information, if any, required to elucidate the proposals further.*—Kindly see Annexure ' C '.

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* Not printed.

† The income-tax payable on Rs. 3,73,675 which would in any case accrue to Central Government would be Rs 1,63,483 leaving a net additional revenue of Rs. 2,10,192 which amounts to 4½ per cent. approximately on capital.

[MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT]

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The Committee while approving in principle the scheme made the following observations:—

The Transport Ministry might go ahead with the negotiations for the acquirement of the G. N. I. T. Company. The service might be run departmentally for some time, no long-term commitment being made with the existing staff. The Committee was not in favour of the permanent running of the service by the Department and desired that the Transport Ministry should come back with an alternative scheme and with a complete memorandum on the subject within a period not exceeding six months.

MINISTRY CF DEFENCE

4. Proposal regarding provision of temporary Technical and Domestic Accommodation for the R. I. A. F. Department and No. 1 Ground Training School at Jalahalli (Bangalore).

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Committee approved the scheme subject to the remark that the new quarters to be built for N.C.Os. and others should be permanent quarters, as it was stated that permanent quarters could be built at double the costs proposed for temporary quarters. The Committee felt that the cost of a permanent N. C. O. quarter should not exceed Rs. 9,000 and quarter should conform to the new austerity standards laid down for residential buildings.

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5. Proposol regarding provision of Domestic Accommodation only for Officers, Warrant Officers, S N. C. Os, and Airmen at Poona,

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The Committee while approving items (ii) to (vii) of para. 1 of the memorandum made the following observations regarding construction of 31 quarters, Class II-B for married officers:—

The cost per quarter was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 34,000 which was on the high side. This should be re-examined by the Defence Ministry and they should come back with a revised estimate and plans in conformity with the reduced standards which were now being applied to these buildings.

There would be a special meeting of the Standing Finance Committee in which both the Civil and the Defence Ministries would discuss the new type designs, specifications etc. of residential accommodation for various categories of officers, Civil and Military, with cost thereof including furniture scale which would be the standard in future.

MINISTRY OF WORKS, MINES AND POWER

6. Memorandum from the Secretary, Standing Finance Committee, regarding reconsideration of the multi-purpose schemes for the Narbada, Tapti and the Assam Valley development.

The undersigned is directed to forward herewith a copy of a letter dated the 23rd March 1948 from Shri Biswanath Das to the Honourable the Finance Minister [Annexure] regarding reconsideration by the Standing Finance Committee of the multi-purpose schemes for the Narbada, Tapti and also the Assam Valley Development. The item has been included in the agenda for the ensuing meeting of the Committee to be held on the 31st March 1948.

[MINISTRY OF WORKS, MINES AND POWER]

ANNEXURE

Copy of a letter dated the 23rd March 1948, from Shri Biswanath Das to the Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Finance Minister.

I am sorry that the Standing Finance Committee have again rejected the demand for continuance of the investigation of the Multi-purpose Development Schemes for the Nerbudda Tapti and also for the Assam Valley Project. You are aware of the fact that the Central Waterboard Commission are very soon constituting a committee to meet with our desire to have all the papers regarding these multi-purpose schemes examined by the said high-level expert Committee. Mr. Gokhle, the Secretary to the Ministry, specifically stated that this report would be available by early May this year and requested that preliminary investigations be allowed to be continued.

The Bombay, C. P. and Assam Ministries are said to be very keen for the early investigation of these Schemes. They are equally, if not more, responsible people like ourselves. The Honourable Gadgil is also equally keen for the investigation of these projects. Examination of these schemes by a high level committee as desired by us should have been thought enough for the purpose and the activities should have been allowed to be continued till the middle of June as Mr. Gokhle finally appealed to be done. I have no hesitation in saying that the Bombay, C. P. and especially the Assam representatives will be upset over the decision. In the result this investigation work will be delayed by one year, money already spent uptil now will be a loss and the adjustment of the staff engaged on this work will be a further loss.

Dr. Savage and other American specialists visited Cuttack. They were all in praise of the high-quality work turned out by Indian Engineers and had special praise for Mr. Khosla. Regarding the Tapti and Nurbudda Schemes, the Bombay Engineers are also associated and they cannot be said to have no experience of Dam Constructions since the Sukkur Barrage was constructed only a few years back.

Since there is a meeting of the Standing Finance Committee on the 29th, may I request you to bring this question back to the Committee for reconsideration. I deem this as necessary lest we will be accused of being a stumbling block on the path of progress.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

In order to meet the existing commitments and to carry on the work in hand till the Ad-hoc Committee of expert Engineers report on the schemes, the Committee agreed to sanction 10 per cent. of the proposed cost of the preliminary investigations.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE

7. Enlargement of the scope and functions of the Standing Finance Committee and the method of the composition of the Committee.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The following suggestions were approved by the Committee.

The Standing Finance Committee after the Budget is voted would start a detailed examination of selected grants each year so that in five years, i.e., during the life of the Assembly, the whole administration on the expenditure side would come under review. New items of expenditure would continue to be examined by the Committee according to the existing procedure. To begin with the Defence Estimates would be taken up for examination.

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[MINISTRY OF FINANCE]

The Defence Ministry should send in advance to the Members of the Standing Finance Committee a memorandum explaining the organisation and working of the Department. One of their Financial Advisers would help the Standing Finance Committee in these meetings and record the proceedings.

It was also suggested that a non-official member of the Standing Committee of the appropriate Ministry might attend the meetings of the Standing Finance Committee as a Liaison Member between the Departments whose proposals were under examination of the Standing Finance Committee.

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8. Scheme for permanent settlement of Sterling Balances.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

It was likely that our Delegation would leave for U. K. about the middle of May. It might be possible to give a picture of the whole position about the 10th May to the Members of the Standing Finance Committee in a special meeting.

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9. The exercise of stricter control by the Finance Ministry over Expenditure.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

Deputy Secretary (Budget), Ministry of Finance, was instructed to prepare a note on the whole subject showing the present methods of financial control exercised by the Finance Ministry over not only Government Departments but also autonomous and semi-autonomous institutions and other bodies receiving grants. This would be discussed at a future meeting.

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10. Re-arrangement of Budget Heads and Demands.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

During the discussion it was brought out that the budget documents were not sufficiently explanatory. The improvement probably lay in the direction of enlarging the explanatory memoranda and following the lines adopted in Madras and Bombay. A small Sub-Committee of the Standing Finance Committee would discuss the matter with the Deputy Secretary (Budget) and make concrete suggestions as to what changes, if any, should be made in the presentation of the Budget to the Legislature.

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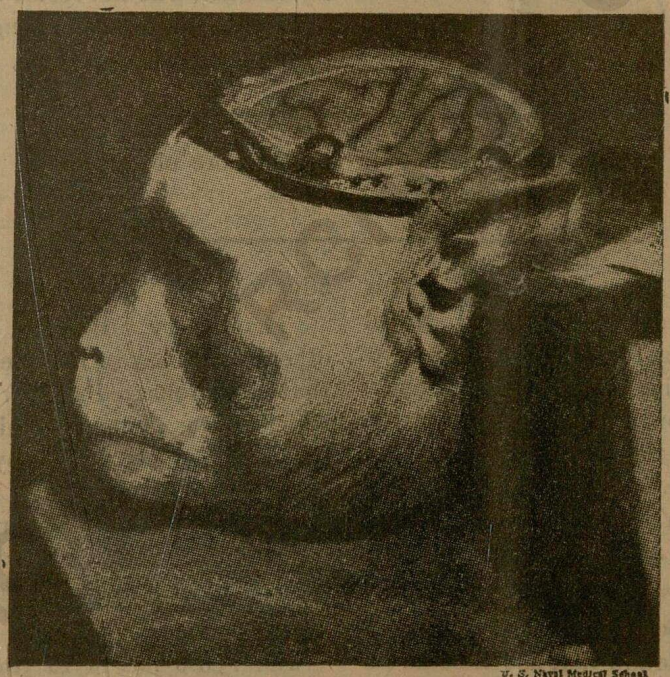
(*There is no Religion higher than Truth*)

THEOSOPHICAL FREE TRACTS

No. 13 25th June 1948

THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION

We write to draw attention to a great and growing evil, a menace not to the animal world alone but also to humanity. Especially because India is increasingly following, blindly as far as most of her people are concerned, in the lurid track of Western biological science and was only recently announced as starting, with Government approval, the manufacture of a vaccine against tuberculosis, the time seems ripe to examine the facts and the implications of the practice of vivisection.



U. S. Naval Medical School

We thank the U. S. Naval Medical Centre, Bethesda, Maryland, for the use of the above block, which has appeared in *Newsweek* for 8th March 1948. (See p. 2)

The term has a wider accepted application than cutting or operating on a living animal, as its derivation connotes. It includes any painful experimentation upon living animals in the supposed or alleged interest of science. The average layman is as serenely unaware of the extent of the practice as he is of the cruelty involved.

An inquiry in the House of Commons on October 24th, 1947, as to the number of experiments performed in 1946 (allowed under the Cruelty to Animals Act!) brought from the Secretary of State for the Home Department the reply that in that year experiments had been performed on 231 cats and 620 dogs without anæsthetics and on 2,111 cats and 411 dogs with anæsthetics. These figures, it will be noted, cover only species of animals often made pets. They do not include rats, guinea-pigs, rabbits, mice and other laboratory animals which are very largely used, nor do they include monkeys, of which thousands have been exported from India. It was admitted in the Simla Assembly a few years ago that research laboratories were the probable destination of most of the 22,544 monkeys exported from India in 1936-37, and as recently as 29th April 1948 an Associated Press despatch reported priority being sought for rail shipment of 300 Rhesus monkeys from the United Provinces to Calcutta. They were to be shipped from there to a Hanover firm in the U. S. Zone of Germany for medical research in connection with infantile paralysis and malaria.

It was estimated in a recent popular article that laboratories in the U.S.A. spend a million dollars annually for research animals. The four medical schools of Chicago alone were allotted 9,000 of the city's unclaimed, unlicensed dogs in 1943, and a defender of vivisection complained in *The Scientific Monthly* for December 1947 that the number was "actually not sufficient."

Some of the Tortures

Nothing can exceed the cold-blooded matter-of-factness of the accounts of vivisection practices in medical and scientific journals, and increasingly in popular magazines, though some attempt is made in the latter to gloss over the agonies involved, and what Dr. R. Fielding-Ould, M.D., M.R.C.P., M.A., described last year as "the damnable cruelties daily taking place in the secret shambles of the vivisectors."

Newsweek for March 8th, 1948, carried the gruesome illustration reproduced on p. 1 of "a tight-fitting Lucite cap...clamped on the bared brain of an experimental monkey." This experiment was made at the National Naval Medical Centre, Bethesda, Maryland, and the text explains that "by injecting dyes into the monkey, researchers can look through the 'window,' watch the dyes flow through the brain, and check on the animal's circulation." The grim and tragic expression on the victim's face defies description. The whole top of the animal's skull had been removed.

> "The nobler a man is, the more objects of compassion he hath."—Bacon

In an experiment reported in *War Medicine* for February 1944 "it was found that shock could be regularly produced in dogs by a controlled muscle-crushing procedure with minimal loss of blood."

A "simplified standard procedure for the production of traumatic shock in mice and the evaluation of therapy," described in *U. S. Public Health Reports*, 24th September 1943, "involves the application of tourniquet-like bands to the legs. With this technique the maximum mortality is reported to result from two to three hours of application when untreated."

In one experiment reported in a medical journal, a number of monkeys had been inoculated with rabies and the account described how they gradually developed such symptoms as shrieking continually, tearing the flesh off their own arms and having convulsions which threw them bodily across the cage.

It is difficult to concede that a sadistic tendency is not at the root of many vivisection experiments, or that it is not fed by all. Because through parents' carelessness a young child had now and then got hold of kerosene and drunk it, an elaborate experiment was carried out in the U. S. A., involving the torture of many guinea-pigs and rats, studying the effect of varying doses of kerosene by mouth and by various types of injections. The net result was the discovery that, as damage continues as long as kerosene remains in the gastroenteric tract, it should be removed as quickly as possible in cases of kerosene poisoning, which anyone with a modicum of commonsense could have told them in advance!

That worry adversely affects the heart and other organs has so long been common knowledge that the prolonged and cruel series of tests in which it was demonstrated, and the rationale of the process determined by the Director of the Institute of Experimental Medicine and Surgery at the University of Montreal, would be difficult to defend. An article condensed in *Science Digest* from *Maclean's Magazine* for June 1947 describes how he

> used 15,000 rats in 10 years of experiment. With ingenious tipping platforms to worry his rats, revolving cages turned by motor to keep the rats running in the cage an hour at a time to exhaust them, and cold chambers to subject them to exposure, he found he could induce the so-called degenerative diseases experimentally.

Learning that "the stress and strain caused an upset in part of each rat's glandular system," and tracing the progressive damage from the pituitary gland to others and to the circulatory system, seems an unnecessarily circuitous route,

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cruelty aside, when the elaborate cycle can be prevented in the case of man by eliminating causes of or susceptibility to worry, as by gaining peace of mind.

Bernard Shaw attacked Pavlov, the vivisector who discovered "conditioned reflexes" in dogs, as a scoundrel. According to his biographer, Hesketh Pearson, he declared that Pavlov's book on the subject

> described how Pavlov had...cut half their brains out, and pierced their cheeks and dragged their tongues through them to study their salivation....And from twenty-five years of this sort of thing all that the world learned was how a dog behaved with half its brains cut out, which nobody wanted to know.

Apparently Shaw's protest fell on deaf ears, for we learn from a paragraph in *Science News Letter* for 19th December 1942, apropos of recent experiments, that

> by leaving intact a tiny isolated blob of pituitary gland and hypothalamus to maintain the water and sugar balance of the body, it was possible to discover that animals lacking 95% of the brain can walk, jump, claw and right themselves.

Is that information worth to society the price to the experimenter's character, to say nothing of the sufferings of his victims?

> "Nothing hardens or debases human nature so quickly or so hatefully as the killing of pity in the heart of man, woman or child."
>
> —HAMILTON FYFE

WHERE ARE THE RESULTS?

What is there to show for the mounting toll of animal torture and human debasement? When Faust sold his soul to the Devil he got at least that for which he had bartered it away. The vivisectors who claim exemption from the laws of human decency and demand ever increasing facilities and funds for their sadistic pursuits—what have they got to show for their activities? They are in much the same position—and their recommendations should be valued accordingly—as the woman, always free with her advice on child care, who declared "I ought to know how to bring up children; I've buried six!" This infamous practice of vivisection has been going on so long that it is surely not unreasonable to ask what the perpetrators have to show for it.

Were not the main facts about diet known before the hundreds and thousands of wretched laboratory animals paid with their sufferings and with their deaths, sometimes by slow starvation, that we might be able to call the nutritive elements "vitamins"?

In our *Theosophical Free Tract No. 11*, we presented in some detail "The Case Against Vaccination." We shall not, therefore, go again here into the failure of vaccination for smallpox, which is no longer compulsory in Great Britain, though it unfortunately is still in parts of India. We believe with the late A. R. Wallace, O.M., F.R.S., that "a condition of health is the one and only protection we require against all kinds of disease, and to put any product of disease whatever into the blood of a healthy person is to create a danger far greater than the disease itself."

The failure of diphtheria immunization has been spectacular—and tragic in its results. In Germany it was made compulsory in 1940 and the number of cases jumped from 142,685 to 236,000 two years later. It was made compulsory in France, in the second and third years of life, after having been widely practised before. The incidence per 100,000 jumped from 35.9 in 1939 to 118.7 in 1943. Dr. J. Tissot, Hon. Professor of General Physiology at the National Natural History Museum, Paris, declared last December that vaccination with diphtheria toxin had inoculated serious diphtheria upon about 150,000 children in France since 1940, and killed 15,000 of them.

It is often not realized that the serums and vaccines which millions take unthinkingly in blind submission to medical orthodoxy's current fad, involve great suffering of animals in their production. A physician wrote in a popular article in *The Sunday Pictorial* of 14th October 1945:—

> It is said that these experiments are merely the prick of a needle....The initial act is no doubt only a prick but the animal who has been injected is kept alive often for days until it has developed peritonitis and died in atrocious pain.

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The torture of any animal is bad but the fact that smallpox-vaccine preparation involves cruelty to the cow should be more widely known by Indians, too many of whom are ready to bow to any Western medical superstition that is urged upon them.

In a striking article in *The Nineteenth Century* as long ago as 1929, Beatrice E. Kidd wrote of the vested interests concerned in the immunology cult:—

> So long as bacteriology is the means of livelihood of thousands and is subsidized by the government, and the makers of vaccines and sera pile up their huge profits, so long will hundreds of thousands of animals, prisoned in our laboratories, be sent to a doom which men and women of sympathetic imagination must needs contemplate with horror; and so long will their sacrifice be quite fruitless.

> "Kill not—for Pity's sake—and lest ye slay
> The meanest thing upon its upward way."
> —*The Light of Asia*

Take that scourge of humanity—cancer. In spite of several decades of futile sacrifice of thousands of animals in the laboratory, there have been no resulting suggestions of a cure, and deaths from this dread disease are on the increase. In the U.S.A. it has become the second greatest cause of death. *Common-Sense About Cancer*, approvingly reviewed in *The Medical World* a few years ago, suggested that orthodox medicines themselves may be one of the main causes of cancer, essentially a disease of civilization.

Dr. Monkton Copeman, F.R.S., said that, "notwithstanding the enormous amount of time, money and energy which have been spent on cancer research all over the civilized world, they were still as ignorant as ever as to the cause of the disease."

It was of this problem of cancer that Dr. Beddow Bayley, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., wrote in *Cancer: The Failure of Modern Research*:—

> ...until the complete futility and moral unjustifiability of animal experimentation is more generally recognized, there is little likelihood that lines of thought and experience so entirely foreign to the mental outlook of those who uphold the practice of vivisection, but essential to the true comprehension of the problem, will be found acceptable.

Insulin for diabetics is a discovery to which the defenders of vivisection point with pride, asserting triumphantly that this boon to the human race cost "only thirty dogs." But how do they account for the fact that since the introduction of this "wonder drug" the mortality from diabetes has been rising in a medically "advanced" country like the U.S.A.? Between 1933 and 1944, the last year for which statistics are available, deaths from diabetes rose from 21.4 per 100,000 to 26.4. Dr. R. Fielding-Ould, M.D., M.R.C.P., M.A., wrote in *The Animals' Defender* for June 1947 that "during the last thirty years the infliction of intense torture on unknown myriads of sentient animals has not resulted in the discovery of a single remedy of acknowledged and generally accepted value in the cure of disease." Dr. Banting's experiments on living dogs, he declared in *The Sunday Pictorial* article cited,

> have not added one whit to the knowledge we had fifty years ago when Dr. Abram, Professor of Medicine in the Liverpool University, was treating diabetic patients with pancreatic extract, which is now known and boosted by the manufacturing chemists as insulin.

The hackneyed demand based on the assumption of beneficial results from vivisection, "Would you spare the life of an animal and let your own child die?" is shown by the barren record of vivisection to be completely irrelevant.

Animals and Men Differ

Is it not obvious that man's possession of a self-conscious mind puts him in a different class from animals as to susceptibility and resistance to and overcoming of disease? Lord Moynihan once wrote in *The Lancet*:—

> The material of the human body is neither the same, nor subject to the same influences, as that of animals nearest to man...and above all, the mind of man is infinitely complex in comparison with that of the most intelligent of animals.

Many physicians have challenged the applicability of laboratory experiments on animals to man. Dr. Andrew S. MacNeil, for example, wrote in *The Medical World* for 5th February 1943:—

> The inadvisability of medical men relying on laboratory pronouncements, arrived at as a result of

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> experiments on animals or animal tissues, is clearly shown by the dictum that alcohol depresses cardiac muscle....Animal experimenters found, as a result of experimentation on animals, that digitalis raised the blood pressure and, as a consequence, it was not used for some years on human beings...that the blood pressure is raised by digitalis was found, clinically, to be incorrect in the case of human beings....You cannot make any true analogy from animals to men.

Dr. L. A. Parry declared before the British Medical Association: "The practice of vivisection is futile, harmful and immoral."

Dr. John Forbes, Medical Registrar of Guy's Hospital, once said in *The Lancet*, apropos of the indiscriminate application to human beings of quasi-scientific animal experiments:—

> It is a practice unfortunately on the increase as the habit of bedside observation declines and reverence for non-clinical research grows. There is but one criterion of the value of any therapeutic procedure, does it, however attractive in theory or successful with guinea-pigs, really work with patients?

It was admitted by the experimenters in a series of tests of the effects, on the circulatory and nervous systems of dogs, of exposure for several hours daily to carbon monoxide fumes, that the experiments did not permit any conclusions as to the potential reactions of the human body to the same conditions. (*American Journal of Medical Sciences*, October 1944)

And So to Human Vivisection!

The recognition of the futility of animal vivisection for light on human ailments is bound, so long as the "health at any price" mentality prevails, to lead to clamour for human subjects on whom to experiment. We do not refer now to the heroic men and women who voluntarily submit to tests for the benefit of the race. The cases where medical researchers in their zeal for knowledge that will help humanity submit their own bodies to pain are relatively few. All honour to those who do so sacrifice their comfort, as was done by twenty-six physicians, medical students and nurses who in 1944 in San Francisco volunteered to have their arms and legs pierced with drills and needles for the construction of a "pain map," to enable doctors to locate undiagnosed aches and pains.

Human experimentation with frequent dire and sometimes fatal results of which the human subjects are not adequately warned, is involved in the Lempert Fenestration Operation for the relief of deafness, according to Dr. Emanuel Josephson, M. D., who wrote on "Human Vivisection" in the December 1947 *Aryan Path*.

Nor do we refer only to the terrible experiments in the Nazi prison camps. Those the rest of the world set down to a warped mentality. But experimental inoculation of human subjects was unashamedly demanded in a book published in English over a decade before the Nazis came to power, in which condemned criminals were suggested as suitable subjects. And both injection and starvation experiments are reported to have been actually made on helpless children in institutions, in free dispensaries and hospitals, and even in elementary schools.

The hopelessly insane and the feeble-minded are sure to occur to the vivisectors as suitable material, if they have not already done so, and from there it is only a step to the superannuated, which all of us may be some day. There is already alarm at the growing burden represented by the increasing proportion of the population that falls in the advanced age group and requires support by the rest of society.

Alternatives to Vivisection

We have seen that clinical observation, now largely outmoded, is held by some even among Allopathic physicians to be of infinitely greater value than vivisection, even from the point of view of results alone.

Sanitation and proper nutrition are better protectors against disease than anything preventive medicine can offer.

Naturopathy, Homœopathy, Ayurveda, Osteopathy, Chiropractic and related systems all offer alternatives to vivisection and have to their credit many cases of successful treatment. While the vivisectors were fruitlessly working on infantile paralysis in their laboratories, Nurse Kenny was perfecting and applying her technique for its cure, against the resistance of orthodox medicine. It was the same medical orthodoxy which not

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many years ago was opposing also Sir Herbert Barker's manipulative surgery, since triumphantly vindicated.

If we must tolerate biological research for a time, the technique of growing cultures on fertilized eggs is infinitely preferable to vivisection. Its possibilities should be thoroughly explored before the biologists declare animal experimentation necessary for their research.

But the recognition is growing of the fact taught by the great sixteenth-century physician, Paracelsus, that the whole nature of man must be taken into account, and not only his physical body. It is the patient that has to be treated, not only the disease. He wrote:—

> Those who merely study and treat the effects of disease are like persons who imagine that they can drive the winter away by brushing the snow from the door.

> "Compassion...is the Law of Laws—eternal Harmony...the light of everlasting right, and fitness of all things, the law of Love eternal."
>
> —*The Voice of the Silence*

Psychomatic medicine, tracing physical ailments to their roots in thought and emotion, is on the right track.

The Moral Issue

From the moral point of view the case against vivisection is overwhelming. Convinced that this is a universe of law, we believe with Cicero that "No cruelty is useful." Society at its peril exempts the unconscious sorcerers of the vivisection laboratories from the moral laws upon which it itself depends. Robert G. Ingersoll wrote in December 1876:—

> Brain without heart is far more dangerous than heart without brain....It may be that the human race might be physically improved if all the sickly and deformed babies were killed and if all the paupers, liars, drunkards, thieves, villains and vivisectionists were murdered. All this might, in a few ages, result in the production of a generation of physically perfect men and women, but what would such beings be worth—men and women healthy and heartless, muscular and cruel—that is to say, intelligent wild beasts?

As long as experiments involving the most revolting cruelty are mentioned casually in "success" stories, as long as vivisectors are heaped with honours proportionate to the results they claim, so long may we expect human morals and human relations to be on the down grade. The public is morally responsible for condoning vivisection and to share in the responsibility is to share also in the reaction certain to visit all offences against the unity of Life. The public should inform itself as to what it is condoning, by reading such publications as *The Animals' Defender*, organ of the National Anti-Vivisection Society (92, Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1) and *The Abolitionist*, that of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (47, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1)

There is a hue and cry for a short time when a particularly heinous experiment comes to public knowledge, as when some American experimenters some twenty years ago dropped dogs from a high cliff to produce the effect of shock. It was no worse than the secret tortures in the laboratories, but it aroused considerable public resentment at the time. Today there is a strong movement of protest against vivisection in the United States, and restrictive legislation has been introduced in several States, though not yet passed. Vivisection should be made everywhere a criminal offence.

It has been claimed that man alone has a soul and that therefore animal vivisection in the supposed interest of man is justified. Madame Blavatsky wrote in 1886:—

> ...verily when the world feels convinced—and it cannot avoid coming one day to such a conviction—that animals are creatures as eternal as we ourselves, vivisection and other permanent tortures, daily inflicted on the poor brutes, will, after calling forth an outburst of maledictions and threats from society generally, force all Governments to put an end to these barbarous and shameful practices.

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AN IMPORTANT LETTER

We reproduce below the full text of a letter on vivisection from the pen of the much-abused American freethinker Robert Ingersoll, who wrote it in December 1876 to Philip G. Peabody of Boston. It has been repeatedly published. We take it from the May 1931 issue of *The Aryan Path* :—

My dear Friend.—

Vivisection is the inquisition—the Hell—of Science. All the cruelty which the human—or rather the inhuman—heart is capable of inflicting, is in this one word. Below this there is no depth. This word lies like a coiled serpent at the bottom of the abyss.

We can excuse, in part, the crimes of passion. We can take into consideration the fact that man is liable to be caught by the whirlwind, and that from a brain on fire the soul rushes to a crime. But what excuse can ingenuity form for a man who deliberately—with an unaccelerated pulse—with the calmness of John Calvin at the murder of Servetus—seeks, with curious and cunning knives, in the living, quivering flesh of a dog, for all the throbbing nerves of pain. The wretches who commit these infamous crimes pretend that they are working for the good of man; that they are actuated by philanthropy; and that their pity for the sufferings of the human race drives out all pity for the animals they slowly torture to death. But those who are incapable of pitying animals are, as a matter of fact, incapable of pitying men. A physician who would cut a living rabbit in pieces—laying bare the nerves, denuding them with knives, pulling them out with forceps—would not hesitate to make experiments with men and women for the gratification of his curiosity.

To settle some theory, he would trifle with the life of any patient in his power. By the same reasoning he will justify the vivisection of animals and patients. He will say that it is better that a few animals should suffer than that one human being should die, and that it is far better that one patient should die, if through the sacrifice of that one, several may be saved.

Brain without heart is far more dangerous than heart without brain.

Have these scientific assassins discovered anything of value? They may have settled some disputes as to the action of some organ, but have they added to the useful knowledge of the race?

It is not necessary for a man to be a specialist in order to have and express his opinion as to the right or wrong of vivisection. It is not necessary to be a scientist or a naturalist to detest cruelty and to love mercy. Above all the discoveries of the thinkers, above all the inventions of the ingenious, above all the victories won on the fields of intellectual conflict, rise human sympathy and a sense of justice.

I know that good for the human race can never be accomplished by torture. I also know that all that has been ascertained by vivisection could have been done by the dissection of the dead. I know that all the torture has been useless.

All the agony inflicted has simply hardened the hearts of criminals without enlightening their minds.

It may be that the human race might be physically improved if all the sickly and deformed babies were killed and if all the paupers, liars, drunkards, thieves, villains and vivisectionists were murdered. All this might, in a few ages, result in the production of a generation of physically perfect men and women, but what would such beings be worth—men and women healthy and heartless, muscular and cruel—that is to say, intelligent wild beasts?

Never can I be the friend of one who vivisects his fellow-creatures. I do not wish to touch his hand.

When the angel of pity is driven from the heart; when the fountain of tears is dry—the soul becomes a serpent crawling in the dust of a desert.

Thanking you for the good you are doing, and wishing you the greatest success, I remain,

Yours always
ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

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The above may be reprinted fully or in part, but it is requested that the source be acknowledged and a cutting sent.

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Homage To Nasik

By Shri V. Srinivasan

To think of Nasik is to contemplate on an entire civilization which is as old as the hills. Known as the Banaras of Western India, the significance of this place in Maharashtra is beside Pandharpur and Poona. It is sacred because Sri Ramachandra spent a part of his exile in Panchavati with Sita Devi and Lakshmana.[1] The river Godavari which starts its course in the vicinity is indeed the Ganges of Deccan and the Matsya Purana which gave prominence to this river was probably composed by an inhabitant of the region.[2]

What a wealth of interest one has in its annals! There is a tradition that the region assigned to Parasurama by Varuna, the rain-god, extended from here to Kanyakumari in the far south. Through its dynastic vicissitudes runs a continuous thread of national history, and with Nasik is associated the famous Trimbak hill around which are the scenes of many a wild battle. Its many links with the past, Buddhistic, Jaina and otherwise invest Nasik with an importance hardly less than that of Kanchi and Delhi.

II

Nasik has the advantage of a climate

1. According to the *Ramayana* of Valmiki, it was sage Agastya who sent our classical hero to Panchavati which was about two yojanas from his hermitage; with "plenty of fruits and roses, no scarcity of water, plenty of birds and games", it was commendable enough and we read that the princes had a bath in the stream and "as god Rudra after bath, looking beautiful with Nandi and Parvati, so Rama looked after bath".

"In that spot whose pleasant shade
Gave store of fruit content he stayed.
With Lakshman and his Maithil spouse
He spent his days 'neath sheltering boughs,
As happy as a God on higher
Lives in his mansion in the sky" (Bk. III canto 15) translated by Griffith.

There is a legend that Rama, after destroying Ravana in Lanka, returned to Panchavati. From there he went to Ayodhya via Saras village near Surat, where he worshipped Siva and raised a linga still worshipped in Shiddhnath (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX. Pt. 1, p. 12).

2. For a contrary view, see Dr R. C. Hazra (Dacca University) *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 52 : "On the strength of the great prominence given to the region about the river Godavari in Matsya Purana 114, 37-39 (on geography) it has been suggested that the place of composition of the Matsya Purana was Nasik (H. P. Sastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. ASB*, Vol. V, Purana, preface p. cxc). This suggestion seems to have a very weak basis".

which is equable all through the seasons of the year and this probably determined the location of the Central Government's Security Press establishment in Nasik Road, the rail-head familiar to all tourists. Justice Kincaid who spent many years in Bombay Presidency before his appointment in the Government of India was impressed by Nasik as a most delightful station, and it also appears to have been once discussed as a possible capital for India, especially because of Delhi's extremes of climate. [3] The place finds mention in the Indian diary of the late Edwin Samuel Montagu who, as Secretary of State, visited this country to discuss proposals of constitutional reforms with the Viceroy of that time, Lord Chelmsford. [4]

The present district of Nasik was formed in 1869, but civic life appears to have begun earlier as the Municipality dates from 1864. The market place really impresses, particularly because of the stalls at the river front and there is much that is distinctive in the copper-work and brass work and the long-practised arts of plain dyeing and calico-printing which have been the speciality of the region. Nasik's bead-roll of honour includes the Rev. A.H. Frost who published in a London journal, in 1878, a magical puzzle to which he had given the name Nasik Square which has thus found a place among mathematical recreations. [5] The cause of higher education is served by the Gokhale Education Society's H.P.T. College and there are now a Boys Town and a military school besides in Nasik. The city is also of interest to sportsmen because of its 18-hole golf course, and the place reminds us, too, of Gool Nasikwallah who has retained the title in Women's Table Tennis Championship.

III

Nasik in the past had many names including a Muslim one, which is hardly surprising since Muttra was once called Islamabad as histories testify. Nasikya is the ancient name occurring in the Mahabhashya, while Janasthan, Panchavati, Yagnasthan and Padmanagar occur in the *Ramayana* and the Puranas. Some derive the place-name from *navasikha*, i.e., nine peaks, 'the total, however, being chosen for holiness than

3. *Forty-Four Years a Public Servant* : By C. A. Kincaid, pp. 189-90 "At one time it was nearly decided that the Viceroy should live in Nasik".

4. Vide entry for April, 21, 1918 (Simla). "I have been convinced on the awful penalties of the migration to the hills. If Dehra Dun were the capital, one and a half hours would take one to Mussoorie, and the two places might be almost one. Nasik would be even better, where one might stop all the year round. But how are we to leave another unfinished capital at Delhi ? How can we undo the city that the King-Emperor founded ? Are we still to spend our six millions on a mistaken capital ? What can be said ? I must consider this more at home. Then, too, in the future this report, the principles of the report, are dead unless they are acted upon, unless they animate the Government. Will they do anything when I have gone ? Will they think about it again ? Do not they want some one to drive them before they will move? These are the anxieties. Shall I be allowed to carry out the proposals ? That is another anxiety". (An Indian Diary, p. 364.)

5. Cp. H.E. Dudne, article on Magic Square in *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (14th edn.) Vol. XIV, p.628. Also W. W. R. Ball : *Mathematical Recreations.*

for accuracy', as remarked by the writer in the *Bombay Gazetteer*. [6]

Countless are the foreign notices of Nasik and Triambak. The classical geography of Ptolemy, famed astronomer, musician and mathematician of Alexandria (d.161 A.D.) mentions Nasika, giving its situation at a latitude of 17° though it is now 20°, while Hippokoura appears to be another Greek equivalent. [7] That prince among Chinese pilgrims, Hiuen Tsang who was in India in the seventh century also refers to the place [8] without naming it in his famous book of travels. The Muslim historians also refer to the place and so does Nicolao Manucci the Venetian in his account of the Mogul empire, which however, refers to the river Godavari by the interesting name Quixina. [9] Gulshanabad ('City of Roses') was the Moghul name for Nasik and it was a Peshwa who renamed the place as Nasik in 1752.

IV

Nasik's fame as a pilgrim-centre is due to its many tirthas [10] and Rama himself is said to have performed the rites of his father Dasaratha here in front of the Nandashankar temple. And, while Gaya is deemed to be holy for offering *pinda* to a father, it is considered more meritorious to perform the mother's rites in Nasik. Who does not know Ramkund and the other kunds besides, or has not heard that the merit of gifting a cow in Govardhan nearby—said to be the birthplace of Patanjali (270—180 B.C.)—is believed to equal what one obtains by gifting 1,000 cows elsewhere, or not known the sanctity of Triambak, the reputed source of the Godavari, famed for the spot where Jnyandev's brother Nivrittnath attained Samadhi? Famed too is the Simhasth fair held once in twelve years in honour of Triambakeshwar: Jupiter then enters the sign of Leo—sacred event in the pilgrim's calendar—and Ganga, Narmada, Yamuna and Saraswathi, are believed to come to wash in the Godavari at that time. There is indeed much else to interest the devout pilgrim in the many cross-sections of Hindu society and Hindu religion met with in Nasik and Triambak. Rama worship is evident (there are temples for him and for Mahadeva built

6. *Bombay Gazetteer*: Vol. XVI, p.467. The hills are Juna Gadhi, Navi Gadhi, Konkani Tek, Jogoada Tek, Mhassul Hill, Dinga Ali Hill, Mahalakshmi Hill, Ganpathi Hill and Chitraganda Hill.

7. Cp. Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India* (4th edn.) 1925.

8. Cp. Elliot and Dawson: *The History of India as told by its own Historians* Vol. VII. pp. 65-66 which has a reference to the Baglana territory. "It is famous for its temperate climate, its numerous streams and the abundance of its trees and fruits." On the south was Nasik The sentence quoted is from Abdul Hamid Lahori's *Badshah-nama* being a history of the first twenty years of Shahjahan's reign written on the lines of Abul Fazal's *Akbarnama*.

9 *Storia Do Mogor* Or Moghul India (1653—1708) Indian Texts Series: Manucci refers (Vol. III. pp. 145, 244) to Trimbak as being at the mouth of the Quixina "which is the name of a Hindu god". He confounds the Godavari with the Krishna river.

10. It is interesting to recall that Mahatma Gandhi came to Nasik with a brother for a ceremonial bath after his return from the law studies in London, orthodox relatives having prescribed it as an expiation of the sin committed by his crossing the seas Gandhiji did not like this but his visit to Nasik is referred to by Patricia Kendall (*Come with me to India*. p.332).

by Ahalyabai Holkar), as is Siva worship (Nivrittinath being held to be an avatar of Mahadeva), also Siva as Tilbhandeshwar, Balaji, Sakti worship, etc. besides the Hanuman cult (B.G.X 335) which is not surprising in Rama's Panchavati, and Shivaji is said to have put a shrine of Hanuman inside the gate of every fort he seized! [11] All these profoundly affect the Hindus sojourning in Nasik and so have they impressed many men of alien faiths too: [12] Monier Williams was greatly struck with the Asthivilaya Thirtham and many an observant writer has recorded the catholicity of the communities who seek spiritual solace by visiting Nasik. [13] The region has proved to be a veritable mine for numismatic investigators. One only needs to recall in this connection the famous Jogalthambi hoard of coins discussed by the Rev. H.R. Scott in the pages of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soceity [14] and the press has continued to report the presence of thousands of coins of old-time history including many coins of the Sultans of Delhi and more recently billon coins too

VI

For an old place like Nasik, extant specimens of Hindu architecture are rather few but the cave temples in the neighbourhood are of considerable interest as they exemplify significant phases of India's art tradition. The Buddhist caves at Pandulena and the Jain caves of Chambar are never missed by the tourists. The structures of Pandulena include large chaityas (chapels), layanas (dwelling houses) and sathas (dining halls) and graceful images of Bodhisattva, Vajrapani, Padmapani and the Buddhist goddess Tara abound in the place, testifying to the artistic impulse of the Hinayana school of Buddhism [15] The caves are recognised

11. For an account of the several shrines and religious foundations see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVI., pp. 503-537. The passage about Sitagumpha is extracted in the post-script which concludes this essay.

12. Cf. pp. 301-302 in his *Brahminism and Hinduism (1891)*: "I may also put on record how greatly struck I was with the peaceful aspect of the spot of ground called the Asthivilaya Thirtham, sacred place for the dissolution of bones at Nasik—the Banaras of Western India. There surrounded by trees, temples and lovely scenery is a consecrated pool formed by the waters of the Godavari which are here partially diverted from their course and made to flow into a receptacle lined with stones in a secluded bend of the river. This is the cemetery or 'sleeping place' of myriads of human beings whose ashes are brought at particular holy seasons and scattered on the tranquil waters".

13. E.g. Sir Stanley Reed in *India, the New Phase*, at pp 142-143.

14. *Vide* p. 223 in vol. XXII: also, the *Times of India*, May, 31, 1908.

15. *Vide Bombay Gazetteer* Vol XVI pp 541-639 for a full account of Pandulena caves and the inscriptions written by the late Bhagwanlal Indraji. Also, Burgess *ASWI*. IV (1883) and Fergusson and Burgess. *Cave Temples of India* Chap VII, pp. 263-279 and Plates 19-26. "Groups of caves are often called *lenas*, a word which Dr. J Wilson derived from Leyanam, ornamentation' but *layana*, a place of rest, a house, from the root *li*, to adhere, seems a more natural derivation for the name of an abode". E B. Havell was emphatic that none of the sculptures had any connection with Persian influence (*Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, pp. 80-83). The caves were first described by Capt Delamaine who visited them in 1823 and afterwards by Dr. J. Wilson and the Marquis of Worcester, 1831-40. One lena is owned by Indragnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, a Yonaka from the north, from Dattamitra in Sind. C Lassen in *Indische Alter thumskunde* emphasised that Dattamitra corresponds to Demetrios a Yavana or Greek. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, pointed out that Dattamitriya is only Sanskrit for Prakrit Damtamitiyaka (Dr. W.W. Tarn: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 142, n. 2.)

to be of the same type as the Karli caves and judging by the pillars of the halls they represent an advance over earlier styles in Indian architecture [16] The inscriptions are the most important in Western India, a matter of interest to scholars being that the numerals 2,3,4, 5,6,7, and 9 appear in forms that very much resemble our own, the 2 and 3 known to us being only cursive derivations from the ancient. [17] The inscriptions also throw considerable light on some of the obscure phases of the Indian history of the period 200 B.C.—200 A.D. particularly with reference to the later Satavahanas and the Sakas and valuable are the observations that have been recorded in Bühler's *Indian Palaeography* on the verisimilitude of the inscriptions of the Andhra kings Gautamiputra Satakarni and Sri Pulumayi and Ushavadatta, the son-in-law of the Kshatrapa ruler Nahapana. [18] It is in an Igatpuri inscription dated about 620 A.D. that the first important clue was found testifying to the early existence of the terrible Kapalika sect and this inscription mentions a grant for the maintenance of the sect and for the worship of Kapaleswara. Mention may be also made of the tradition associated with the region that it was the home of the important Kalapas or the Maitrayananiya sect, reckoned by Patanjali as a well-known school of Yajurvedins [19]

Several tribal customs too are associated by anthropologists with Nasik, such as for instance, the practice of a woman being led out as a scape victim when cholera breaks out in the Mang tribe and made to stay outside the town for some hours and taken back after a bath: a ceremonial which is indeed reminiscent of the bringing of a victim to a shrine and indicates an older rite of human sacrifice [20] And, if an epidemic breaks out among them the Kathkaris deem it to be a judgment visited on them for having eaten monkeys [21]

VII

Of Nasik's history we can but give a

16. Unlike the specimens of an earlier day elsewhere, Nasik shows an advanced style to make the pillars of the nave vertical (they had sloped inwards in earlier age) and to carve the front in stone. See further descussion in Paul Masson-Oursel's *Ancient India and Indian Civilization*, pp. 347-351; compare the pillars in Nasik, Ellora and Karli caves.

17. Prof. David Eugene Smith of Columbia University *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (14th edn.) article on numerals in Vol. XVI (p.613). "These inscriptions do not, however, give any evidence of place value, or of a zero that would make our place value possible".

18. Cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 653 (article of Prof. K A. Nilakanta Sastri); *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p.60 for inscriptions. In the Nasik inscription of Vashisthiputra Sri Pulumayi credit is taken for stopping the contamination of the four varnas.

19. Yajurveda split up into the Kathas with their subdivisions, the Kapisthalas The latter have now disappeared and the former are found in Kashmir alone. The Maitrayananiyas originally called the Kalapas lived between Baroda and Nasik, though *remnants* are said to live in Gujarat.

20. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol.XVI, p.521.

21. Ibid, p.65.

few glimpses.[22] The place was included in the territory of Krishna (Or Kanha) who was the second king of the historical Andhra dynasty who held sway over an extensive territory which spread between the two seas. It was, Simukha who had become independent of the Mauryas and founded this dynasty during the decadent days of Asoka's successors, and the Andhra capital was at Dhanakat or Dharnikot in Guntur district. The authority of the Andhras was paramount till they were challenged in Maharashtra by the Sakas who had an able leader in Nahapana and Nasik was the latter's seat of authority even as Ujjain was Chasthana's.

The Saka empire was however, a short-lived affair and even this had a brief phase of rule by the Abhiras led by Isvaradatta son of Sivadatta, who carved out a principality in Nasik, proclaiming himself as Mahakshatrapa (188 A.D.). It is considered possible that the Traikutaka era was identical with that of the Abhiras whose interregnum lasted for about seventy years.[23]

Another Andhra King, Gautamiputra Satakarni was able to sieze the region but it was lost to Chasthana's grandson Rudradaman who wrested the former satrapies of Nahapana and brought them all under the Ujjain Court which, however, recognised the overlordship of the Kushan empire.[24]

Later on, these areas would appear to have been annexed by the Imperial Guptas. Samudra Gupta had found signs of disloyalty but Chandra Gupta II subdued the region before assuming the *biruda* Vikramaditya. The post-Gupta period is obscure and it is considered probable that Nasik, Poona and Satara were ruled by Vindhyasena, a scion of the Basim branch of the Vakataka house founded by a son of Pravarsena and that he annexed southern Maharashtra. The Chalukyas then came on the scene and Hiuen Tsang who visited the court of Pulakesin II (608—42) refers

22. Reference may be made to the observations in E.B. Havell's *A Short Story of India* at p. 69 : "Though the sea routes played some part in the Aryanisation of southern India, the old Indo-Aryan aristocracy kept to their forest traditions and their fighting men never became sailors like the Dravidians of the sea-board. The mountainous regions of the western coast in which the great rivers of the Deccan have their sources was congenial soil for them. A direct immigration from northern India took place along the Ghats, the bathing steps of the Indian Ocean—and Dandaka or Maharashtra—(The Mahratta country) became another Aryavarta. Nasik, its capital, probably marks the position of the source of the Godavari, the Ganges of the Deccan in Vedic times". (Through of the riverbed the source is now about 30 miles distant from the city). Indeed, all believe in subterranean connection with Brahma's fountain in the Himalayas.

23. For Abhira rule see the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad's *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar, dealing with the Vakataka—Gupta Age. Chap. III, "Saka Rulers of Western India" C. 170 to C 400 A.D. and Chap. V. Prof. Rapson's date for the Abhira intervention under Isvaradatta is 236-238 A. D.

24. The writer in the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I,p. 530 mentions the marriage of a Mahratta princess Naganika to Satakarni, the third Andhra king, as a dynastic factor which contributed to the extension of Andhra dynasty to Nasik, *vide*. R. G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India* (320-760).

to the patronage of the Digambara literature of the Sakta cult in the capital at or near Nasik and also to its many stupas and chaityas.

The Chalukyas were followed by the Rashtrakutas and from their attempt to speak prakrit arose Marathi which eventually gained the distinction of being one of the five prakrit dialects of mediæval India [25] Parts of the Nasik region were ruled in the eighth century by the Yadavas and in Rashtrakuta times (750—972 A D.) Nasik was the capital until the seat of authority was shifted by Amoghavarsha (815—877) to Malkhed or Manyakheta.

The vicissitudes of mediæval Deccan need not detain us and we need only record that Nasik became one of the Muslim capitals, and some of the stirring events of Mogul and Maratha history took place around the fort. These events centre round the overthrow of the Nizam Shahis of Ahmednagar and around the campaigns of the reigns of Akbar and Jehangir, of Khwaja Abul Hasan, who was sent to conquer these parts in the early years of Shahjahan's reign. Large troops were engaged in the operations against Sahu and it was in Nasik that Daud Khan's cavalry met with a trouncing defeat at the hands of Shivaji in 1670. [26] Manucci as an emissary of Raja Jai Sing halted in Nasik for many days. [27]

VIII

Coming to post-Mogul times, there was a quarrel between Raghunath Rao and the fourth Peshwa Madhava Rao and the latter's mother Gopika Bai who became extremely jealous of Raghunath Rao's influence and planned several stratagems against him. Raghunath had to flee to Nasik on horseback and he stayed in retirement. But Madhava Rao turned to him for aid and advice when Maharashtra was threatened by the Mysore ruler Haidar Ali. Both joined hands and won a pyrrhic victory over their common antagonist, after which Raghunath retured to Nasik. He died in 1772. Later on, Anandawalli near Nasik became the refuge of his family when it moved out of Kopergaon in 1793, and his widow Anandi Bai who had declined in health died not long after. It was again

25. *Vide* an instructive chapter on Prakrit dialects in A.A. MacDonell: *History of Sanskrit Literature* (pp. 26-27). "The testimony of the inscriptions is instructive in showing the gradual encroachment of Sanskrit on the popular dialects used by the two non-Brahmanical religions. Thus, in the Jain inscriptions of Mathura (now Muttra) an almost pure prakrit prevails down to the first century A. D After that, Sanskritism became more and more frequent till simple Sanskrit is written. Similarly in Buddhist inscriptions pure prakrit is relieved by the mixed dialect, the latter by Sanskrit. Thus in the inscription of Nasik, in Western India, the mixed dialect extends into the third while Sanskrit first begins in the second century A.D. Prof. MacDonnell points out how Hiuen Tsang wrote that Buddhists used Sanskrit even in oral theological disputations as the Jains did and how by the time of the Mohammedan period Sanskrit became the only written language in India. Prakrit however gave several new words and "transferred into a stress accent the old musical accent which still prevailed after Panini's day". *ibid* p. 27.

26. Cf. Elliot and Dowson VI, pp. 97,99 (*Akbarnama* of Abul Fazl) 333 (*Wakiat-i-Jahangiri*), 433 (*Ikbalnama-i-Jahangiri*); VII, *Badshah-nama*, pp. 10,52, 66, dealing with the events of 1629, 1635 and 1637.

27. *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol. III, p. 145.

in Nasik that Baji Rao's troops were defeated by Raghunath Rao's adopted son Amrit Rao who had pillaged Poona earlier. A pension was eventually settled on Amrit Rao who spent his last days in Banaras [28]

The succeeding decades saw the expansion of the British dominion and the important happenings of the period were the operations conducted against the Bhils by Sir Frank Souter, Captain Nuttal and others [29]. There was a famine too and an interesting event of fiscal history was the levy of the dog-tax in 1845. There was also the occasion when the killing of a cow by a European roused the people to passion and a commotion followed.

IX

Nasik district was formerly divided between the collectorates of Khandesh and Ahmednagar till 1837 and an enlarged separate district dates only from 1869. [30] Interest in the political history of the last generation centres round the murder of the British civilian Jackson, which Lord Morley condemned as an atrocious crime throwing a cloud on the advent of British proposals of reform. [31] The details of latest and contemporary history need not detain us and it only needs recording the prospect of a further adhesion of official importance to the place in view of the Gangapur Dam Project and the proposal to shift some of the Government of India offices from Delhi to Nasik.

POSTSCRIPT

The following description of Sitagumpha is taken from the Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI, p.515.

" A large ante-room 30'9" ×8½" ×8' leads into an inner room 19' ×12'4" ×10' in whose back wall a door leads down seven steps to a vaulted chamber (5'8" square and 7' high). In the back of this chamber a door opens into a close dark.

28 For the quarrel between Raghunath Rao and Madhava Rao see Elliot and Dowson Vol. VIII pp. 288-289, Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahadur's account (*Tarikh i-Ibrahim Khan*) written about 1786.

29. *Bombay Gazetteer*. Vol. XVI. p 199

30. S.M. Edwards in *Cambridge History of British Empire* Vol. V (1858 1918) p. 59. Interesting material about Nasik history is contained in Sir W W. Hunter's *Bombay 1885-90* which also refers *en passant* to the tramway, p.295. The India Feeder Lines Comany was started in 1887 and we learn that Lord Reay encouraged it as providing an useful adjunct to railway traffic and the Indian Tramsways Act, was extended to the whole Bombay Province except where special enactments were in force in Bombay and Karachi. The first undertaking was to lay a horse tramway from Nasik to Nasik Road, the next one was a steam tramway from Barsi Road to Barsi. The tramway is no longer seen at present through I find it referred to in the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica* (14th edn) p 125. The population of Nasik as given in the 1931 Census Report is 48,703. The population has now increased severalfold. The place has a sprinkling of Muslim population. Even the Jama Mosque bears traces of Hindu origin The Sayyids found here are said to have come from Medina about 1568. As regards other communities, Sharanpur is a Christian village worth mentioning here.

31. Letter to Lord Minto, dated Jan 6, 1910. (*India, Minto and Morley*) (1905-1910) by Mary, Countess of Minto, 1935) p 369, Earlier, Lord Minto wrote to the Secretary of State on Dec., 23, 1909: "You will have heard by telegram of the horrible murder at Nasik. It is a terrible affair in itself, for Mr. Jackson was from all accounts an excellent officer and very much liked". (ibid, p.366).

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shrine on a two-feet higher level (9′10″ square and 9′ high) with images of Ram, Lakshman and Sita in a large niche in the back wall. A door (2′7″ ×1′8″) in the left wall of the shrine leads one step down to a small ante-room 2′ ×2′6″ ×5′2″ high at the foot of the left wall of which an opening 1′8″ high by 1′3″ broad only just large enough to crawl through leads two steps down to a vaulted room (9′3″×5″ ×9′9″ high) A door in the east wall of this room leads to a shrine of Mahadev on a one-foot higher level. The shrine is vaulted about 7′2″ square and about 9′ high with a nude *ling* about 3″ high. All these rooms and shrines are without any opening for air or light".

It is said that Sita was left by Rama in this cave and it was from here that Ravana carried her away. Electric lights are now provided in all the rooms and an ancient banyan tree stands by the cave which visitors are allowed to enter on payment of a fee.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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MUZAFFARPORE DISTRICT

Homœo Medical Conference

On 27th June, 1950

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

DR. K. N. PALIT,
M. B. H. A. (London) M. I. H. L.
Member Homoeopathic Enquiry Committee Bihar Govt. 1948.
Ex-President & Vice President:
Town Congress Committee Gaya, for the year 1941-42-43-45
Indian Representative to
World Congress of Homoeopaths at Budapest 1935
In the 10th Congress
Inter-National Homoeopathic League, Budapest.
General Secretary to
First Inter Asian Homoeo Medical Conference In India.
POST BOX 41, GAYA.

TELEPHONE NO. 113.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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Ladies and Gentlemen,

We have assembled here at a very critical hour in history. With the advent of freedom not only the resources for and the avenues of development have increased hundredfold, but our responsibilities too have increased to a large extent. Our responsibility is all the more great because we happen to be the custodians of the health of the country. Thus it is a very critical hour in the history of our nation, and we must make a sincere effort to save our teeming millions from death, disease, epidemic and pestilence. On the other hand, this is a critical hour in the history of Homœopathy in India. We have been attacked by our own Govt. and that too in the name of recognising and aiding us. Can there be any greater irony ?

Now your choice for me to preside over this conference at this hour not only fills my heart with deep gratitude for you but also reminds me of the tasks ahead. Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the honour bestowed upon me but at the same time I beseech you to co-operate with me in the struggle for the service of humanity. I shall not call it a struggle for existance, because we are ready to sacrifice our interest if by doing so the health of the nation improves. But so long it is not done we are not ready to yield to temptation, indignation and fabrication.

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The cheapness of our medical system and that it suits the pocket of every soul in India has been emphasized times without number and I shall not repeat them any more. However, I shall point out to you only one thing in this connection. Only a few years back, the Govt. of India was spending only three annas per head per year on the health of the nation. In view of this, our Govt. must realise that they have to cut their coat according to the length of the cloth. Since devaluation the financial consideration has assumed greater importance.

Now I turn to the efficacy of the Homœopathic medicines. Recently pure Homœopathy has been challenged in the hide-bound report submitted by the Enquiry Committee on Homœopathy. The Committee holds that ninety per cent. Homœopaths are quacks and pure Homœopaths are danger to the society. If this is their statement, whom do they mean to recognise out of the three lac Homœopaths practising in India ? Clearly, there intention is not to recognise it, but to corrupt it and to put it to death ultimately. However, our stand is firm on this issue, we believe in pure Homœopathy and we are not ready for its adulteration with any other medical system whatsoever. Homœopathy can never advance by sacrificing its own fundamental principles in favour of the principles of Allopathy. Any attempt to do so will be disastrous for the science, and the people who have benefitted from it.

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The efficacy of pure Homœopathy has been well illustrated by the popularity it has gained in this country and innumerable cures effected by it. Another instance of its efficacy can be found in the Buckingham Palace of England. There is a Homœopath Physician on the list of doctors for the British Emperor; and there is one for U. S. President Truman as well. Do we need any more proof ? But there are some people for whom ignorance is bliss, and among those belong our respected members of Enquiry Committee. They want to shut their eyes, against truth, and declare that what they don't see does not exist at all.

Before I conclude my speech, I would like to suggest an alternative to the Govt. of India. Govt. of Bihar too has evinced keen interest in Homœopathy and as a result of this a Sub-Committee consisting of myself and other eminent Doctors was formed to study the situation of Homœopathy in this state and suggest measures for its recognition and popularisation. The Sub-Committee has submitted its report which deserves careful consideration by all concerned. I would venture to suggest the Govt. of India to study the pros and cons of this report carefully and to adopt it with necessary modifications. This would be a wiser step than that which they have taken at present.

The other practical suggestion is the composition of a Central Board of Homœopathy consisting of the representatives of State organisations of Homœopaths and some nominated members. This will have the

merit of election and nomination both.

But the responsibility of popularising Homœopathy does not entirely depend upon the Govt. alone; we too have a duty towards this science. We can discharge our duty by making an intensive study of this science and by popularising it in Villages. Much can be done in this connection with the help of Gram Panchayats which have recently come into being. Let us not fail in our duty, because then alone we can force others to do their part.

The era through which we are passing is very critical and the need for securing unity and solidarity among the Homœopathic medical profession is imperative. At this hour we must oppose this report of the Enquiry Committee tooth and nail. Homœopaths all over India have condemned this report with one voice and to this unity and conviction we owe our strength. But there is no repose in truth. Everyday we have to renew our pledge and our fight. Recognition or no recognition, we are not going to yield to insult, injustice and ignorance. There can be no compromise on principles. We have already won popular recognition and we are sure to be recognised sooner or later by our representatives at the helm of the government. Any way, we have to keep our torch of crusade ablaze till victory.

It is a happy augury that my 30 years good old friend Dr. R. P. Misra who has pioneered in Homœopathy in the Province of Bihar and has been elected

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president of the 14th. Bihar Homœopathic Medical Conference will take some more definite action, to arrive at a successful conclusion. I heartily congratulate for his services to the cause of Homœopathy.

Before I take my seat, I shall avail this opportunity for congratulating Dr. A. L. Verma of Dinapore Cantt. who has gone abroad to represent us in the International Homœopathic League (Congress).

Jai Hind.

27th June, 1950.

Dr. K. N. Palit,
M.B.H.A. (London) M.I.H.L. Gaya.

Gaya Printers-Gaya.

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I/61 279

UTTAR PRADESH DRUGS (CONTROL) ACT, 1950*

(U. P. ACT No. XIV OF 1950)

Authoritative English Text† of the Uttar Pradesh Aushadhi (Niyantran) Adhiniyam (Act), 1950, [U. P. Drugs (Control) Act, 1950].

AN

ACT

to provide for the control of the sale, supply and distribution of drugs

WHEREAS by the U. P. Drugs (Control) Ordinance, 1949, provision was made for powers to control the sale, supply and distribution of drugs ;

AND WHEREAS the said Ordinance, being limited in duration will expire on the expiry of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Uttar Pradesh Legislature ;

AND WHEREAS it is necessary to provide for the continuance of the said powers;

It is hereby enacted as follows :

Short title, extent and commencement.

1. (1) This Act may be called the Uttar Pradesh Drugs (Control) Act, 1950.

(2) It extends to the whole of Uttar Pradesh.

(3) It shall come into force at once.

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*For statement of Objects and Reasons, please see *Uttar Pradesh Gazette Extraordinary*, dated January 5, 1950.

Passed in Hindi by the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly on March 1, 1950, and by the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council on February 10, 1950.

Received the assent of the President on March16, 1950, under Article 201 of the Constitution of India and was published in the *Uttar Pradesh Gazette Extraordinary*, dated March 16, 1950.

†Published in the *Uttar Pradesh Gazette Extraordinary*, dated March 16, 1950.

Price, 2 annas]

(4) It shall cease to have effect on the close of thirty-first day of January, 1951, except as respects things done or omitted to be done before the expiration thereof and section 6 of the U. P. General Clauses Act, 1904, shall apply upon its expiry as if it had then been repealed by an United Provinces Act.

Interpretation.

2. (1) In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

(*a*) " District Magistrate " means the District Magistrate of the district and includes any officer authorised by him to perform any of this functions under this Act ;

(*b*) " dealer " means a person carrying on, either personally or through any other person, the business of selling any drugs, whether wholesale or retail;

(*c*) " drug " means any drug as defined in clause (*b*) of section 3 of the Drugs Act, 1940 in respect of which a declaration has been made under section 3 ;

XXIII of 1940.

(*d*) " offer for sale " includes a reference to an intimation by a person of the price proposed by him for a sale of any drug, made by the publication of a price list, by exposing the drug for sale in association with a mark indicating price, by the furnishing of a quotation or otherwise howsoever ;

(*e*) " producer " includes a manufacturer ;

(*f*) " State Government " means the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

(2) A drug shall be deemed to be in the possession of a person—

(i) when it is held on behalf of that person by another person ;

(ii) notwithstanding that it is mortgaged to another person.

Drugs to which this Act applies.

3. The State Government may, by notification in the official *Gazette*, declare any drug to be a drug to which this Act shall apply.

Fixing of maximum prices and maximum quantities which my be held or sold

4. (1) The State Government may, by notification in the official *Gazette*, fix in respect of any drug—

(*a*) the maximum price or rate which may be charged by a dealer or producer ;

(*b*) the maximum quantity which may at any one time be possessed by a dealer or producer ;

(*c*) the maximum quantity which may in any one transaction be sold to any person.

(2) The prices or rates and the quantities fixed in respect of any drug under this section may be different in different localities or for different classes of dealers or producers.

5. No dealer or producer shall—

Restrictions on sale, etc. where maximum is fixed under section 4.

(*a*) sell, agree to sell, offer for sale or otherwise dispose of to any person any drug for a price or at a rate exceeding the maximum fixed by notification under clause (*a*) of sub-section (1) of section 4 ;

(*b*) have in his possession at any one time a quantity of any drug exceeding the maximum fixed by notification under clause (*b*) of sub-section (1) of section 4 ; or

(3) sell, agree to sell or offer for sale to any person in any one transaction a quantity of any article exceeding the maximum fixed by notification under clause (*c*) of sub-section (1) of section 4.

6. (1) No person shall have in his possession at any one time a greater quantity of any drug to which this section applies than the quantity necessary for his reasonable needs.

General limitation on quantity which may be possessed at one time.

(2) This section shall apply only to such drugs as the State Government may, by order published in the official *Gazette*, specify for the purpose :

Provided that nothing contained in this section shall apply to a dealer or producer in respect of any drug sold or produced by him.

7. Any person having in his possession a quantity of any drug exceeding that permitted by or under this Act, shall forthwith report the fact to the District Magistrate and shall take such action as to the storage, distribution or disposal of the excess quantity as the District Magistrate may direct.

Duty to declare possession excess stocks.

Refusal to sell.

8. No dealer or producer shall, unless previously authorised to do so by the District Magistrate, without sufficient cause refuse to sell to any person any drug within the limits as to quantity, if any, imposed by this Act.

Explanation.—The possibility or expectation of obtaining a higher price for a drug at a later date shall not be deemed to be a sufficient cause for the purpose of this section.

Cash memorandum to be given of certain sales.

9. (1) Every dealer or producer when selling any drug for cash shall, if the amount of the purchase is five rupees or more, in all cases, and, if the amount of the purchase is less than five rupees, when so requested by the purchaser, give to the purchaser a cash memorandum containing particulars of the transaction.

(2) The State Government may, by notification in the official *Gazette*, prescribe the particulars to be contained in any such cash memorandum.

(3) The State Government may, by notification in the offical *Gazette*, exempt specified areas, classes of dealers or producers, or classes of drugs from the operation of this section.

Marking of prices and exhibiting price list.

10. (1) The State Government or the District Magistrate concerned may direct dealers or producers in general, or any dealer or producer in particular, to mark any drug exposed or intended for sale with the sale prices or to exhibit on the premises a price list of drugs held for sale, and may further give directions as to the manner in which any such direction as aforesaid is to be caried out.

(2) No dealer shall destroy, efface or alter any label or mark affixed to a drug and indicating the price marked by a producer.

Obligation to state price separately on composite offer.

11. Where a dealer or producer makes an offer to enter into a transaction for a consideration to be given as a whole in respect both of a sale of any drug and of some other matter, the dealer or producer making the offer shall state in writing the price which he assigns to that drug, if he is required to do so by any person to whom the offer is made, and the offer shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to be an offer to sell that drug at the price so stated.

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Prohibition of sale, etc. and requisitioning of drugs.

12. (1) If in the opinion of the District Magistrate it is necessary or expedient so to do, he may, by order in writing—

(*a*) prohibit the disposal of any drug except in such circumstances and under such conditions as may be specified in the order ;

(*b*) direct the sale of any drug to any such dealer or consumer or class of dealers or consumers and in such quantities as may be specified in the order ;

(*c*) requisition any drug (whether at the place of import or at any other place) ;

and make such further orders as appear to him to be necessary or expedient in connection with any order issued under this sub-section.

(2) Where the District Magistrate has requisitioned any drug under sub-section (1), he may use or deal with the drug in such manner as may appear to him to be expedient, and may acquire it by serving on the owner thereof or, where the owner is not readily traceable or the ownership is in dispute, by publishing in the official *Gazette* a notice stating that the District Magistrate has decided to acquire it in pursuance of this section.

(3) Where a notice of acquisition is served on the owner of the drug or published in the official *Gazette* under sub-section (2), then at the beginning of the day on which the notice is so served or published, the drug shall vest in the State Government free from any encumbrance and the requisition thereof shall be deemed to have ended.

(4) Whenever in pursuance of this section the District Magistrate requisitions or acquires any drug, the owner thereof shall be paid such compensation as the State Government may, by rules prescribe.

(5) The District Magistrate may, with a view to requisitioning any drug under sub-section (1) or determining the compensation payable under sub-section (4), by order—

(*a*) require any person to furnish to such authority as may be specified in the order such information in his possession relating to the drug as may be so specified ;

(*b*) direct that the owner of the drug shall not, without the permission of the District Magistrate, dispose of it till the expiry of such period as may be specified in the order.

Penalties.

13. (1) Whoever contravenes any of the provisions of this Act or of any direction made under authority conferred by this Act shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.

(2) A court convicting any person of an offence punishable under this Act may order that the whole or any part of the stock of drugs in respect of which the offence was committed shall be forfeited to the State Government.

(3) It shall be a defence for a person charged with a contravention of any of the provisions of this section to prove that, in relation to the matter in respect of which he is charged, he acted in the course of his employment as a servant or agent of another person on the instructions of his employer or of some other specified person.

Offences by corporations.

14. Where a person committing an offence punishable under this Act is a company or an association or a body of persons, whether incorporated or not, every director, manager, secretary, agent or other officer or person concerned with the management thereof, shall, unless he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or that he has exercised all due diligence to prevent its commission, be deemed to be guilty of such offence.

Procedure.

15. (1) No person other than a police officer of or above the rank of a Sub-Inspector of Police or an officer not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector of Police authorised in this behalf by the District Magistrate by a written order, shall investigate any offence under this Act.

(2) No prosecution for any offence punishable under this Act shall be instituted except with the previous sanction of the District Magistrate.

Production of books, and accounts, etc. for inspection.

16. The District Magistrate may, by general or special order, require any dealer to maintain and produce for inspection to such officer as may be

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specified such books, accounts and records relating to his business and to furnish such information relating thereto as may be specified.

Powers of search and seizure.

17. Any person competent to investigate any offence under this Act may search any place in which he has reason to believe that an offence under this Act has been, or is being committed, and take possession of any stock of drugs in respect of which the offence has been or is being committed.

Delegation of powers.

18. The State Government may, by order published in the official *Gazette*, direct that any power or authority which is conferred on or vested in the State Government under this Act shall be exercised either absolutely or subject to such restrictions and conditions as may be specified by an officer or authority subordinate to such Government.

Power to make rules.

19. (1) The State Government may make rules to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely :—

(*a*) the maintenance by dealers and producers generally, or by any dealer or producer in particular, of records of all sale and purchase transactions made by them ;

(*b*) the furnishing of any information as may be required with respect to the business carried on by any dealer or producer ;

(*c*) the inspection of any books of account or other documents belonging to or under the control of any dealer or producer ;

(*d*) the compensation which shall be payable under section 12 and the manner in which such compensation shall be determined.

Protection of action taken in good faith.

20. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

Saving of other laws.

21. The provisions of this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of any other law for the time being in force regulating any of the matters dealt with in this Act.

Repeal.

22. (1) The U. P. Drugs (Control) Ordinance, 1949, is hereby repealed and the provisions of sections 6 and 24 of the U. P. General Clauses Act, 1904, shall apply as if it had been an Act repealed by an United Provinces Act.

(2) Any order or rules made or direction issued under the said Ordinance and in force immediately before the commencement of this Act shall continue to be in force and be deemed to be an order or rules made or direction issued under this Act.

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THE LATE

Prof. L. Kamesvara Sarma, M.A., N.D.

[By F. G. Natesa Aiyar, F.I.I.N.T.,
Chairman,
All India Naturopathic Conference]

[His life was gentle; And the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And Say to all the world,
'This was a man!']

It is my melancholy duty to have to record the premature death, at the young age of 38, of Prof. L. Kamesvara Sarma, M A., N. D., the world-famous Naturopath, and Deputy Director of the Indian Institute of Natural Therapeutics, Pudukkottai, which sad event took place at Bombay on the 6th September 1950, following a brief period of sudden illness due to intensive travel and propaganda work all over India. Prof. Sarma was a well-known figure with a high reputation in the international world of Naturopathy. He was regarded as not only the natural heir but also the political heir to the leadership of Naturopathy in India—especially in the South—which is now held by the late professor's distinguished father, Dr. K. Lakshmana Sarma, the pioneer and the great authority in Nature-Cure who enjoyed the esteem of the late Mahatma Gandhi.

Born in 1912, Prof. Sarma received a high class education and took double degrees in Mathematics and Physics and obtained First Class in M. A. (Physics). Till 1945, he taught Physics in the Pudukkottai Maharaja's College and left it a few years ago and worked as the Head of the Department of Physics in the Sarada Vilas College, Mysore. In both these institutions Prof. Sarma was very popular with both the students and his colleagues and he earned a name in academic circles. But Sarma's heart was in Nature-Cure, his first love. Finding that his arduous professorial work did not give him time and leisure enough to serve Naturopathy in the whole hearted manner he wished, he left the College and plunged himself, heart and soul, in the service of Nature-Cure. Mahatma Gandhi's attachment to Nature-Cure and his public utterances on the true value of the Nature-Cure system to human well-being encouraged Prof. Sarma not a little and made him push on his work in a missionary spirit regardless of personal

discomforts and pecuniary difficulties. He kept himself in touch with Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants in Wardha and elsewhere and by his lectures, writings in the pages of "The Life Natural" of which he was Associate Editor, and talks and discussions with all classes of people, men and women, high and low, intellectuals and workmen, all over India, publication of various pamphlets and leaflets and learned books, he has done, during the few crowded years of his all too short public life, what one, less energetic, could not have done in the space of twenty years. Above all, Prof. Sarma's summer schools all over India, in Pudukkottai, Mysore, Poona, Bombay, Delhi, Alwar, etc.,—which were attended by hosts of men and women of all religions and classes and grades of society became a most powerful medium for imparting knowledge of Nature-Cure and its philosophy and of their practical application to life; and to-day, there are hosts of people spread over the length and breadth of India who, through Sarma's instructions, have become loyal devotees of Nature-Cure, living the life-natural and propagating the system in their own circles. Prof. Sarma's two publications, among the rest, "Natural Cure of Eye Defects" and "Drugless Healing" are well-known and have reached several editions.

As an N. D., (Hon. degree conferred by the State Board of Examiners, California), and Life member of the National Association of Naturopathic Herbalists of America, an Hon. Fellow of the International Association of Naturopathic Physicians, and as a collaborateur of the famous Miss. Lily Loat, Secretary, National Anti-Vaccination League, London, Professor Sarma, is a name to be counted in the international world of Naturopathy and an honour to India. As the value of the Nature-Cure system gets more and more appreciated in the world and the system begins to win recognition by the States and other peoples —as it is bound to in the near future—Sarma's pioneer work will get, I feel sure, that appreciation which is due to it and professor Kamesvara Sarma's name will have a permanent place in the history and development of Naturopathy in Bharat.

Professor Sarma actually died in harness. He left Pudukkottai on a long North India tour of propaganda on 17th March last. He was a great bhakta of Bhagavan

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Ramana Maharshi and never failed to seek his *darsan* whenever he passed Villupuram or Katpadi. On this occasion too, he went to Ramanashram and had *darsan* of the Bhagavan and received His blessings! Madras and Wardha occupied him for some weeks. At Wardha, the Professor met Prof. S. N. Agarwal, Shri Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa and other distinguished followers of Mahatma Gandhi and had very valuable discussions with them on Nature-Cure. He then went to Nagpur, Sagar and Gwalior and then on to Alwar and Delhi; in the two last of these stations he conducted Training Classes. At New Delhi, Pandit Brijlal Nehru was so much impressed with Sarma's lessons that he undertook to open a Nature-Cure Association and work it up. From Delhi the Professor went to Rishikesh (Himalayas) and stayed there as the guest of H. H. Swami Sivananda Maharaj, and delivered a series of lectures on Nature-Cure with demonstrations and discussions on its practical side. Swami Sivananda Maharaj is, as is well known, an ardent Naturopath (a convert from Allopathy of which he was originally a practising doctor) and His Holiness expressed himself highly pleased with the eminently scholarly and practical manner in which Prof. Sarma handled the subject. Prof. Sarma returned to Delhi on 15th June and continued his work in that city and in Jaipur, Udaipur, Ajmer and other places till the middle of July.

All this work and travel made a great strain on the Professor's health. He was his own doctor and looked after himself in Nature's own way; he was never depressed, was always cheerful and philosophic and believing that one's end is in Divine Hands and one could do nothing else than sail with the Divine Current, he got on with courage and confidence. Desiring some home comforts, Professor Sarma left for Bombay (a journey of nearly 1000 miles) where his wife and children were living and after spending just two small days in their company, on the 4th and 5th Sept., the dear soul took its flight to the Bosom of the Eternal God on the 6th inst, leaving behind a young widow, three little children, father, brothers, and a host of friends to mourn his loss. The world has become the poorer by Sarma's death. But believing as I do in re-incarnation and knowing the mind and heart of the late Professor in the most intimate manner, I am dead certain that Kamesvara Sarma has gone

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only to recoup and return with better sinews of war to establish God's Natural order of Life on Earth on strong solid foundation. Professor Sarma's last act was to write an article for the "Harijan" (published in the issue of Sep. 2, 1950) under the caption "Internal Sanitation". In it, he said "it is dietetic errors leading to fouling the body that is a more potent cause of disease than external insanitation. Both internal and external sanitation have to be attended to, always giving priority to internal sanitation. Vaccines and serums only go to increase the internal insanitation, as they are themselves products of disease artificially produced on the bodies of animals .....Germs are not the primal cause of disease. It is just one link in the chain. Nature creates or makes use of them to carry the disease-process to a successful end—better health. They serve as scavengers to consume filth. If facts are studied in the light of the fundamentals of Health and Life called Ayur-Veda or the new Science of Health and Healing called Nature-Cure it will be clear that if at all the modern prophylactics confer any immunity, it is only suppression of the *natural power* or *life* by overloading the body with toxins. Everybody has to deserve his health and well-being by right action and by *pryaschitta* or correction of past wrong action. Nobody can escape the operation of the eternal law."

The late Professor Kamesvara Sarma was a kindly and generous soul with love for all and enmity towards none. He knew no caste, race or religious differences. He lived a pure life—the Life Natural—a life of simple living and high thinking. He was bold and courageous and feared none in the discharge of what he considered to be his duty. He co-operated with every one where such co-operation helped in the well-being of humanity. He non-co-operated with what he considered evil. He was absolutely non-violent in thought, word and action and his armoury was Satyam, Dharmam and Ahimsa. His death is an immense loss to resurgent India, the world of Naturopathy and the world of New Thought and New Life. May dear Kamesvara Sarma's soul have "*Shanti.*"

A summary of the above has been published in the 'Sunday Times,' Madras dated 1st October '50.

Co-operative Press, Pudukkottai.

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MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED
BY
THE LANDHOLDERS OF KOLLENGODE
&
NEIGHBOURING AMSOMS IN THE PALGHAT TALUK
ON
THE MALABAR TENANCY BILL OF 1950

Signatories to this memorandum are landholders residing in Kollengode and adjoining villages in Palghat Taluk. They wish to place before the authorities their considered opinion on the provisions of the new Amending Bill, which has been recently published.

Our contention is that there is no need for such a bill. The existing Malabar Tenancy Act of 1929 contains ample safeguards for the protection of tenants as well as landholders generally. In the statement of objects and reasons published along with the Bill, the history of this measure has been discussed but the immediate necessity for amending the original Act has not been mentioned and it is evident that it is not the result of any public demand or any existing grievances on the part of the tenants. Even in cases where suits were filed for eviction, the courts have been ordered to hold them in abeyance and it cannot be said that the tenants stand to loose, if there is delay. The position of the tenants has considerably improved during the last 10 years in spite of the high cost of

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living. The reason for this is the fact that they have grown fat out of the profits derived from the lands in their possession and that landholders generally have been very considerate to them. There are instances now of tenants who own more lands and who are richer than ordinary middle class land holders. There is thus no justification for any amendment of the original Act.

2. **Present time inopportune.** It is strange that the Government have thought it fit to proceed with this reform at a critical time like the present, when there is extreme economic distress owing to shortage of foodgrains, scarcity of cloth, and abnormal rice in the prices of all the essential commodities. What is wanted at the present time is to restore peace and contentment in the country, instead of proceeding with reforms which are uncalled-for and un-related to the existing conditions and which will have the effect of completely destroying a set of loyal, peace-loving middle class men.

3. **Bill opposed to constitution Act.** The published Bill seeks to deprive arbitrarily landholders of their individual right to posses and enjoy land which is one of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Indian Constitution Act. There is already a Land Reforms Committee enquiring into the questions connected with the land reform, for the whole of Madras State and it is hard that one district alone should be singled out for a change in the existing order, before the findings of that committee are published. Most of the points referred to that Committee relate also to Malabar, and it is ununderstandable why Malabar has been taken out of the purview of that Committee.

4. **Investment in land.** From time immemmorial, investment in land has been considered in this country as a safe form of investment and middle class men especially, have invested their small savings in landed property, in the hope and belief that there would be no interference with their rights of ownership and enjoyment. The hardship is specially noteworthy in the case, for instance, of Government servants and others who

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have invested their life's earning in land and depend upon the income from it, not only for their domestic requirements but also to find the wherewithal for meeting extra-ordinary items of expenditure in the family. In the case of Marumakkathayam families the hardship becomes greater in view of the fact that several families, who have effected partition during the last few years, are unable to find out employment and have to fall back on land for cultivation, especially since the lands have been cut up after the partition. People purchase land with a view to get happiness and peace arising out of such possession, which cannot be stated in terms of money; and to deprive them of such lands for the redress of imaginary grievances of tenants (really middlemen) would be doing serious injury to landholders. It would virtually be a case of " robing Peter and paying Paul ". We trust that the Government will not take any precipitate action in this matter. Are there not other types of investments in lands, such as costly buildings in cities and towns which are excluded from the purview of this Bill ? There is no explanation for this difference.

5. **Two misconceptions.** The memmorialists feel that the amending Bill proceeds on two wrong assumptions. The first is that the tenant is the tiller of the soil, and secondly, that the tenant is being hardpressed and the landowners have no sympathy for him, and it is his benefit the sponsors of the Bill have mainly in view. Both these assumptions are fundamentally wrong. The relationship between the tenant and landowners has been harmonious for the past two or 3 centuries, and if there has been any stray cases of estrangement between them, it cannot certainly be a justification for a wholesale modification of the law. Instances of tenants seeking redress either in the matter of rent being excessive, or the landholders molesting them, are practically unknown and cannot be proved by statistics. On the other hand the fact is that the tenants have been holding lands continuously for 25 years or more, and it stands as a clear proof of the cordiality that has been existing between them and tenants. The amending Bill is sure to create

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a conflict of interests between them resulting in a lot of suffering and costly litigation.

As regards cultivation, we beg to point out that the tenant is not actually the tiller of the soil. The actual tiller is the agricultural labourer, whose economic position may call for improvement, and who are more or less permanent residents in the holding itself. There are several cases in which the tenant does not live at all in the land he has taken up for cultivation. He is virtually in the position of a contractor who has agreed to cultivate the land on payment of a fixed quantity of paddy as rent and other emoluments to the owners. There has been no case, so far as we know of any tenant complaining about the rent being excessive, which he has been paying all along without demur.

6. **Most objectionable features of the Bill.**

(i) It is difficult to understand on what principles of political or economic theory the proposals contained in the amending Bill are based. It must atonce be stated that the provisions are drastic and exproprietory in nature. If such confiscatory legislation is given effect to it will be putting a premium on the activities of irresponsible agitators who have no stake in the country. We are yet far away from Marxism, and this measure, if passed, will be paving the way for hastening the advent of a system which the public dread, and which the state Governments all over the country are attempting to root out by legislative and other measures.

(ii) **Fixity of tenure.** The Bill provides for the tenant not being evicted, if he has been in the continuous possession for 12 years or over, and it has also provided that the right to evict should be exercised within 5 years from the date on which the bill becomes law. As stated already, the original Act falls for no change in this respect. It may be that a land owner, who is away from his village in which he owns land, would come back after a period of 5 years and would like to take up cultivation

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directly? Again what about cases in which lands are owned by women, minor children having only female guardians, infirm and old men, Government or quasi government servants, as these persons cannot under any circumstances have their land under direct cultivation? Is it just to deprive such persons of their right to get the tenant evicted? As regards 12 years limit, if the land owner has been good and kind enough to allow the tenant to continue for such a long period, it would really be a punishment for the landholder to deprive him of his right to evict the tenant for his personal cultivation, besides giving an undue advantage to those who change their tenants frequently. The landholder should always have the right to take back the land from his tenant for cultivation by himself, or members of his family, as per the provisions in the Act of 1929, without any further restrictions. This will be in keeping with the preservation of the fundamental right already referred to. We are even prepared to suggest that the holders of land may be directed to have their lands under their own direct cultivation, within a specified period of say 10 or 12 years.

As regards Kudiyiruppus, it is common knowledge that they have been brought down and provided with quarters for the specific purpose of enabling the holder of the land to carry on cultivation. They pay only a nominal rent; they can be given fixity of tenure only, so long as they are available for cultivation purposes, and not otherwise.

(iii) **Fair Rent.** The procedure proposed for fixing the fair rent in the Amending Bill is altogether unnecessary. The fair rent now being paid is the result of costly improvements by landholders (including Kanamdars) in addition to the heavy initial investment made by them and the tenant has not contributed anything towards such expenses. The rent has been agreed to and is paid regularly from year to year, and the tenants cannot be said to have any hardship or grievances in regard to this matter. It is difficult otherwise to account for the prosperous position in which most of the tenants find themselves in today, and for the fact of their continuous and

undisturbed possession of the land. The basis on which fair rent is fixed was thoroughly discussed, before the original Act was enacted in 1929, and there is absolutely no reason why a fresh procedure should now be adopted for fixing the fair rent. If, under the old Act, a landholder gets 2/3 of the net produce, his share under the proposed Bill would be reduced by 1 6, for which there is no justification in law or in equity. The tenant has not done anything to deserve any further concession from the original Act. Fair rent must vary from land to land, or from one set of lands in a village to another in the same village, since the productivity of the soil depends on several factors such as irrigation facilities, application of adequate manure and the nature of the soil etc. No hard and fast rule is therefore applicable in such cases and there is nothing in the Bill to show on what basis the fair rent is proposed to be fixed. If the fair rent is to be revised at all in any case, it need only be in the cases of those, who apply for such fixation in cases of dispute. As it is, the bill contemplates the payment of the necessary expenses to the Rent Settlement Authority by the landholder. It must certainly be met, by those who seek modification of the rent. The present bill enables tenants to get back from landholders the excess rent if any, paid by him, if the fair rent to be fixed happens to be lower. This is a one-sided and inequitable provision. The landholder also should be allowed to recover any excess rent due if the fair rent is found to be higher than the contract rent.

(iv) **Furnishing of security.** The present Bill has taken away the right of the landholder to demand any security, or one years pattom, in advance for the prompt payment of the rent. Since the tenant is to get fixity of tenure, it will be extremely difficult to enable the land owner to collect the rent, in cases in which the tenant wilfully or otherwise neglects cultivation, or evades payment, or in cases in which it will not be possible to recover the arrears, even if a civil suit is filed. It is therefore essential that the existing right to demand security from the tenant should not be interfered with at all.

(v) **Option to pay rent in kind or money** The Bill gives the tenant the option to pay the rent in kind or in money. This new departure from the original act is tantamount to transfering the status of the landholder to the tenant, who has never asked for it, or deserves it. This provision is the most unkindest cut of all in the Bill; for it will be placing the landholder in the humiliating position of purchasing paddy or rice for his domestic requirements either in the open market or from ration shops. This is an extra-ordinary position and cannot be justified and it will render the landholders' position miserable. Is it for this purpose that persons have been investing their savings in land? Market prices generally vary widely and periodically, and while the tenant gets advantage by being able to dispose of the paddy at rates most favourable to him, the landholder will get from him rent at money value at reduced rate The landholder, on the other hand, will have to purchase paddy at exhorbitant rates and is placed in a double disadvantage. The right to recover the rent in kind (paddy) only must always be their, landholder being given the option to get it in money, if he so desires.

(vi) **Renewal Fee**. The new Bill does away altogether with the renewal fee, which has been a regular and periodical income for Jenmies, including religious institutions. In fairness to the Jenmies, it is necessary that they should get at least one year's rent every 12 years, so as to enable them to meet periodical extra expenses connected with the improvement of the land, or the institutions concerned. In the case of Kanamdars who default to pay the rent to the Jenmy for more than 3 consecutive years, the Bill gives the tenant the power to purchase the Kanamdar's right over the property by paying a specific amount stated in the Bill. This right, we submit, should be vested in the Jenmy himself, and not in the tenant

(vii) The Bill as it is, is made applicable to the whole of Malabar, though it is well recognised that conditions of tenure etc. differ immensely in South Malabar from those in North

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Malabar. A different set of procedure and rules may well be adopted for the 2 areas.

Conclusion. In view of the facts and circumstances stated above we emphatically protest against the proposed Bill. If passed into law, it will seriously upset the existing social order and the economic structure in the district. It will have the effect of placing the landholders at the mercy of the tenants and eventually reducing the owner to a position of poverty and economic distress. It is a well recognised rule that lands in Malabar are private 'Jenmams' of the landholders, unlike land in other districts and to deprive them of such a right, without payment of adequate compensation, is very unfair and opposed to all cannons of law. In any case, the Bill cannot be given retrospective effect and should not be made applicable to land-holders, who possess only 10 acres or less per head, in each family. We respectfully pray that the Bill be abandoned altogether, in the interest of peace, contentment and security in the land.

Kollengode,

2--9--1950.

LANDHOLDERS.

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PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

of

HARI KRISHNA JHAJHARIA

at the Ninth Annual General Meeting

of the

CALCUTTA

YARN MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION

Held On 20th January, 1951

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PRESIDENT'S SPEECH
1951

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CALCUTTA YARN MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION,
89, CROSS STREET, CALCUTTA - 7.

Circular No.1/1951. Dt. 22nd January, 1951.

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as elected at the 9th Annual General Meeting held on 20th Jan.'51.

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2. Mr. Chhaganlal Ladhabhai (M/s.Dwarkesh & Co)

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2. Mr. Kapurchand Modi (M/s.Kapurchand & Co)

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2. Mr. Hirjee Thackersey (M/s.Sunderdas Thackersey & Bros)
3. Mr. Radha Charan Roy (M/s.Ashutosh Roy Profulla Kumar Roy)
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M.G. Goenka

Hony. Secretary.

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Presidential Speech of

HARI KRISHNA JHAJHARIA

At the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Yarn Merchants' Association held on 20th January, 1951.

GENTLEMEN,

In welcoming you all to the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Association, I may be permitted to remind you that this is the first Annual General Meeting of the Association after the birth of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. The ceremony of January 26, has its own significance for the new Order of Things. The Report on the working of the Association and the Audited Accounts for the years ending 1948 and 1949 have been in your hands for sometime and before I request you to adopt the same, I would, in keeping with the well-known conventions of Trades Associations and Chambers of Commerce, all over the world and in keeping with the traditions of our own, like to review the political and economic situation during the past year to indicate the repercussion of the situation on the position and prospects of Commerce and Industry.

Gentlemen, since we met last, many important events of far-reaching effects have taken place not only on the country but even on international spheres and momentous decisions, affecting almost every sphere of human activities, have been made. No longer can we businessmen remain aloof from politics as now more than ever political events have great bearing on economic matters. Not only

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that, world events exert a great influence on policies pursued by individual nations. The splendid isolationism of the 19th Century can ill fit in with a world so closely knit by political and economic ties. It is one world indeed in which internationalism has come to play a very important role. And in the context of of international events, situations and developments, we will have to consider its conflicts as well as co-operation. It is incumbent on us to keep abreast of world events if we are not to be out of the picture and if we are not to be suddenly overpowered by the force of world events.

Gentlemen, the past few months witnessed not only within this country but also in the international sphere events and developments that carried with them potential dangers. In the Far East, we see the world facing the possibility of a conflagration of the magnitude of the last world-war, while nearer home our northern frontiers are menaced by warlike disturbances that tend to jeopardise the integrity of our nation. Our neighbouring State of Tibet has become a victim of the aggressive designs of Red China and this has come as a shock to the democratic countries who were expecting a more peaceful solution of China's claims on Tibetian territory. This has been followed by a grave political unrest in the neighbouring State of Nepal. The time has come for the setting aside of all petty considerations and to look to the safety of our country. Our leaders must be called upon to stamp out all anti-social and disruptionist elements inside the land with a firm hand. The nation must be called upon to help the Government to put our house in order. It is, however, heartening that our Prime Minister has been ceaselessly active to avoid a conflagration by directing our foreign policy towards promotion of peace, good-will and harmony among the neighbouring countries as also to en-

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sure maintenance of India's friendly relations with them. As so eloquently said by Sri Nehru at a recent banquet given by him in honour of the Australian Prime Minister Mr. Robert Menzies, "We go to London for the common good, but I take it primarily the purpose of our going to London is to find the way to peace. That is the urgent problem of every country and the world."

To turn to India. Gentlemen, we are meeting today under the shadow of a very deep calamity. Sardar Patel, the iron-man and life-blood of India is no more among us The passing away of such a noble soul, an unmatched warrior in the cause of freedom, a great servant of the people, and a statesman of mighty achievement is a grievous and an irreparable loss to the people of India. I must be failing in my duty if I did not pay my humble homage to that great Indian leader. In failing health he continued, without rest or respite, his service to India. To him alone belongs the credit of saving this country from the humiliation of being unable to manage its own affairs. His is the Golden Voice which the industrialists and businessmen hear and go on striving. To him alone belongs the credit for the only worthwhile achievement by the Government in the past three years of the unification of the whole country and maintaining its stability against all disruptive forces. For this alone even if his other achievements in the realm of maintenance of law and order with a firm hand is discounted, he will be remembered with pride and admiration as the greatest Indian of his time. It is for us to follow the shining example of his devotion to duty, his steadfastness, and discipline, and thus to achieve in an ever-growing degree that free and strong and prosperous India for which he laboured.

The country has attained political independence, but economic freedom for the general mass of its people still

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remains to be achieved. If 1948 was a year of political consolidation, 1949 was a year in which the people as well as the Government became conscious of the stupendous economic task ahead of the country. "It was a year of economic self-interpretation, of the growing awareness that India must produce or perish, of progressive preparedness for enhanced output at cheaper cost." But the economic condition in the country has been causing a great deal of anxiety. It is a melancholy thought when one realises how we have missed the years of opportunity and stand now where we were. While Australia and Canada and other countries have in war-time been transformed from primary producers into exporters of manufactures, it is unfortunate we have made little progress, and that with all the available resources and markets inside the country. The Government have only recently been able to turn its attention from political to economic problems.

Gentlemen, the advent of independence raised the expectations of the common man who lacked food, clothing and other necessities of daily life but these expectations have been falsified and belied. The Government have not been able to arrest the progress of inflation, characterised by wages chasing the prices, by an all-round effort to increase production. Conditions of world-wide shortage prevailing in the aftermath of war aggravated the situation giving rise to a wide-spread sense of frustration and discontent in the country and its volume seems to be increasing. Prices are ruling high. They are not going downwards as expected by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister of the Government of India. No doubt there has been a fall in wholesale prices in 1950 when compared to 1949, but if compared to 1947, then nothing appreciable and if to 1939—there has been a drastic rise. The wholesale prices of food when compared to 1939 is now nearly three times

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and the index numbers for semi-manufactured, manufactured articles and articles in the miscellaneous group showed a rise varying from 0.3% to 0.6% at the end of June 1950. And the reason is not far to seek. Beginning almost with the end of war, there has been a steady decline in production and a deterioration of the economic situation in the country. Unsatisfactory relations between labour and capital, conflicting statements from responsible quarters on the future economic pattern of the country and transport difficulties have been the main factors responsible for this disquieting situation. Every one seems to be worried about the fast deterioration that has taken place in the economic situation to improve which organised and all-round efforts should be made. Several methods have been suggested but unfortunately we have not been able to get the right grip. The various measures adopted by the Central Government have, to some extent, improved the situation but it looks as though a greater and an all-round effort on the part of everybody is needed to produce satisfactory results. It is a happy augury that our illustrious Prime Mnister has realised the gravity of the situation and we are glad to find that serious and earnest efforts are now being made by the Government to stop the deterioration. I may state, at the very outset, that present unsatisfactory economic situation in the country is primarily due to want of a firm policy on the part of the Union Government in regard to export and import, food and in the trade relations with Pakistan. A firm policy in these matters will greatly help to improve the situation.

The next important thing that is necessary to stop the deterioration is the reduction of cost and bringing down prices all round. The policy of control, which was adopted by the Central Government as a war measure, is unfortunately being continued. This has necessitated the sett-

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ing up of a very big and costly admnistrative machinery which drains a good deal of resources of the country. It is admitted on all hands that in times of emergency, and particularly during the war, the controls are a neccssity but that immediately after the war, efforts should have been made to bring the country's economy to normal position by slowly and gradually reverting to the policy of decontrol. The Government of India made a beginning in this direction on the advice of the Father of the Nation but did not allow sufficient time for things to adjust themselves and went back to the policy of controls on all fronts. How far the policy of control will help to improve the economic stability of the country is a matter which can be judged only after some lapse of time.

It must be said that controls lead to inordinate delays, unnecessary official interference and corruption of a very high magnitude. I strongly feel that in the interests of the country it is desirable to pursue a policy of gradual decontrol which will not only enable the Government to save crores of rupees which they are now spending on various departments set up for running the controls but will also help them to wipe out corruption, nepotism and blackmarket. The Control Enquiry Committee appointed by the Congress Party in Parliament have recently submitted their report on controls and have expressed the view that a definite step towards decontrol must be taken as early as possible. In their opinion "the ever-increasing attempt to impose controls on all commodities should be stopped and it should be realised that in a world of rising prices any attempt to bring down prices in all sectors would not only fail but would lead to dissatisfaction and disastrous consequences". We find, however, a shift from the policy of progressive decontrol which was pursued by the Government sometime ago, to one of restrictions

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and more controls. Apart from the harm done to industry and trade, controls also contribute to greater unemployment due to non-utilisation of the normal trade channel. The country today is faced with the problem of growing unemployment particularly among the middle-class. Dean Inge in a well-known essay "In the end of an Age" cites Euripides in support of his long-cherished belief that the salvation of a country depends upon its middle class. And it should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that if this class is destroyed it will be the surest way to unfurl the flag of unsocial and ante-social activities. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind when I say that if in India the middle class is not saved from extinction there will be in this country the darkness at noon. Thousands of people have been thrown out of jobs and the middleman seems to be in imminent danger of being totally annihilated. The place of these expert handlers of business and trade is being taken by an inefficient bureaucracy which must ultimately lead to grave economic waste and confusion.

Taking food first, it is no use denying that there is a shortage of food, admitting everything said about the habits and about the unbalanced diet of the people. The fact is that the food situation of the country has been generally deteriorating for over two decades now. It escaped the Government's attention till the last World War and no adequate and positive steps were taken to correct it. I do appreciate, therefore, that the food problem of the country is being placed now on a war-footing and is being tackled as such at the highest level. But the Food Department of the Government of India has failed to keep its promise to make the country self-sufficient in food by March 1951. This date line has been extended by another year. Failure to keep official promises on a vital matter like food is

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bound to react unfavourably on the public mind. The Hon'ble Food Minister has laid the blame for food shortage on the vagaries of nature and estimated the damage done to Indian crops to the extent of 6 million tons. If nature were to decide whether India should be self-sufficient in food or not, one wonders what utility the Food Ministry serves. The late Sardar Patel disclosed that the food shortage amounts to 6 or 7 per cent and it is rather discouraging that the Government cannot meet a deficit of 7 per cent by internal production while Britain doubled her production in the early years of war. The official figures for food have been challenged during the food shortage. The population of India is 320 millions; her per capita adult consumption of food is about half a seer per day. In order to calculate the total quantity of food required to feed 320 millions, the total population must be converted into adult population by multiplying with ·8 according to the Famine Commission Report. This gives an adult population of 260 millions. Total food required at the rate of 3½ seers per week works out at about 43 million tons while official figures for food production for the last three years, viz., 1948, 1949, 1950 respectively are 44.39, 44.26 and 45.84 million tons. Therefore the shortage means seed grain and waste.

The Government again have been faced with a situation to provide for import of 5 million tons of foodgrain during the years 1950-52. to meet the country's demand and keep a reserve of 1 million tons by 1952 as a safeguard against future failure of crops. When there is no other alternative to food import, I would suggest that Government should encourage import of food through private trade channels which would facilitate larger imports within shortest time at competitive prices leading to easing down of the situation earlier and paving the way for gradual re-

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moval of controls for the restoration of the economy of the country to normalcy.

Let me now refer to our own sphere of trade of Yarn which is an important factor contributing to the economic welfare of India as it is inalienably connected with the trade of cloth. Here again the economic position of our country is drifting from bad to worse. In the yarn trade prices have gone up, production has come down, and distribution under the control regime has greatly suffered. Consumers do not get supplies. During and inspite of controls, for over four years after the war, these evils are progressively on the increase year after year and the move has reached the zenith this year (1949-'50).

The Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, 1943 was promulgated as a war-time measure on the 17th June, 1943, and the Bengal Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, 1943 on the 19th October, 1943 in supplementation of the Government of India's aforesaid control order. As a result of this arrangement Bengal traders were disallowed to continue their time-old business with those in Bihar, Assam and Orissa as also some States under the Eastern Agency, which has been so long supplied from the Calcutta market. This provincial feature of the control administration which was greatly influenced naturally by political parties succeeding one after another in forming Ministries chocked the normal trade channel. Since then the control measures passed through various phases, changing its object, colour and creed. This huge experiment of a war-time measure came to us as a bad legacy and practically saw its end in early part of 1948, when the trade breathed a sigh of relief. Little did they know that this relief was much short-lived as it reappeared in a drastic form on the 30th July, 1948. When the control was lifted it had nearly reached its normal level and if it was allowed

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to take its course, in all probability, it would have reached the normal state. At this time goods were being sold at 10 and 15% less than the ex-mill prices. The hoarding habit was fast disappearing and even though production was not fast increasing a sort of confidence was being created in the minds of traders and consumers regarding the position of supplies. But this envious situation created a stir among those who had reaped the benefits of controls and who raised a hue and cry in the name of the people and control was re-imposed and thrusted upon the people though it has already proved to be a huge futile experiment.

Before the introduction of controls in 1943, the Textile Industry had reached a pitch of efficiency and textile products of this country could stand favourable competition with any similiar goods of foreign make. Due to war conditions, stoppage of import etc. the prices had risen high and while there was some justification of controlling them, the method and manner which were employed have crippled the industry and ruined the morals of man. The foreigners killed two birds in one shot. The industry which had enjoyed the fruits of protection for years had to suddenly pass under control. But the strength of their unity soon got them the advantages of production which gave them large profits and at the same time slowly destroyed their qualities. Not only did they spoil their name in their own markets but even in foreign lands.

For the last four years, during and in spite of active control, prices had not relented to help the masses. There is nothing to show that the prices will oblige them because of controls. No positive effort of any consequence had been discovered since, to bring down the prices. No body ever thinks that prices will obey the commands of persons,

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however authoritative. The only way to control prices known to me lies in the increase of supply. So long the supply of commodities remains short of demand, prices make no secret of relentless rule. In the absence of any positive endeavours to increase the supply position, the resultant scarcity reigned and has been reigning supreme. It is natural to think that short supply and higher prices go together.

I may now bring home to you some of the figures of the current prices of different counts of Indian Mill made yarn, foreign yarn, and the prices of the former as ruled on 31st July, 1948 when re-imposition of control was announced by the Government, after a lapse of one month of decontrol.

Prices are per bundle of 10 lbs.

Counts.	Current retail rates for Indian Mill made yarn.	Current rates for foreign yarn.	Rates as ruled on 31-7-'48 for Indian Mills Yarn.
1	2	3	4
20s	Rs. 17 4 6	22 8 0	22 8 0
30s	,, 21 15 0	31 0 0	25 6 0
40s	,, 24 10 3	39 0 0	33 4 0
60s	,, 45 5 6	57 0 0	64 4 0
80s	,, 50 12 6	94 0 0	90 0 0
100s	,, 61 2 6	122 0 0	——

It will be evident from the foregoing table that the current rates (i.e., 15-7-'50) for the Indian Yarn (in column 2) is the retail ceiling rate fixed by the government. When this is compared with the prices of foreign yarn of the same count, vast differences can be seen. The disparity in prices of identical counts of the two varieties on the same date in the same market clearly shows the ceiling prices fixed by the Government are unworkable.

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Supplies of Indian Mills yarn for distribution under control prices at such low level did not see the light of the day as market sales indicated. The disparity in prices of the two varieties is a glaring comment on the ceiling prices fixed which are responsible for generating malpractices. The policy of the Government has much to account for this uneconomic fixation. The next item of disparity in prices deducible from columns 2 and 3, shows that the price of foreign yarn at the present moment on counts 30s, 40s and 60s is greater than the prices of Indian Mills yarn (column 4 of the table) which ruled on 31st July, 1948. The re-imposition of control on 31st July, 1948 had no effect on the market in bringing down the prices as the same counts of foreign yarn are selling to-day at a higher level. These facts do not lend any support to the view that the decontrol necessarily is a greater evil at present than it really is. The heaven will not fall down as apprehended if decontrol is announced.

There are ample potentialities and capacity for producing not only to meet our country's demand but also to export. The reasons for less production is mainly due to the various obstacles hurdled in the path of enthusiastic working. The control, method of fixing rates and distribution, government's indifferent pronouncement of unworkable policies from time to time, are the main items amongst others to impede production. Anyhow an artificial man-made scarcity has been brought to prevail. Goods are not available at controlled rates and about 50% more than the ceiling price, I understand, is paid.

In order that prices may come down under conditions of scarcity the State had resorted to cutting down the profits due to the producer. The result of this action, the compulsory cut in the margin of profits of the producer and dealer by periodical review of ceilings, has been

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a sore cause of friction often healed by appeasement offered to the producer. Such cuts in the profits have begun starting trouble in the production programme, beginning with evasions of orders of the Government and ending with the closure of the mills with attendant evils thereof. The process of this struggle had continued for sometime. The producer who had organised the industry cannot be and is not a small factor in the scheme of production to be easily displaced.

Review of the development of the Cotton Textile Industry in India made available shows that the total quantity of mill yarn produced during the half-year January-July 1950 was 712.96 million lbs. out of which mills consumed 538.46 million lbs. Out of the surplus available after meeting defence requirements and export commitments, 133.88 million lbs. of yarn were released to the States for distribution to handloom industry, power-loom industry and other miscellaneous consumers. It is estimated that about 76% of this quantity was made available for consumption to the handloom industry. The average capacity of yarn consumption by composite mills in India is about 1,000 million lbs. per annum. The demands of handloom industry have been placed at 480 million lbs. of yarn per annum. To compare the figures of production, the production of yarn for the first 9 months of 1950 was 883.3 million lbs. as against 1359.1 million lbs. during the previous whole year. It is thus evident that the country is in short supply of yarn, one of the essential commodities, which is intimately connected with the production of cloth, the most important article useful to mankind coming next to food. You will also realise that on account of the fall in the production, encouragement of exports and increased domestic requirements of yarn, like almost all other controls, the control

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on yarn has failed to achieve its main object of making it available to consumers at cheaper prices. Again import of cotton yarns of all descriptions during the year under report came up to 14089023 lbs. as against 11083443 lbs. in 1948-'49. In case of Art Silk Yarns, the total imports amounted to 36939060 lbs. as against 39970056 lbs. in 1948-'49. Imports of cotton yarns of all descriptions during the year under report valued Rs. 57686331 as against Rs. 45011261 in 1948-'49. The imports of Art Silk Yarns during the same period valued Rs. 104562067 as against Rs. 128278636 in 1948-'49. On the contrary during the year under report, the total exports of yarn was 62293509 lbs. as against only 7407540 lbs. in 1948-,49. Exports of cotton yarns during the year under report valued Rs. 112972029 as against Rs. 12892643 only in 1948-'49 revealing the stock of yarn on the 31st March 1950 the date line in Bombay Mills to be only 9,000 bales each of 400 lbs. out of which 5,000 were sold and 4,000 were unsold. If India can attain her target fixed for production in yarn, she need not have to go with a begging bowl to foreign countries for yarn except for some of our requirements in cotton for the time-being till we become self-sufficient in course of time. It is discouraging to note that we have been fast losing our old and established markets in Far and Middle East. No doubt, due to high prices our yarn fetches in new markets, our economic equillibrium is maintained but so far as normal channels of trade are concerned, it will take years to establish ourselves in newly required markets.

After a considerable experience of eight years, barring one month in 1948, the control on yarn is found to be a headache to the Government and to every citizen of this country. Huge amounts are spent in the administration on this unworkable control. It has led to vast

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corruption, favouritism and malpractices. Nobody it at peace. For the merchants the controls created troubles, losses and sufferings. They were hated, distrusted, and and despised. Inadequate margins of profit, divided their ranks, and started disruption among them. Their cordial relation with manufacturers were greatly harmed and they were practically displaced from their legitimate channels. Brandished as blackmarketers they are to-day hanging in hope between the devil and the deep sea. The consumers for whom the controls were created are still crying for real relief. While the controls have hopelessly failed to bring forth any happy result for any of these three classes, they have certainly established an industry for the organisation concerned. It has provided livelihood to hundreds of officials and thousands of clerks. If a proper account of the cost of controls is presented to the nation the tax-payer will realise how much more he has paid to get his cloth through the control. Naturally therefore even though the controls have failed to achieve its object, and have created bribery, corruption and such other unsocial practices, they are still sought to be preserved in the name of the people with no justification. The discussions at the Nasik Congress Session have clearly shown the trend of opinion. Congress leaders and those in power have satisfied themselves that the evils of controls have deteriorated the morals of the people, have not brought the desired relief and if further continued in this way, may result in greater disasters. Real progress can only be achieved when the producers, distributors and rulers co-operate and co-ordinate their activities without distrust among one another.

Efforts have been made to replace the trade channnels by co-operative societies but that experiment having failed another experiment of State Trading is being tried.

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Efforts in this direction have failed to achieve desired results. In a land where bribery, corruption and such other unsocial practices are spreading like wild fire, and where production is poor, State Trading by inexperienced personnel is likely to perpetuate the evil rather than destroy it. Again trading activities require credit facilities and capacity to bear risk. Not only in this country but all throughout the world it has been proved beyond doubt that experienced trade channels alone can perform these functions successfully. It is, therefore, entirely a wrong approach on the part of the Government to eliminate trade channels because a section of it may have misbehaved.

I believe under such circumstances that the controls must go without any more delay. The viewpoint of the eminent scientist Sir C. V. Raman regarding controls may be quoted here with advantage. Inaugurating the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Sugar Technologists' Association of India, Sir Raman said "Controls would lead them nowhere for one control led to another control without any end. The Government may change their policies and reverse them often as they like. But they must understand that human society is as delicate as a chronometer instrument, the slightest intervention with which results in enormous breakdown. The affairs of a country are best managed by the people themselves." There are no two opinions about the manifold benefits to be derived from a wholesale elimination of controls. Decontrol and consequent return to nomalcy in trade can alone minimise the shortage crisis, nay displace it altogether by the desired availability of goods in the market at a fair price to meet the growing and increased demand by way of greater production and better and sure supply. It is time that Government takes courage in both hands and takes

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steps to do away with control as soon as possible. It is likely that on removal of controls, prices of certain articles which may be in short supply will rise but I feel that ultimately it will be to the benefit of all concerned as the benefits are likely to outweigh all disadvantages. In the case of yarn, the evils of expected aftermath of decontrol could be successfully and quickly avoided if (a) the producing centres were formed with a little bit of impetus by the Central authority in lifting up stringent measures imposed upon production, (b) if exportation of the particular commodity, if there be any, be stopped forthwith and (c) if unwanted varieties were no more forced upon the public. There is much truth in the say, "free the market and the market will be free and adjust itself to the currents of events and ways of men."

A word to the State Government. This Association, a bonafide and genuine body and the only representative body in West Bengal regulating more than 98% of the yarn trade of the Province has never been given represention on the Textile Advisory Board. Not only that, the willing hand of co-operation offered by the commercial community of the trade concerned has been ruthlessly turned down by the Government. I regret to inform you that, though the Ministry before Partition thought it advisable to entrust the work to this Association during the regime of the last control days, we did not succeed to to get a similiar ready response this time on account of the stolid indifference shown by the Government. I would therefore like to remind the Government that the trade channels are essential parts of the society and they cannot be permanently eliminated. I therefore appeal to Government to give this matter their most earnest consideration and re-instate the trade channels in their places without any further delay. Let me assure the Govern-

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ment that we the commercial community are ever willing and ready to play our part in this direction and we except in turn from the Government to consult the trade and commerce before embarking on any new policies of far-reaching importance or making any modifications/changes in the existing structures.

Before I close I must record here my warm appreciation of the keen interest that our Honorary Secretary, Mr. M. L. Patodia, has evinced in the day-to-day activities of the Association, and to offer my sincerest thanks to my colleagues on the Committee, the members in general and the staff for the devotion with which they have performed their duties throughout the year.

With these words, Gentlemen, I now propose that the Annual Report be adopted and the Audited Accounts passed.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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NEWS-LETTER
OF THE
ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL

VOL. I ★ NEW DELHI, AUGUST 15, 1953 ★ NO. I

GIFT OF IRAQI DATES FOR AIWFC

IN recognition of the services rendered by the All India Women's Food Council in popularising non-cereal food in India, the date Association of Iraq presented a gift of 70 cases of seedless Iraqi Dates to the Council on the 23rd June '53. The gift was formally handed over by His Excellency Mr. Salim Al-Radi, Ambassador of Iraq in India to Dr. Sushila Nayar, Chairman of Delhi State Branch of the Council A distinguished gathering, including the Ambassadors of Indonesia and Sweden and High Commissioners of Pakistan and Ceylon, several Ministers of the Indian Union and leading citizens of Delhi, was present.

Iraq, Mr. Al-Radi said, was the largest date-producing country in the world with a total annual production of 300,000 tons.

Mr. Al-Radi proceeded, "I must say that the women of India are playing a worthy role through the All India Women's Food Council in popularising non-cereal food to lessen the demand for wheat and rice, and in changing the food habits of the people.

"It is in appreciation of the good work of the All-India Women's Food Council that the Date Association of Iraq has been pleased in making this gift of 70 cases of Zahdi and Saver dates to the Council."

The gift suggests that Annapoorna should include dates among foods popularized by it.

The dates were put on sale at the cafeterias of the Council and were sold out everywhere within a week of the presentation.

H. E. Mr. Salim Al-Radi, Ambassador for Iraq in India presenting a gift of Iraqi Dates to the All India Women's Food Council.

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SCHOOL OF CATERING OPENED IN MADRAS BY LABOUR MINISTER

DR. U. Krishna Rao, Minister for Industries and Labour, Madras, inaugurated the School of Catering organised by the All-India Women's Food Council, Madras State Branch, in Madras on July 10. Mr. A. B. Shetty, Minister for Health presided.

Miss Dorothy M. Pearson, Chairman of the School, welcoming the Minister said "Food should be prepared in such a way that it will be a pleasure to eat. Equally important, is, that it should be handled in a sanitary way." She said that catering was a problem, and there were very few places which were run properly.

Mrs. Mary Clubwala, Honorary Secretary of the Madras Branch of the A.I.W.F.C., speaking at the function, said that welfare organisations and housewives had been asking them to run short-term courses in catering. She made it clear that there was no guarantee to employ the trainees in the cafeterias. The School was run by a committee of both officials and non-officials. Trainees were given certificates at the end of the course.

Mr. Shetty praised the work of the Women's Food Council, and stressed the need for propaganda on the use of subsidiary foods The problem of alternative foods had become more important, because of the shortage of rice. He said that rice-eaters should be taught how various palatable and nutritious dishes could be made with wheat, millet, tubers, etc.

Thirty students, men and women, joined the school, where besides instruction in theory, practical training was given in cooking and catering. Visits to important kitchens and canteens were also arranged.

WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL RECONSTITUTED

MRS. DESHMUKH APPOINTED SECRETARY

THE Government of India have reconstituted the All India Women's Food Council for a further period of one year with effect from the 1st September, 1953, with Mrs. Rajbansi Devi as President and Mrs. Lilavati Munshi as Vice-President, Mrs. B. Tara Bai, Miss Shiva Dua and Mrs. Vimla Deshmukh as Honorary Secretaries. Other members of the Council are Mrs. Uma Nehru, Mrs. Man Mohini Sahgal, Mrs. Datar Singh, Mrs. Tyamina Talyarkhan, Mrs. Jer. H. Mehta, Mrs. Jyotsna Shah and Dr. Sushila Nayar, Chairman, Delhi State Branch, A.I.W.F.C., Lady Protima Mitter, Chairman, West Bengal Branch, Mrs. Shakuntala Subramanian, Chairman, Madras Branch, Mrs. Radha Devi Goenka, Chairman, Akola Branch, Mrs. Shanta Kher, Chairman, U.P. Branch, Mrs. Babiben Mooliji Dayal, Vice-Chairman, Bombay Branch and Chairman, Hyderabad Branch.

CATERING SERVICES IN ITALY

MR. P.C. Rajpal, Chief of the Annapoorna organisation who left for a study tour of the continental countries and U.K. on a fellowship awarded by the F.A O., in the middle of May, has completed his observation of the various feeding services in Italy and is now touring other countries.

Mr. Rajpal was very cordially received in Italy and has been conducted round the various catering establishments of the Air Services, Restaurants, Canteens, Cafes, including cafeterias run by social organisations and industrial managements.

Italy has a chain of cafeterias run by a Social Organisation called ONARMO which is supported by the Church and State for running cheap catering establishments for students, labourers and general public. Both the Church and State help ONARMO cafeterias with free accommodation, light, water, equipment furniture etc. wherever possible. ONARMO serves food 15 to 20% cheaper than the usual

Shree A. G. Kher, Speaker of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, with Mrs. Munshi and others after the opening of the Annapoorna Refreshment Room at the Lucknow Railway Station.

market rates. There are Italian doctors and other experts who render free services to train the staff of ONARMO cafeterias. Industrial Canteens in Italy are generally run by the managements as a welfare measure and are subsidised so that food can be supplied to workers at cheap rates. Arrangements exist for special meals at similar subsidised prices to be supplied to manual workers and the sick.

Before his return in November this year Mr. Rajpal will visit France, Holland, Belgium, Sweden and England.

ANNAPOORNA AT LUCKNOW STATION

AN Annapoorna refreshment room was opened at Lucknow Junction on July, 18.

Mr. A.G. Kher, Speaker of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, who inaugurated the cafeteria,

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congratulated the All India Women's Food Council. Mr. Kher said it was a commendable venture which would benefit a large number of railway passengers.

Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Vice-President, A.I.W.F.C., said that it was proposed to attach an Annapoorna dining car to the Lucknow-Katihar Mail of the North-Eastern Railway. Mrs. Munshi expressed her appreciation of the co-operation of the Railways with the Women's Food Council in its work.

ALL INDIA WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL MAKES WHEAT POPULAR IN MADRAS

MRS. PHILLIP'S PROPAGANDA TOUR

ADDRESSING the first annual conference of the All India Women's Food Council in August 1951, the then Union Minister for Food & Agriculture said that the efforts of the Council to change the food habits of the people were most needed in Madras, which he defined as a part of the rice eating belt in the country.

Mr. Y. B. Chawan, Minister of Civil Supplies, Bombay, who inaugurated the Supplementary Foods Exhibition organised by the Bombay Branch of A. I. W. F. C. in April, with the Office Bearers.

The Madras State Branch of the Women's Food Council took the advice seriously and started active propaganda for popularising wheat in the city of Madras by organising non-cereal cafeterias on different occasions. They have since opened their permanent Annapoorna in the city. This is one of the Branches which did not confine its activities to the city but also penetrated the villages of the State.

Recently, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, impressed with the work of the Branch in popularising wheat, asked Mrs. Phillip, a well known nutritionist and an active member of the Branch who has been doing propaganda for the change of food habits in the State, to undertake a tour of certain parts of Madras with a view to popularising wheat among the people. Mrs Phillip toured for two months through Ramnad and Tanjore districts. During this period she addressed no less than 92 meetings, attended by more than 20,000 men, women and children. Her affectionate talks and convincing arguments drew crowds at the meetings addressed by her. She sold and distributed more than 4 tons of wheat in places visited by her which included a large number of educational institutions. The wheat preparations demonstrated by her were so much relished that in some places, ration shops which had been holding stocks of wheat for months together had to order fresh stocks to meet the new demand for wheat.

A very senior District Officer remarked at one of the meetings, that if the people took the advice of Mrs. Phillip seriously, much of their medical expenses could be avoided. Her visits were specially welcomed by the civil supplies officers and in one place she was told that only if she could stay a little longer, the demand for wheat in the area might entirely replace the demand for rice.

KITCHEN GARDEN COMPETITION

THE Delhi State Branch of the All India Women's Food Council is organising the Kitchen Garden Competition again this year.

Last year more than five hundred competitors from the refugee colonies and bungalows in Delhi took part in the venture.

The competitors are divided into separate categories on the basis of their holdings. The refugee colonies form one separate group and competitors from the colonies are supplied seeds and manure free by the All India Women's Food Council. The bungalow owners and schools and other educational institutions are required to pay entry fee varying between Rs. 2/- and Rs. 5/-. Entry fee is kept low at Rs. -/8/- per entry for entrants from refugee colonies. The awards will be judged by a Board of Judges by personal visits to the competitors' gardens sometime at the end of 1953.

To encourage the Council in its work the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture have made a gift of 200 pounds of high quality vegetable seeds for its use.

INTRODUCTION OF SCHOOL FEEDING SERVICE

PRESENTATION OF HAND CARTS BY DUNLOPS

AT an informal ceremony held at Annapoorna in Calcutta, Mr. Cecil Stack of Messrs Dunlop Rubber Co., India Ltd., presented two handcarts to the All India Women's Food Council, West Bengal Branch for purposes of distribution of tiffin to school children.

Presenting one of the hand-carts, which has been completed, Mr. Stack complimented the All India Women's Food Council and wished it all success in its new venture of supplying food to school children.

The hand-cart which has been on view at Annapoorna in Calcutta is very compact and

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Mr. Cecil Stack of the Dunlop Rubber Co., India Ltd., presenting a hand cart for school feeding service, to the All India Women's Food Council, West Bengal Branch.

well-designed. Being mounted on pneumatic tyers, it is very easy to handle.

The Secretary, Mrs. Subhadra Kaksar, thanked Mr. Stack on behalf of the Branch Committee after which the guests were entertained to Annapoorna food.

ALL INDIA WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL HELPS SOCIAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

THE Social Education Department of Delhi Municipal Committee invited the Delhi State Branch to help them in their work by arranging non-cereal cooking demonstrations at their centres for women. Two demonstrations have already been held at which Mrs. Vimla Deshmukh and Miss Meera Khidwadkar taught the cooking of delicious non-cereal dishes.

ANNAPOORNA OPENED AT PHALTAN

THE Bombay Branch of the All India Women's Food Council opened an Annapoorna at Phaltan in June last. This Cafeteria has been put under the charge of the newly created Phaltan Sub-Branch of the Council. The cafeteria is housed in a two room block in the P. W. D. Buildings and has a small patch of open lawn in front. The staff of nine, which mans this Annapoorna, includes seven women. Most of the visitors to this Annapoorna are semi-literate or illiterate and come from rural areas. They find this change to self-help method and the presence of women rather unacceptable in the begining but their regard for Mrs. Laxmidevi Nimbalkar, who is Chairman of the Phaltan Branch and in whom people have great faith, will soon remove the age old prejudices.

ANNAPOORNA SERVICE HAILED ON RAILWAYS

THE Annapoorna Rail Dining Car has been running between Delhi and Dehradun for nearly three months now. The car is attached to 33 up Delhi-Dehradun Express which leaves Delhi on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays and performs its return trip on Thursdays, Saturdays and Mondays.

In the first three round trips alone the car served nearly 2,500 persons.

The great attraction of Annapoorna is the comparatively cheap prices at which food is served. A cup of tea is available for one anna and refreshing Annapoorna cold drinks can be had for two annas each. A large variety of snacks is sold for one or two annas each. Nutritive and substantial Annapoorna lunches priced at ten annas and one rupee are a speciality. Above all is the fact that unadulterated hygienically cooked food is served neatly to the public.

Before being put on the rails, the Annapoorna Railway Dining Car worked in the Railway Centenary Exhibition for two months and sold food worth forty five thousand rupees and served nearly one hundred and eighty thousand persons.

The Annapoorna Dining Car will now be attached to the Delhi-Madras Weekly Janata Express shortly.

Edited and published by Mr. K. C. Agrawala, Honorary Propaganda Officer, All India Women's Food Council, and printed by Gopi Nath Seth at Navin Press, Delhi.

Memo

Vol. 2 - No. 11 Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations November 1953

FAO Reports Increased Demand For Assistance

THE Expanded Technical Assistance Program (ETAP) of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations is not just an expanded program.

The Organisation's ETAP report for 1952/53 shows it is an expanding expanded program as well.

This report, one of two newly published companion reports on FAO activities for the past year shows that by the end of 1951 more than 100 experts were working in more than 40 underdeveloped countries. By the end of 1952 no less than 532 experts were either at work in the field or had completed their assignments. By the middle of 1953 this figure had increased to 624.

In 1952 expenditure under ETAP was three times the amount spent in the previous year and when the program for 1953 was drawn up at the end of 1952 requests had been received from more than 50 countries for assistance which would have required expenditure of about $10.5 millions.

The new report points out that the majority of the requests for assistance arose logically from projects either completed or being carried out in 1952.

The report says: "Economic development is by definition an expanding process, and work undertaken in one field of activity naturally leads to expansion in others. Thus, under the FAO Program, geologists who survey the soil structure and configuration to plan a dam site will be succeeded by irrigation engineers and agronomists to plan the correct use of water made available when construction is completed. As the irrigated area develops, farm management specialists and experts in crop production will be required."

But, the report points out, lack of money is preventing expansion of assistance to underdeveloped countries proceeding at the rate which the importance of the work demands.

Requests for assistance received by all the agencies administering United Nations Technical Assistance Funds this year could have absorbed $43 million. But payments by countries contributing to the fund have only amounted to $21 million of which FAO's share is $6,700,000 making radical restrictions in the Organisation's work inevitable.

During the first six months of 1953 FAO received 232 requests for Technical Assistance of which 126 were approved for inclusion in future programs, 70 rejected and 36 held over for future consideration.

The report shows how far from the truth is the idea that Technical Assistance is something for nothing.

Certainly the country which successfully applies for experts to investigate its agricultural problems is getting thousands of dollars worth of free advice from some of the world's top experts—but it is advice which usually carries responsibility for national action.

For instance, up to a short time ago F A O had spent $423,694 in its 1953 programme of technical assistance in Pakistan. The money, as the report shows, was spent on a host of problems requiring the services of veterinarians, irrigation engineers, fertiliser experts, refrigeration engineers, hydraulic engineers, geophysicists, statisticians, fisheries consultants, parasitologists, poultry experts—in fact men concerned with almost every aspect of agriculture and related developments. But so far Pakistan's expenditure on the basis of the F A O experts' recommendation has been $117,400 on current expenses and $1,633,000 on capital expenses.

In about the same period FAO has spent $360,449 on ETAP work in India. And India's consequent expenditure

(*continued on page 2*)

● In scores of places where food is to be grown and advice is needed to grow it FAO experts are on the job under ETAP. Here an FAO cotton expert gives a lesson on tractor driving in Afghanistan.

FAO IN A

The Growing Work of FAO

(*continucd from Page* 1)

has been £516,905 current expenditure and $3,874,950 capital expenditure.

Reviewing FAO's ETAP work in almost 60 underdeveloped countries, the report concludes : "The urgent social and political circumstances of the modern world make it essential for the underdeveloped countries to assimilate and apply experience and practice which it has taken other countries decades and centuries to evolve in building the advanced industrial and agricultural economies of the world. In assisting them, the contributing Governments are not only creating prosperity in less fortunate regions of the world but are also laying the foundations for increased prosperity for themselves. Increased production in the underdeveloped world provides not only more food for its own inhabitants but export surpluses of both food and raw materials for the growing needs of the industrialised countries."

FAO's ETAP work is perhaps more dramatic than the Organisation's basic activities. But, as the report on the work of FAO 1952/53 points out, this regular programme is fundamental to the long-term task of accelerating the world's progress in agriculture and nutritional improvement, and thus fundamental to the Expanded Technical Assistance Program.

In the introduction to his report on the work of FAO for 1952-53, Mr. Norris E. Dodd. Director-General of the Organisation, says that changing circumstances have brought about a progressive change in FAO's activities, without, however, departing from its major objective of achieving freedom from want.

In the years immediately following its formation in 1945 the Organisation was primarily concerned with collecting, collating and distributing information on agriculture and allied subjects : with studying and appraising conditions and future trends in these fields; with advising on and coordinating international action and with distributing technical information to producers.

Inauguration of ETAP in 1949 had made it possible for the Organisation to take a more active role in world agriculture and food problems.

FAO's main responsibilities now, says Mr. Dodd, are:-

1. Maintaining an intelligence service for member governments and for its own staff to be utilised in the action programmes it operates.

2. Framing and developing action programs to supplement those initiated by governments and in which FAO, on the request of such governments, is in a position to participate."

Introducing the exhaustive summary of the work carried out during the year by FAO, Mr. Dodd continues : "The services which FAO has been supplying to member governments during the past year cover widely differing fields. Help in preparing national agriculture development plans was given by FAO; staff members during 1952-53 visited almost every country in the Far and Near East and Latin America to discuss programs for increased production with the officials concerned. Regional policy formulation was assisted through FAO participation in regional meetings of the UN regional economic commissions, such as the meeting of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East early in 1953, at which FAO presented a study on the economic problems of rice in Asia, and the meeting of the Economic Commission for Latin America at Rio de Janeiro in June 1953. Governments have increasingly realised the importance of reform in land tenure systems and other aspects of agrarian policy and FAO has collaborated with UN in the preparation of the Secretary General's questionnaire on land reform. Special studies were undertaken by FAO staff members in preparation for the Latin American Land Problems Seminar which was held in Brazil in May 1953 and was attended by 39 participants from 12 countries."

Mr. Dodd concludes his introduction to his report : " Progress as a result of example is sound progress. It is slow in its initial stages, but as each example proves itself good, it is taken up by others and again by others. Thus progress grows faster, and wider in its influence, by geometric progression. Just so, the work carried out during the past year by FAO, though small compared with the task yet to be done, is by no means insignificant. It will achieve full fruition in years ahead, far beyond the present area of our accomplishments, and in ways the benefit of which cannot yet be foretold."

Editorial Liaison

The Editorial Liaison Office of FAO is organised to provide the technical press with documentation of FAO programs, conferences, special meetings, etc. Apart from printed publications and periodicals, there is a great deal of valuable technical material available in mimeographed form, and editors are invited to state their special interests.

Voucher copies of journals in which FAO documents, publications are dealt with assist this office in direcing further documentation. Serialization of FAO monographs and booklets is encouraged, if full acknowledgement is made to FAO. To avoid duplication it is advisable to write to this office before serialisation is begun.

Fisheries in Li

With about 7,400 square miles of fishing grounds, Liberia is only now fully realising the sea's possibilities as a source of animal proteins in which the average Liberian diet is deficient.

Dutch fisheries experts, Jan and Hubertus van Pel, sent to Liberia under FAO's Expanded Technical Assistance programme last year, found most of the fishing in the area being carried out from crude canoes carved from whole tree trunks. Nets and other fishing gear, they found, were generally not suited to the area.

As a result fish landings were small and prices high. Practically all the fish landed was eaten in coastal areas since bad roads made transport of fresh fish to the interior almost impossible.

So Hubertus van Pel set up a class in fish net weaving and he and his assistants wove practically all the nets used in subsequent fishing by the team.

On the advice of the two experts that fish yields could only be increased by the use of more modern fishing boats, FAO provided a Danish motor fishing boat and also an outboard motor which was installed in a Liberian boat.

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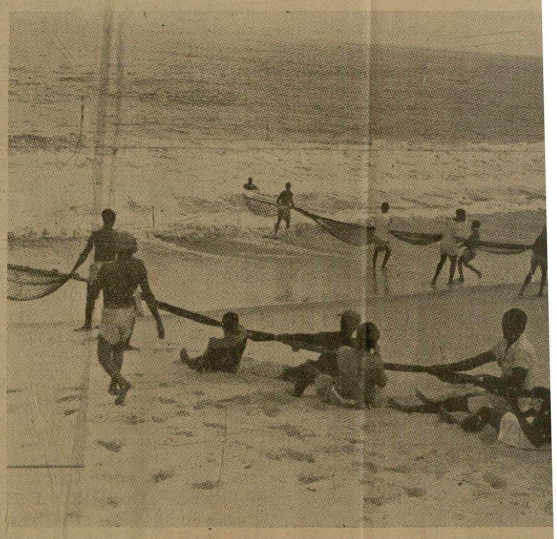


Liberia, with 7,000 square miles of fishing grounds off her coas
advice and help to exploit them now—not just in netting, as in th
modern motor fishing vessels as well.

ACTION

in Liberia

With the motorised boats and the new gear the van Pels, assisted by crews of Liberian trainees, have trawled as far as ten miles from the coast bringing in large catches of fish. They have sold most of their catches at low prices to people in Liberia's capital of Monrovia who were previously unable to afford fish.

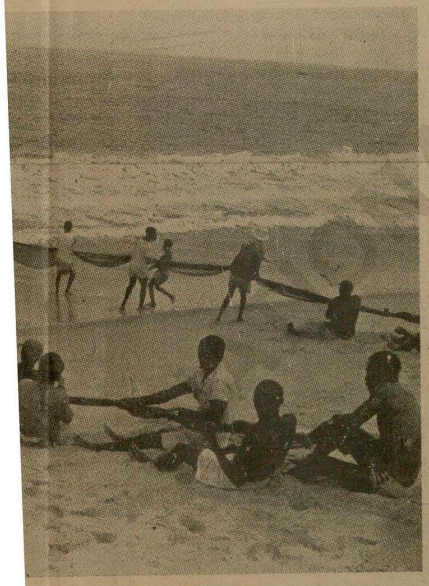
They have also demonstrated methods of curing fish - by smoking, sun-drying and salting - which are very much superior to the local methods.

What's more they have focussed attention in Liberia on the advantages of motorised fishing.

Two or three private groups have already set plans going for the operation of motor-powered vessels and others are very interested in the idea.

Just a short time ago Jan van Pel reported :

"I think it can be proved that if motor fishing boats are given to capable Liberians on the instalment system, the boat can be paid off (without bad luck) in a little more than a year's time."



shing grounds off her coast is starting, with FAO
t just in netting, as in these pictures, but with

Fishing Boat Congress

Men have been taking fish from the seas for a longer time than written history records - yet the first international conference in history on fishing boat design was held, under FAO sponsorship only last month.

It was a snowball conference which was built up from the initial impetus provided by a paper on "Improvement of the Efficiency of Fishing Vessels", written by FAO naval architect Jan-Olof Traung and published in the FAO "Fisheries Bulletin" two years ago.

This paper caused enormous interest among boat builders. As far as FAO experts are aware, there is not one up to-date book on fishing boat design available in Western Europe or America - nor even an old-fashioned book for that matter. Even in general works on naval architecture fiishing boat design is seldom discussed.

Designers and builders of fishing boats have been hampered for years by this lack of information on their industry. What information they have been able to get has been sketchy, passed on by word of mouth, by personal letter, by brief notes in technical journals or gained in personal visits to other shipyards.

The article in the "Fisheries Bulletin" brought to the attention of hundreds, possibly thousands, of builders the work of FAO on ship design as part of its fisheries programme and they wrote to FAO by the score asking for further information and advice on their problems.

That was stage two of the snowball.

In the face of so much enthusiasm and so much evidence of the need for greater exchange of information FAO decided to convene this first international congress on fishing boat design.

A general invitation was issued to experts in various branches of the industry to contribute papers to the congress and the work of organisation got under way.

One by one the papers came into FAO, were duplicated and sent out again to the growing number of intending participants in the congress. FAO fisheries men had asked for about 25 papers - in the end they received 65.

They had expected about 100 participants in the congress.

When it opened, in Paris on October 12, as guest of the French Ministry of the Merchant Marine, there were 200 people from 24 countries gathered in the congress hall to discuss the problems raised in the papers presented at the meeting.

But, as we have said, this was a snowball conference.

About half of the people who attended the conference came on their own behalf and paid their own way.

The remainder were representatives of governments.

Also present were representatives of the International Labur Office, World Meteorological Organisation and the International Conmission for the N. W. Atlantic Fisheries.

Proceedings of the congress were divided into seven different sessions in each of which a different subject was discussed. A rapporteur appoiated for each session opened the proceedings by delivering a summary of the congress papers bearing on the particular problem under discussion - it was not necessary to read the papers because all participants had previously been provided with printed copies. Adoption of this procedure left about 90% of the congress time free for discussion.

The subjects discussed by the different sessions were : Boat Types; Hull Shapes, Sea Behaviour; Stability, Safety at Sea; Engines, Propellors; Deck Gear; Economics, Research Vessels and Factory Ships.

The Paris Congress is to be followed on November 16 by a similar Congress, arranged by FAO in co-operation with the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, in Miami, Florida. The papers presented in Paris will be discussed again at Miami.

Five leading participants in the Paris Congress will go especially to the United States to attend the repetition of the Congress. They will be British naval architect Commander A. C. Hardy, Chairman of the Paris Congress, Monsieur R. E. Gueroult, as representative of the French

(*continued on page 4*

EXPERTS' REPORTS

Work, during the month, was concentrated on further exploration of the possibilities of beef production from the Andalusian 'fighting bull" stock and on the inauguration of a simple system of milk recording in the State of Tlaxoala. If, as we hope, facilities become available, it will be possible to investigate beef possibilities of the Andalusian cattle along the following lines. Young bulls which are rejected in fighting tests about a year old can be fed for beef instead of being slaughtered at this early age. It is not yet known how many of these young bulls may be available for feeding tests because fignter rejects on ranches which cater for the leading center of Mexico City are often accepted as fighters for the smaller provincial centers.

On these ranches a number of cows are culled each year because their offspring have not come up to fighting standards and when sold, as they usually are, for beef, they fetch very poor prices. It is proposed to explore the possibilities of crossing these culled cows with an Aberdeen Angus bull for the production of beef animals which would be reared and fed on the ranches. The ranchers with whom this has been discussed are keen to try the experiment and we hope to get the use of an Angus bull this season as the cows are now available. They prefer to cross these cows with an Angus bull rather than use a pure bred fighter reject because they consider that the fighting characteristics would be more easily subdued by crossing and that a better beef animal would result.

Since these ranches are mostly about 8000' altitude, they are comparatively free of the diseases which are so rampant in the tropical areas, and the Aberdeen Angus-Andalusian cross might be very successful.

It is hoped also to secure facilities in the tropics to test the Andalusian cattle as a pure breed on the lines suggested in a previous report. The aim is to secure young calves and move them to their new tropical quarters as young as possible - say about a month old. There, they would be well fed and carefully handled and in time mated with pure bred bulls rejected for fighting purposes. This would lay the foundation for the development of a beef branch of Andalusian stock, which if suitable to the tropics, would play an important role in beef production over wide areas of the country.

The most heartening featute of the work so far, has been the artitude and response of the men on the land to suggestions and ideas for imporving their livestock and making better use of their holdings. They are most co-operative in all directions, and since the friendship and good will of the people are the first essentials in any work towards better land use and livestock development we are fully assured of the support of the ranchers. The difficulty is to visit all the ranches to which we are invited and an effort is being made to meet most groups at selected centers for discussion of problems. Quite often when a ranch is being visited, the rancher has a number of his rancher friends present and when time permits to visit others the party gradually increases by the addition of each one visited as we move round a district. Their keenness and enthusiasm is most encouraging.

R. Lindsay Robb (S. African), Animal Husbandry Expert in Mexico

"Total of examinations and treatments: 134 cattle, 7 goats, 28 horses 1 donkey, 3 pigs, 24 dogs, 1 cat, 1 gazzle and 1 chicken"—from part of an ETAP expert's report quoted on this page,

Rinderpest vaccine and serum : 50 g. goat virus vaccine produced in May have been titrated and found to provide 400,000 field doses.

A total of 67,710 doses have been delivered to the field, i. e. 12, 600 to Shoa, 10,000 to Wollo, 10.000 to Sidamo, 10,000 to Bale, 15,000 to Arussi; 10,000 to Kaffa, and 110 to Adamatula. In addition 580 doses have been used at the laboratory, in vaccinating 389 heads of cattle.

600 cc. of Rinderpest serum were used in Shoa province.

Total of examinations and treatments : 134 cattle, 7 goats, 28 horses, 1 donkey, 3 pigs, 24 dogs, 1 cat, 1 gazelle, and 1 chicken.

H. E. Ottosen, (Danish) FAO veterinarian in Ethiopia.

Fishing Boat Congress

(*continued from Page* 3)

Naval Architecture Society, Mr. E. Estlander, Finnish naval architect, Mr. Mogens Jul, FAO Fisheries Technology Branch Chief and Mr. Traung, the FAO naval architect whose article started the snowball growing.

But the end of the Florida Congress on November 29 won't be the end of the snowball.

A British fisheries industry publisher who attended the Paris congress sought, and obtained, permission from FAO to publish the papers presented in Paris, and a digest of the discussion of them, in book form. The projected book is expected to contain about 300,000 words.

And the Paris congress participants were so determined that the work of the congress should be carried on that they formed a committee, composed of representatives of half a dozen countries, to arrange for a further congress in the future and to study other questions of international co-operation in the field of fishing boat design.

F A O MEMO

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Copies of the New Delhi edition (in English and Hindi) may be obtained from the Food and Agriculture Organization, 12, Theatre Communication Building, New Delhi 1.

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Popular Series

Leaflet No. 11

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GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS IN DAILY USE

(FOR THE LAYMAN)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CENTRAL BOARD
OF
IRRIGATION AND POWER

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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FOREWORD

Description and discussions of the various river valley projects necessarily involve the use of certain technical terms, the proper understanding and appreciation of which is essential for full understanding of the scope and benefits of the various projects.

The Central Board of Irrigation and Power is publishing a comprehensive treatise giving the correct technical meaning of the various technical terms in use in India for correct understanding of the technical literature by scientists and engineers in India and abroad. But that publication is too technical for purposes of laymen.

An attempt has, therefore, been made in this leaflet to include only the simpler terms which are in daily use and a correct familiarity with which will help towards a correct appreciation of questions arising in connection with the subject of irrigation and power. With that end in view the more difficult terms have been omitted and the definitions simplified even at the risk of some sacrifice of their strict scientific interpretation.

The leaflet is divided into three parts. The first Part deals with terms commonly used in Irrigation Engineering. Terms used in Electrical Engineering are included in Part II, which is further sub-divided into 4 sections, *viz.*, General, Machines and Transformers, Transmission and Distribution and Commercial. This has been necessary because the meaning of certain terms used in one context is not necessarily the same as when used in the other context. The words in each section are arranged in alphabetical order. Some selected equivalents are also given under Part III for handy reference.

It is hoped that this leaflet will facilitate the work of Members of Parliament and others in dealing with issues concerning our river valley projects and the work of the Irrigation and Power Ministry.

NEW DELHI,
March 26, 1954.

G. L. NANDA,
Minister for Planning and Irrigation & Power,
Government of India.

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PREFACE

The Central Board of Irrigation and Power has since 1947, undertaken to issue a series of popular leaflets dealing with Irrigation and Power schemes of the country to educate the public about the country's achievements and the great efforts now being made to harness the vast water resources of the country in the service of the common man.

Description and discussions of the various schemes and projects necessarily involve the use of certain technical terms, the proper understanding and appreciation of which is essential for full understanding of the scope and benefits of the various projects.

In compliance with the wishes of Shri Kanwar Sain, the President of the Board, this leaflet has been specially prepared to give in simple non-technical words the meanings of technical and scientific terms in daily use in connection with the Irrigation and Power projects.

Though the Board is publishing a comprehensive treatise (revised edition) giving the correct technical meaning of various technical terms in use in India, it was considered that that publication would be too technical for purposes of laymen. It has, therefore, been decided to bring out a small popular leaflet including only simpler terms which are in daily use, the correct appreciation of which is considered desirable for our popular leaders.

M. L. AGGARWAL, I.S.E., M.I.E.,
Secretary,
Central Board of Irrigation and Power.

NEW DELHI,
October 15, 1953.

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GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS IN DAILY USE

(FOR THE LAYMAN)

I—Terms connected with Irrigation Engineering

A

Acre Foot: A unit of volume used in irrigation practice. It means the volume of water required to cover an area of one acre to a depth of one foot. It equals 43,560 cubic feet of water. It will be noticed that a cusec day equals 1;98 acre feet or roughly 2 acre feet.

Acre Inch: 1/12 of an acre foot, defined above and is approximately equal to one cusec hour.

Afflux: The rise above the natural surface of water in a channel, caused by placing an obstruction in the water-way.

Anicut: In South India, weirs across rivers are frequently termed 'Anicuts'—this being the Tamil word for river weirs.

Annual Intensity: The term applied to the percentage of the culturable, irrigable (Punjab-commanded) area irrigated during the year. The Project Intensity is the annual intensity aimed at in the project.

Apron: A floor of concrete, masonry or stone, *etc.*, to protect a surface from erosion, or to withstand water pressure, *e.g.*, the pavement below *weirs, falls* or at the toe of a *bund.*

Aqueduct: This is a structure through which a canal is carried over a drainage without having to drop or depress the bed level of the drainage.

Arched Dam: A curved dam, convex upstream, that depends on arch action for its stability. The load is transferred by the arch to the sides of *canyon* or deep, narrow, steepsided valley.

Area, Assessed: The irrigated area on which water-rates are levied (generally the same as area matured).

Area, Cultivated: Land on which crop or fruit trees are or have been grown in one or more of the previous three harvests.

Area, Culturable Commanded *or* **Area, Culturable Irrigable:** The gross irrigable area less the area not available for cultivation, *e.g.*, village areas, roads, isolated patches of unculturable lands.

Area, Culturable Lift: That portion of culturable irrigable area which can be economically irrigated by lift only.

Area, Gross: The total area within the extreme limits set for irrigation by a project, system or channel.

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Area, Gross Commanded : That portion of the gross area which is commanded by flow irrigation. Sometimes it also includes areas that can be economically irrigated by lift.

Area, Gross Irrigable : The gross area less such large compact areas as are excluded from the project by reason of their being unsuitable for irrigation either on account of the nature of the soil or because the ground is too high to be economically irrigated by lift.

Area, Gross Lift : That portion of *gross irrigable* area which can be irrigated economically by ' Lift ' only.

Area, Irrigated : The area to which water has been applied.

Area, Lift Irrigation : Area of which the level is too high to allow of irrigation by flow from the source, but which can be economically irrigated by water raised to the necessary level at some point in the supply system.

Area, Matured : The area irrigated upon which crops have matured.

Area, Non-perennial : The area served by a non-perennial canal.

Area, Perennial : The area served by a perennial canal.

Arid : Dry, parched lands where agriculture is impossible without irrigation.

Authorized *or* **Designed Full Supply Discharge :** The maximum discharge for which a channel is designed. In irrigation practice, the authorized full supply discharge should never be exceeded.

Available Supply :

(*a*) *In the river.*—The discharge passing at the moment.

(*b*) *In a tank.*—The quantity of water stored in the tank above sill of lowest sluices or minimum authorized water-level.

(*c*) *At the head of a canal.*—The authorized share of the river discharge pertaining to a canal.

(*d*) *Other channels.*—The discharge flowing.

Average Supply : The average supply in a channel is the sum of the daily discharges at the head of the channel divided by the number of days in a month or a crop season.

Ayacut : A term used in South India for the assigned irrigable area under a source , *i.e.*, under a tank, canal, *etc.*

B

Back-fill : Earth or other material used to replace material removed during construction, such as in culvert and pipe line trenches and behind bridge abutments ; also refers to material placed between an old structure and a new lining.

Back Flow : The backing up of water through a culvert, sewer, or other drainage channel in the direction opposite to normal flow.

Baffle : A cross wall or a set of vanes or some other device built in a channel downstream of hydraulic structure, to dissipate energy.

Bar : A deposit of river-borne material at the mouth of a river.

Barrage : A structure provided with a series of gates, to regulate the water surface level upstream. It is distinguished from a weir in that it is gated over the entire width and may or may not have a raised sill. In Madras ' Barrage ' is called ' Regulator '.

Base, Base Days *or* **Base Period :** The number of days required for raising a crop. For example, in the Punjab, it numbers 183 for *Kharif* and 182 for *Rabi*. In Bombay, Deccan, there are three base periods, *viz.*, 15th February to 14th June ; 15th June to 14th October ; 15th October to 14th February. In Burma, the base periods are known as " Crop Periods " and are 183 days for the main rice crop and 151 days for the winter crop.

Basin Irrigation : A method of irrigation by which land surrounded by natural or artificial banks is flooded, and crops are sown when the water dries up.

Bed Load : The quantity of silt, sand, gravel or other detritus rolled along the bed of a stream, often expressed as weight or volume in a certain time.

Bell *Bnuds* : Guide banks for controlling the river-course at the site of a bridge or weir. Named after Mr. J. R. Bell who designed them.

Berm :

(1) The space left between the upper edge of a cut and the toe of an embankment ;

(2) a horizontal strip or shelf built into an embankment to break the continuity of an otherwise long slope ;

(3) the portion of a bank with a horizontal top at a lower level than the top of the main bank. An addition to a bank at a lower level ;

(4) the space between the water edge and the inner toe of bank of a canal—usually formed by silt carried by the canal water.

Blanketing :

(1) The covering of the bed of a channel by fine sediment deposited from suspension.

(2) The layer of impervious material extending from the core in an earth dam towards the water side covering the natural bed.

Block : The whole area of certain specified land to which the block system is applied.

Blocks : Obstructions built in the path of high velocity water to dissipate energy and prevent scour. Usually constructed below hydraulic structures like falls or weirs. Also *see* Friction Blocks.

Block System: A system under which a supply of water is provided for carrying on irrigated cultivation under certain conditions throughout a block for a period of years. (This term is used in Bombay-Deccan).

Branch *or* **Branch Canal:** This takes water from the main canal and passes it on to distributaries.

Bucket: In hydraulics, a curved surface at the toe of an overflow dam designed to deflect the water upward or the transition curve between the overflow face and the apron of a dam.

Bull-dozer: In levelling operation, a mould board mounted ahead of a tractor for pushing excavated material ahead of the tractor.

Buttress: A supporting pier on the exterior of a wall to enable it to resist outward thrust.

Bye Wash: A sufficient width along the perimeter of the water spread contour of a tank where the natural ground level is at full tank level and slopes away to drain off the surplus inflow into the tank very quickly.

C

Caisson: A chamber (usually sunk by excavating within it), for the purpose of gaining access to the bed of a stream or other body of water. If the chamber is closed on top and the water excluded by air pressure, it is called a "Pneumatic caisson".

Canal: A channel constructed or maintained for the conveyance of water to feed the branch canals or directly the distributaries, or for the purpose of navigation. Legally, the term 'Canal' includes :—

(*a*) all canals, channels and reservoirs constructed, maintained or controlled by Government for the supply or storage of water ;

(*b*) all works, embankments, structures, supply and escape channels connected with such canals, channels or reservoirs ;

(*c*) all water courses ;

(*d*) any part of a river stream, lake or natural collection of water or natural drainage channel.

Canal Intermittent: A canal designed to irrigate only when demand arises and usually takes its supply from a storage reservoir.

Canal Inundation: A canal with or without some form of head regulator, dependent upon the surface level of the water in the river for its supplies. The inundation canals only run if the supply in the river rises to a level which permits of feeding the canal.

Canal, Non-perennial: A canal meant to irrigate during part of the year only, usually the *Kharif* or summer season.

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Canal Outlet : In Madras this term is used for what is called an ' Escape '. In Northern India, this term is applied to a pipe or other device for passing water from a canal to irrigators' fields.

Capacity :

(1) The capacity of a channel, is the authorised full supply discharge.

(2) The capacity of a reservoir or tank, is the quantity of water stored between bed level and the full reservoir level.

(3) The capacity of an outlet, is the authorised full supply discharge of the outlet.

Catchment *or* **Catchment Area :** Area from which rainfall flows into a river, drainage or reservoir, *etc.*

Channel Irrigation *or* **Watercourse :** A small channel taking its supply from a Government channel but owned and maintained by the cultivator.

Cistern : Portion depressed below normal bed level below a dam, fall, or chute to take the impact of water by virtue of water standing there.

Coffer Dam : A wall or barrier built in water so as to form an enclosure from which the water is pumped out to permit free access to the area within.

Compaction : Compaction is a scientific term for consolidation of earthen embankments. This is achieved by special sheep-foot or other heavy pneumatic tyre rollers. This is the present day practice in consolidating important embankments.

Conduit : A general term applied to structures for the conveyance of water, liquids, gases and even wires.

Contour : A line connecting points on the ground surface which are at the same height above a reference level (datum).

Counterfort : A buttress giving lateral support to a retaining wall, to which it is bonded.

Creep : The movement of water under or around a structure built on permeable foundations.

Crest : The top portion of dam, weir, barrage fall, or spillway over which water flows.

Crop Intensity : Used in Madras to denote the percentage of the area irrigated in a season to the irrigable command. In the North this percentage is called Irrigation Intensity.

Crop Ratio : The Crop Ratio or *Kharif-Rabi* Ratio is defined as the ratio between the anticipated areas to be irrigated in these two crop seasons. In Madras it is the ratio between areas of first and second crops which are generally raised between June and November, and December and April, respectively.

Current Meter: An instrument for measuring the velocity of flowing water. It consists of small rotating buckets and the number of rotations per second give the velocity of water current.

Cusec: A common abbreviation for *cubic feet per second*, a unit commonly used in irrigation practice to denote the discharge or rate of flow of water in cubic feet per second.

Cusec Day: The volume of water resulting from a discharge of one cusec for one day (24 hours). It amounts to 86,400 cubic feet of water.

Cusec Month: The volume of water resulting from a discharge of one cusec for one month.

Cut and Fill: A method of building canals by excavating part of the depth and using the excavated material for the adjacent embankments. In a balanced cut and fill, the excavated material is precisely enough for the embankments, with an allowance for settlement.

Cut Off:

(1) A wall or other structure intended to reduce percolation of water along otherwise smooth surfaces, or through porous strata.

(2) (In Sind.) The difference between the water-levels upstream and downstream of a regulator, or the difference in levels between a parent and off-taking channels, more generally known as "Head".

Cut Off Trench *or* Key Trench: An excavation in the base of a dam or other structure filled with relatively impervious material to reduce percolation.

D

Dam: A structure generally of masonry, concrete or earth and of considerable height which is erected to impound water in a reservoir or to create hydraulic head.

Dam, Buttress: A masonry structure which retains the water load with the help of buttresses or counter forts.

Dam, Check: A small dam constructed across a gully or other watercourse to decrease the velocity of flow, thus minimizing channel scour and promoting the deposition of eroded material upstream. Check dams may be made of a large variety of materials including concrete, masonry, loose rock, boards, logs, brush, or earth, wire mesh and other miscellaneous junk.

Dam, Gravity: A dam which depends for its stability entirely on its weight. It may be straight or slightly curved in plan.

Dam, Hydraulic Fill: A dam composed of earth, sand, gravel, *etc.*, placed in such a way that generally the fine materials are washed towards the centre for greater imperviousness.

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Dam, Overflow : A dam designed to be overtopped by floods.

Dam, Rock-fill : It is a modified form of earth dam using rock of all sizes to provide stability and an impervious membrane on the upstream side to provide water tightness.

Datum : Plane of reference for elevations.

Delta :

(*i*) An expression used in irrigation practice to mean the depth of water that would result over a given area from a given discharge passed for a certain length of time. Alternatively, delta may be defined as the total volume of water delivered, divided by the area over which it has been spread. (A cusec day on one acre results in a *delta* of 2 feet. It is clear that owing to the total losses in a channel, the delta will vary with the place at which the discharge is measured which should be stated thus—at field, at outlet or at head of channel or canal).

(*ii*) This term also applies to the alluvial tract formed by deposit in the sea of the sediment carried down by rivers.

Demand :

(*a*) *At the outlet.*—The cultivator's water requirements.

(*b*) *At the head of a channel.*—The sum of all useful discharges required, plus total losses (Punjab—Indent).

Density, Soil : Density means weight per unit volume. A soil which consists of *solids* and *pores* has two densities, that of the mass termed " Bulk " density and that of the solids termed " Absolute " density.

Denudation : The wearing down and disintegration of rock masses by rain, frost, wind, running water and other agencies.

Detritus : Alluvial material formed by attrition or wearing away of stones.

Distributary Minor : (Commonly known as a ' Minor ') A small government channel, usually taking its supply from a major distributary, the function of which is to supply water to outlets.

Distributary Sub-minor : (Commonly known as ' Sub-minor '). A government channel taking off from one already defined as a ' Minor '.

Distribution System :

(1) The system of distributaries and minors conveying irrigation water from a main canal or a branch canal to the farm units.

(2) Any system by which a primary water supply is distributed to consumers.

Diversion Dam *or* **Intake Weir :** A barrier built for the purpose of diverting part of all the water from a stream into a different course.

Divide Wall *or* **Groyne :** A wall or groyne separating the undersluice channel from the main river with the object of facilitating silt regulation.

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Double Crop : The raising of two successive crops on the same field in one year. The crop that is first cut is called the " First Crop " and the crop harvested later in the season is called " Second Crop ". The term " Second crop lands " is sometimes used loosely instead of " Double crop lands ".

Drain : A channel, either artificial or natural, for carrying surplus seepage or surface water.

Drainage Channel : A natural drainage when improved by clearance or by excavation.

Dry Crop : A crop which is raised entirely with the help of rainfall. Also any crop other than rice or sugarcane in Sind, *e.g.*, millets, cotton, ragi, cholam (maize).

Dual Purpose Canal : A canal constructed for the combined purpose of navigation and irrigation.

Duty of Water : Duty is the relation between the area irrigated and the quantity of water required to irrigate it. When applied to a channel it is the area irrigated during a period divided by the mean supply utilized in " cusecs " (=cubic feet per second). When applied to tank irrigation it is the number of acres of irrigation per million cubic feet of impounded water. Duty indicates the irrigating capacity of water. This is referred to as a being ' High ' or ' Low ' according as the number of acres irrigated per cusec is *large* or *small*.

E

Erosion :

(1) The lowering of the land surface by weathering corrosion and transportation under the influence of gravity, wind and running water.

(2) The removal of material from the banks of a channel.

Estuary : The mouth of a river, where the tide meets the river current.

F

Fall : A work at which water is made to drop from a higher to a lower level. Known in Madras as a " Drop ".

Flash Board : A baulk, needle, or plank, usually of timber, which is placed horizontally and held by vertical supports, on the crest of a weir or dam, or in a regulator, to head up water.

Flood Absorption : Flood absorption is the reduction in discharge resulting from flowing water being accommodated in a channel or lake.

Flood Storage : A term used in the Madhya Pradesh to denote the volume of water that a reservoir can accommodate between Full Tank Level and High Flood Level. Known in Madras as " Flood Absorbing Capacity ".

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Flume: A structure which is narrower than the normal bed width of the channel used for measuring discharges.

Free Board: The height of bank above the full supply level of channel or a reservoir.

Full Supply Discharge: The discharge required for irrigation purposes (Madras). At other places used loosely for authorised or designed Full Supply Discharge.

Full Tank Level (F.T.L.): The level of the crest of the waste weir of a reservoir or tank or top of gates.

G

Gallery:

(1) A structure below ground level for collection of percolating water.
(2) A passageway, as in a dam.
(3) An underground conduit.

Gross Area: The total area within the extreme limits set for irrigation by a project system or channel.

Gross Commanded Area: This is the total area which can be irrigated economically from a canal scheme on the supposition that unlimited water is available. (*Note*: In Sind, by economical *lift*, also.)

Gross Irrigable Area: The gross area less such large compact areas as are excluded from the project by reason of their being unsuitable for irrigation either on account of the nature of the soil, or because the ground is too high to be economically irrigated by 'Lift'.

Gross Lift Area: That portion of the gross irrigable area which can be irrigated economically by 'Lift' only. Gross Commanded Area plus Gross Lift Area equals Gross Irrigable Area.

Guide Bank: A protective and training bank constructed at the side of a weir, bridge, *etc.*, to guide the river flow through or over the structure.

H

Hydrograph: A graph showing the stage, flow, velocity, discharge or other property of water, with respect to time.

I

Intensity: The term applied to the percentage of the culturable irrigable area irrigated during a year or during a crop.

Irrigation: The artificial application of water to lands for agricultural purposes.

Irrigation Requirement: The quantity of water, excluding rain water, that is required for crop production.

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Irrigation Water: Water artificially applied to lands in the process of irrigation. It does not include rain water.

Isohyetal: Contours joining points on the earth's surface having equal rainfall.

K

***Kharif* Crops:** These are summer crops harvested in autumn and the season varies from April to September for the North and from June to November-December for the South.

L

Leaching: The washing out of salts from the upper zone of the soil by flooding. The salts dissolve in the water which is drained off through the sub-soil.

Levee: An embankment or wall to prevent inundation.

Lock: A communication channel, having gates at both ends, between the higher and lower reaches of a canal. It is used to transfer a vessel from one reach to the other having different water levels.

Lock Gate: A pair of doors at the two ends of a lock, serving in conjunction with a similar pair at the other end to enclose water within the lock chamber.

M

Main Line *or* **Main Canal:** This term is applied to the principal channel of a canal system off-taking from a river or other main source of supply like reservoir.

Major Distributary: (Sometimes known as a Distributary)—A Government channel taking its supply from a main line or branch, the function of which is to supply water to minors and outlets.

Maximum Supply Discharge: The discharge which, during rains, the canal has to carry when cross-drainages enter it.

Meander: A meander consists of two consecutive loops of a river, one flowing clockwise, the other anti-clockwise.

Minor: (Sometimes known as Minor Distributary)—A small Government channel, usually taking its supply from a major distributary, the function of which is to supply water to outlets. In Madras, 'Minors' are distributaries carrying 25 cusecs or less.

Module: A device for ensuring a constant discharge of water passing from one channel into another or from a channel to irrigator's field, irrespective of the water level in each, within certain specified limits.

N

Non-modular Outlet: An outlet whose discharge is dependent on the levels both in the supplying channel and in the watercourse.

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O

Occupier's Rate: The rate to be charged for canal water supplied for purposes of irrigation to the occupiers of land, according to Government rules.

Orifice Semi-module (O.S.M.): The fitting of this type of module in a supplying channel enables that when the supply fluctuates each off-take draws always a constant proportion of the supply.

Outfall: The point at which water discharges from a pipe, conduit or channel into the sea, a lake, drain, or other channel.

Outlet: The term used to designate a structure or a device which passes water from a Government channel to a watercourse. In Madras, the term is applied to a structure constructed to pass surplus water out of a canal, distributary or minor. (*See* also Controlled Pipe Outlet.)

(*Note*: Ordinarily, outlets are not built in the main line or branches. When built such outlets are termed 'Direct Outlets'.)

P

Percolation: Flow through a porous medium.

Perennial Area: The area served by perennial channel.

Perennial Channel: A channel which is designed to irrigate all the year round.

***pH* Value:** It is a measure of intensity of acidity or alkalinity of soils or water; *e.g.*, distilled water, which is neutral, has a *pH* value of 7. Values above 7 indicate the presence of alkalies, while those below 7 indicate acids.

Pick-up Weir: A weir constructed across a river at the headworks of a canal to raise the level of water sufficiently high for it to flow into the off-taking canal. This term is generally applied to a weir across a river on which there is a storage reservoir higher up.

Piping: The flow of water under or round a structure built on permeable foundations, which if not prevented or stopped will remove material from beneath the structure and cause it to fail.

Precipitation: Moisture falling on the earth's surface from clouds; it may be in the form of rain, hail or snow.

R

***Rabi* Crops:** These are winter crops harvested in spring. The season for North is from October to March and for South it is from January to May.

Reach: A comparatively short length of a stream or a channel.

Reconnaissance: A preliminary field examination of a proposed project.

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Red Cement Mortar : A mortar prepared with cement, *surkhi* and sand.

Regulator : This is essentially a bridge spanning the water-way to be regulated, in the openings of which shutters are installed capable of adjustment so as to regulate the amount of water-way, left free for the passage of water. Regulators are occasionally built across rivers or streams (as in South India) so as to serve the purpose of weirs without causing the obstruction which is unavoidable with a solid weir. These are termed ' River Regulators ' or ' Open Weirs '. A ' Canal Regulator ' regulates the level of water above the work and helps to distribute the total discharge in varying proportions to the canal below the work and any canals or channels off-taking immediately above it.

Reservoir : A pond, lake, or basin, either natural or artificial, for the storage, regulation and control of water.

Retrogression : The lowering of levels, *i.e.*, of the level of the water surface of a channel for a given discharge.

Riparian : Pertaining to the banks of a stream or body of water, a riparian owner is one who owns the banks ; a riparian right is the right to control and use water by virtue of the ownership of the bank or banks.

Rivetted : In irrigation work, pitched with stone.

Run-off : The portion of precipitation that appears as flow in streams. The volume of water discharged by the stream draining the area or into the reservoir receiving the drainage.

Run-off Coefficient : The ratio of run-off to precipitation.

S

Scour : The removal of material from the bed of a channel by flowing water.

Sediment : Fine material transported by, suspended in or deposited by a fluid.

Seepage Loss : Volume or rate of loss of water by seepage. Seepage loss from canals and reservoirs is usually expressed in terms of cusecs per million square feet.

Semi-module : A device that automatically delivers a discharge which is independent of fluctuations of water level or pressure on the delivery side, and only varies with water level or pressure on the supply side in accordance with hydraulic laws.

Silt Ejector : A device for removal of silt from a stream.

Silt Excluder : A device located at the head of a channel for regulating or preventing entry of silt in the channel.

Siphon *or* **Syphon :** A structure in which the bed level of the canal is depressed where it passes under a drainage so that the canal passes through an inverted siphon.

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Sluice : In Madras this term is used for an outlet, *i.e.*, a device for letting the flow of water from a canal to the fields.

(*a*) A conduit for carrying water at high velocity.

(*b*) An opening in a structure for passing debris or water.

Spillway : A passage for overflow or excess water from a dam.

Spur :

(1) An obstruction of stone, timber brush-wood or earth, constructed from the bank of a channel and projecting into it for training the flow in rivers.

(2) A similar structure for protecting the sea shore from erosion.

Stable Channel : A channel which is more or less steady with regard to cross-section and course.

Staunching : Sealing ; *e.g.*, staunching of canals by silt deposits. Sometimes used loosely for lining canals.

Streamline Flow : A type of fluid flow in which there is a continuous steady motion of the particles, the motion at a fixed point always remaining constant. Also called viscous flow, laminar flow, steady flow.

Superpassage : Is a structure where a natural drainage is passed over a canal without having to depress the bed level of the canal.

T

Tailrace : A channel conducting water away from a water wheel, power house.

Talus : A flexible apron at the downstream end of a weir or fall, consisting of blocks of concrete, masonry or stone.

Terraces : Sloping ground cut into a succession of benches and steep inclines for purposes of cultivation.

Toe Wall : A shallow wall constructed below the bed level to provide a footing for the pitching or the side of a canal.

Trash Rack : A grating, usually made up of M.S. Flats, provided at the entrance of a submerged outlet to prevent entry of debris jungle, *etc.*

Turbulent Flow : A type of fluid flow in which there is an unsteady motion of the particles, the motion at a fixed point varying in no definite manner. Also called eddy flow, sinuous flow.

U

Undersluices : Portion of a weir (a regulator in Madras) which is gated and is intended for keeping the flow of water along a definite channel in a river.

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W

Waste Weir : The escape provided for the passage of surplus water from a reservoir or tank.

Watercourse : The term is applied to an irrigator's channel taking its supply from a Government channel, from which the fields are irrigated directly.

Water Cushion : A pool of water maintained to take the impact of falling water below a dam, chute, fall or other structure.

Water Right : A legal right to the use of water.

Watershed :

(1) The area drained by a stream or stream system.

(2) The dividing line between drainage basins.

Water-table : Is the level up to which the sub-soil or ground water exists.

Weep-holes : Openings left in retaining walls, aprons, linings, *etc.*, to permit drainage or to reduce pressures, *etc.*

Weir : A continuous solid barrier across a river or a channel over which water may flow and which raises the water surface level upstream. This should be high enough to ensure passing into the canal adequate quantities of water to supply the seasonal requirements of crops. This may or may not be provided with falling shutters. The primary object of 'Diversion Weirs', usually from 10 to 30 feet high, is the raising of the level and the diversion of water from the rivers and stream into canals. There are different kinds of weirs which combine the function of diversion with that of storage while there are others which are primarily dams for storage of water while throughout the part of the whole length they are used as surplus escapes for passing off excess flow which cannot be stored.

Wet Crops : Wet crops are those that positively require irrigation for maturity ; *e.g.*, rice, *etc*. These are classified according to the seasons in which they are cultivated. They are (*i*) *Kharif* crops, and (*ii*) *Rabi* crops.

Working Head : When applied to an outlet, it represents the difference of level between the water in the distributary and in the watercourse.

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II—Terms connected with Electrical Engineering

(*a*) GENERAL

Alternating Current: An electric current, the direction of flow of which alternates in a periodic manner. Abbreviation A.C.

Ampere: Is the practical unit of strength intensity of electric current.

Ampere Hour: A practical unit of quantity of electricity. It is the quantity represented by the flow of one ampere for a period of one hour.

Battery:

(*a*) A group of two or more primary cells connected in series or parallel.

(*b*) Two or more similar pieces of apparatus such as cells, capacitors, *etc.*, electrically connected in one circuit.

British Thermal Unit: A unit of heat. It is the quantity of heat required to raise the temperature of one pound of water from 60°F. to 61°F. Abbreviation B. Th. U.

Capacitor *or* **Condenser:** A piece of electrical apparatus consisting of two conducting plates separated by a layer of insulating material.

Circuit (Electrical): A term denoting a system of connections through which current flows.

Circuit (Magnetic): A closed path followed by magnetic flux.

Coil: An arrangement of one or more convolutions, of bare or insulated wires.

Conductor (General): A material which offers a low resistance to the passage of an electric current, *e.g.*, metal allows electricity to flow freely without offering much resistance as against a non-conductor that does not allow free flow of electricity like wood.

Core: That part of a magnetic circuit around which a winding is placed.

Cycle: The complete series of changes in a periodically varying quantity, *e.g.*, an alternating current during one period.

Dead: A term applied to a conductor or circuit when it is not alive.

Direct Current: The current which flows in one direction only and which does not have any appreciable pulsation in its magnitude. Abbreviation D.C.

Earth:

(*a*) The conducting mass of earth or of any conductor in direct electrical connection therewith.

(*b*) A connection between the earth and the conductor such as the casing of an apparatus.

Fault : A defect in an electrical apparatus or in an electrical circuit which impairs normal functioning or operation.

Frequency : The number of cycles per second.

Full Load : The maximum load which a machine is designed for.

Horse-power : A practical unit of power equal to 33,000 foot-pounds per minute or approximately 746 watts.

In Parallel : Two or more conductors are said to be in parallel with one another when the current flowing in the circuit is divided between the conductors.

Input : The power supplied to a machine or any part thereof.

Insulation : That which serves to isolate a conductor electrically and prevents the flow of current in undesired paths.

Kilovolt Ampere : A unit equal to one thousand volt-amperes (unit of apparent power ; equal to the product of voltage and current).

Kilowatt : A unit of power equal to 1,000 watts and approximately equal to 1·34 horse-power.

Kilowatt-hour : 1,000 watt hours.

Load : A term used to indicate the amount of power given out by an electric machine, transformer or a group of such apparatus or carried by a particular circuit or taken in by a machine or machines.

Negative : A qualifying term applied to one of two points between which a difference of potential exists, to distinguish the one which corresponds to the zinc plate of a Daniel Cell.

No Load : A condition of operation of an electrical machine under rated voltage, speed, *etc.*, but without any output.

Ohm : Is the practical unit of resistance, offered to the flow of electric current.

Output : The power given out by a machine or any part thereof.

Overload : Any load over and above the rated load of a machine, transformer or other piece of apparatus under specified conditions.

Peakload : A loose term used to denote the highest output of a machine or machines.

Poles :

(*a*) *As applied to D.C. electrical equipment.*—These refer to the positive and negative terminals on D.C. equipment for connection to electrical circuits.

(*b*) *As applied to magnets.*—These refer to the point or region towards which or at which the major portion of the magnetic flux converges.

(*c*) *As applied to transmission and distribution lines.*—These refer to wooden, steel, or concrete upright supports erected on the ground to carry overhead conductors.

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Positive: A qualifying term applied to one of two points between which a difference of potential exists, to distinguish the one which corresponds to the copper plate of a Daniel Cell.

Potential Difference: Is the difference in the electrical states existing at two points which causes a current to flow between them.

Power Factor: The ratio of the total power in watts flowing in an electric circuit to the total equivalent volt amperes flowing in that circuit.

Rated Input: The maximum input of a machine assigned by the maker under certain specified conditions.

Rated Output: The maximum output for which the machine is designed by the maker under certain specified conditions.

Series: Two or more electric circuits are said to be in series when they are so connected that the same current traverses all the circuits.

Short Circuit: A connection, whether accidental or intentional, between two points in an electrical circuit having relatively low impedance.

Tele-communication: Any telegraphic or telephonic communication of signs, signals, *etc.*, and/or sounds of any kind by wire, radio or other systems or processes of electric or visual signalling.

Terminal: That portion of a circuit or piece of apparatus which is intended for the reception of conductors or by means of which it may be connected electrically to another circuit or piece of apparatus.

Volt: Is the practical unit of electromotive force. It is the potential difference which when applied across a unit resistance (Ohm) produces a current of 1 ampere.

Voltage: Is the value of an electromotive force or potential difference expressed in volts.

Watt: Is the practical unit of power and is equal to the amount of energy expended per second by an unvarying current of 1 ampere under a voltage of 1 volt.

Watt-hour: Is the unit of electrical energy being the work done by 1 watt acting for 1 hour.

(*b*) MACHINES AND TRANSFORMERS

Bearing: That portion of a machine which supports the shaft.

Booster: A generator or transformer interposed in series in a circuit for the purpose either of increasing or of decreasing the voltage acting in the circuit.

Converter: A machine for converting single or polyphase current at one frequency into currents at another frequency or different number of phases or D.C.

Direct Current Motor: Motor operated on direct current.

Draft Tube: A closed conduit of suitable shape and gradually enlarging section that forms the water passage beyond a turbine runner, discharging into the tailrace.

Efficiency: The ratio (usually expressed as a percentage) of the energy output, to the energy input.

Generator: A machine which generates electricity.

Motor (Electric): A machine which runs on electricity for operating other places of machinery or doing work.

Pelton Wheel: A type of turbine comprising a set of double cup-shaped buckets fitted on to the rim of a disc attached to a shaft, and operated by impact of a jet of water on the buckets from a nozzle. The flow of jet being tangential to the wheel, this is also termed a "Tangential Turbine". This being a relatively simple turbine common from early days, is often called a "Pelton Water Wheel".

Prime-mover: An engine or other device by which a natural source of energy is converted into mechanical power.

Water Hammer: Transient pressure variation caused by sudden acceleration or deceleration of a liquid stream in a closed conduit. The sudden pressures often cause a sound resembling hammer blows—hence the term.

Water Turbine: A prime-mover in which a wheel or runner carrying curved vanes is supplied with water directed by a number of stationary guide vanes, *e.g.*, Francis Turbine (propeller type), Kaplan (Pelton Wheel), *etc.*

(*c*) TRANSMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION

Cable: A bundle of insulated wires usually laid underground for conducting electricity.

Conduit: In wiring, a tube mounted in a wall or other support intended for the reception of the cables for the distribution of electricity.

High Tension Transmission: This is a self-explanatory term denoting transmission lines of voltages exceeding 650 V.

Hydro-electric Power Station: A power station in which hydraulic energy is converted into electrical energy.

Mains: A general term used to denote the distribution supply conductors.

Medium Voltage: A voltage between 250 and 650 volts.

Network: An aggregation of conductors intended for the distribution of electrical energy.

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Power Station : An assemblage of equipment, including the converted buildings where electrical energy is generated.

Thermal Power Station : A power station where electric energy is generated with the help of steam or oil.

Three Wire System : A system of distribution comprising two conductors and a middle or neutral wire.

Transformer Kiosk : A weather proof enclosure housing a transformer with or without switchgear.

Transmission Line : A system of conductors carried on suitable supports built for the purpose of transmitting power from one location to another.

Two Wire System : A system of distribution comprising two conductors only between which load is connected.

Underground Power Station : A power station ; usually hydro-electric stations which is situated generally below the natural ground level at the foot of a dam.

(*d*) COMMERCIAL

All-in-tariff : A tariff making no distinction between the purpose for which the supply is used.

Base Load : The minimum load over a given period of time.

Block Tariff : A tariff in which the price is based on a diminishing series of rates per unit applying to successive blocks of units supplied during a prescribed period.

Capacity Factor *or* **Plant Factor :** The ratio of the average load on a machine or equipment for the period of time considered to the rating of the machine or equipment.

Equated Rate : A tariff (usually a flat rate for domestic supply) in which the price charged for electricity includes the hire or hire purchase, and maintenance of apparatus.

Firm Power : Is the power intended to be always available even under emergency conditions, same as 'Primary Power'.

Fixed Charge : A charge appertaining to a prescribed period of supply, but independent of the number of units supplied and of fluctuations in the demand.

Flat Rate Tariff : A tariff comprising a single charge proportional to the number of units supplied.

KVA Charge/KVA Demand Charge : A charge appertaining to a prescribed period of supply, based on the maximum demand in kilovolt amperes.

Load Factor : Ratio of average load during a given period to the maximum load.

Maximum Demand : Maximum load taken by an electrical installation within a demand assessment period.

Off-peak Tariff : A tariff in which a lower price is charged for electricity consumed outside prescribed peakload hours.

Primary Power : Power available in a hydro-electric plant on a continuous basis under the most adverse hydraulic conditions contemplated.

Restricted Hour Tariff : A tariff for a supply of electricity which is only available outside prescribed hours.

Right of Way : This term is used for the area over which transmission lines can be laid. It should be adequate not only to build the line supports, string the conductors, *etc.*, but also to provide necessary clearance for safe and satisfactory operation of the transmission line.

Seasonal Power *or* **Secondary Power :** Power generated or made available to consumers only during certain specified season of the year.

Seasonal Tariff : A tariff in which different prices are charged for electricity used during different parts of the year.

Service Charge : A charge per consumer, levied once or periodically which is independent of the amount of electricity actually supplied, but is usually related to the capital cost of making the supply available to the consumer.

Service Line : A line connecting a consumer's installation to a distributor's power line.

Stand-by-Charge : A charge appertaining to a prescribed period, made for reserving, and making available the supply of electricity, whether a supply is actually taken or not.

Standing Charge : A general term covering fixed charge, *viz*, kilowatt charge and KVA charge.

Tariff : The schedule of rates for a supply of electricity.

Two Part Tariff : A tariff comprising a standing charge and a unit charge.

Two Rate Tariff : A tariff in which different prices are charged for electricity used at different times of the day.

Unit Charge : A charge per unit supplied

Utilisation Factor : The ratio of the maximum demand of a system or a part of system, to the rated capacity of the system or part of the system under consideration.

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III—Useful Data

(*a*) ENGINEERING TIT-BITS

One Cusec : Represents a volume of water equivalent to the flow of one cubic foot of water per second. Flowing continuously for 24 hours a Cusec will cover five acres to a depth of about five inches normally considered as a good watering for irrigation purposes. One Cusec can supply 30 gallons per head per day to a population of 18,000.

An Acre Foot : Denotes a volume of water sufficient to cover an acre (4,840 sq. yards.) to a depth of one foot.

Two Acre Feet : Are equivalent to one Cusec flowing for 24 hours.

A Million Acre Feet : Is equal to 43,566,000 cubic feet and is sufficient to cover an area of 10 square miles to a depth of 156 feet. This represents a storage sufficient to feed a canal of 1,850 cusecs capacity for the entire flow season in a year (normally 270 days).

Water : Falling at the rate of one Cusec through a height of 150 feet can generate 10 kilowatts or units of electric power; this power will be sufficient to drive a 12 h.p. car at a speed of 40 miles per hour on a reasonably good road and is roughly equal to the power output of a 100 men.

One Kilowatt *or* **Unit of Electric Power :** Is sufficient to light 25 average sized electric bulbs.

Oil Kilowatt of Power generated continuously for a Year : Can irrigate annually 50 acres of land by pumping water from a depth of about 20 feet.

Every Kilowatt of Electric Power : If operated continuously, represents a saving of 5 tons of coal per year.

(*b*) HANDY EQUIVALENTS

1 Cusec = 1 cubic foot per second = second-foot (America).
1 Cusec for 1 hour = 1 acre inch = 1/12 acre foot.
1 Cusec falling 8·8 feet = 1 Horse-power (100% efficiency).
1 Cusec falling 11·8 feet = 1 Kilowatt (100% efficiency).

1 Horse-power = 550 Foot-pounds per second
= 746 Watts (0·746 Kilowatts).

1 Kilowatt = 1·341 Horse-power
= 737 Foot-pounds per second
= 1000 watts.

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Horse-power developed by machines with 80% efficiency $= \frac{Q \times h}{11}$

where Q . . . = discharge in *cubic feet* per second
and h . . . . = net head or net fall of water in feet.

CONVERSION TABLE

1 Acre	= 43,560 Square feet = 4,840 Square yards = $\frac{1 \cdot 563}{1000}$ Square miles.
1 Acre feet	= 271,472 Imp. gallons = 43,560 Cubic feet = 0·5 Cusecs per day.
1 Cusec	= 538,860 Imp. gallons per day = 374 Imp. gallons per minute = 1·983 or 2 (appx.) Acre feet per day.
1 Million cubic feet . .	= 10,00,000 Cft. = 22·96 Acre feet = 11·574 Cusecs per day.
1 Million acre feet . .	= 43·56 Thousand million cubic feet (T. M. Cft.) = 156 feet depth of water on an area of 10 square miles = 1,850 Cusecs flowing in a canal for the entire flow season in a year (normally 270 days).

(c) TABLE OF MEASURES

Lineal Measures

1 Inch = 25·4 Millimetres.
1 Foot = 30·48 Centimetres.
1 Yard = 91·44 Centimetres.
1 Mile = 1·609 Kilometres.

Square Measures

1 Acre = 0·4047 Hectare.
640 Acres = 1 Square mile
= 259 Hectares.

Cubic Measure

1 Cubic Yard = 0·76455 Cubic metre.

Surface Measures

100 Ares = 1 Hectare = 2·471 acres.
100 Hectares = 1 Square Kilometre = 247·105 Acres
= 1 Square Myriametre = 38·55 Square miles.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

FOR THE YEAR 1955

No. 3

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1955 AT 6 P. M.

Members Present:

PROFESSOR A. C. BANERJI, M.A., M.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.N.I., VICE-CHANCELLOR (*in the Chair*)

SRI K. L. MISRA.
SRI JUSTICE C. B. AGARWAL.
SRI P. N. SAPRU.
SRI K. CHATTOPADHYAYA.
DR. SHRI RANJAN.
DR. RAM KUMAR SAKSENA.
DR. P. L. SRIVASTAVA.
DR. ISHWARI PRASAD.
PROFESSOR M. K. GHOSH.
DR. BABU RAM SAKSENA.
SRI R. N. BASU.
DR. DHIRENDRA VARMA.
SRI BALBIR SINGH.
DR. C. M. CHATTERJEE.
PROFESSOR K. K. BHATTACHARYA.

37. The Council considered the report of the Finance Committee held on 9th and 10th February, 1955 regarding (i) the Financial Estimates for the year 1955-56 and (ii) the Audit Report on the Accounts of the University for 1953-54 together with other recommendations.

It was *resolved*, that

(i) the budget estimates as amended be approved and submitted to the Court.

(ii) the Accounts Officer should be an independent Officer of the University so far as his work as an Internal Auditor is concerned.

(iii) the Audit Report on the accounts of the University with the draft replies be generally approved and submitted to the Court with the following remarks :—

(*a*) the payment of the electricity charges made to the Superintendents of the University Hostels in the past be sanctioned but with effect from 1st February, 1955 the Superintendents be required to pay full electricity charges for the electricity consumed by them.

(*b*) Action taken by the office as referred to in Paragraph 22 (a) of the Audit Report be regularised and the attention of the Library Committee be drawn to this fact.

(*c*) The office action with regard to Paragraphs 11 (c), 13 (a), 15, 16, 19(a) & (b), 21 (a), 22 (a), 23, 24 (d), and 30 (d) of the Audit Report be approved.

(iv) With regard to para 1 (1) of the Finance Committee Report, it was *resolved*, that the appointments to the posts of Professorships in Arabic and Persian and Urdu be not made till July 1955 when the matter would come up again for consideratlon of the Executive Council.

(v) With regard to para 26 of the Report, it was *resolved*, that the following Committee be appointed to examine the whole matter and submit a report :—

1. The Vice-Chancellor (*Chairman*).
2. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts.
3. Prof. M. K. Ghosh.
4. Dr. Ishwari Prasad.
5. Sri R. N. Basu.

(vi) With regard to para 35 of the Report, it was *resolved*, that in view of the letter of the Director-General of Archaeology, which was on the file, Sri Hasan Akhtar be paid halting allowance only for 60 days according to Government rules.

(vii) With regard to para 43 (3) of the Report, it was *resolved*, that Rs. 4, 700 be sanctioned out of the Building Fund for enclosing the space between the Seminar rooms of the Oriental Department for the purpose of building two rooms for holding seminar classes.

It was further *resolved*, that the report of the Finance Committee (*vide* Appendix A) with the above modifications be accepted.

38. The Registrar reported the receipt of the following resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the A. U. Teachers' Association, at its meeting held on 3rd February, 1955 :—

"(1) The Working Commfttee of the University Teachers' Association notes with regret that the decision of the Executive Council to consider promoted Readers eligible to apply for appointment as regular Readers is extremely embarrassing to the position of these teachers who have alredy passed through Selection Committees and been appointed Readers by the Executive Council itself. Some of them have been already confirmed, and some have already drawn a few increments. The Working Committee is, therefore, of opinion that all promoted Readers should be treated as regular Readers and allowed to draw their annual increment immediately".

(2) The Working Committee of the Teachers' Association strongly urges on the Executive Council the necessity of deciding at an early date the question of the continuance of temporary teachers made necessary by the large number of students, and that their services should not be terminated till it is found that there is no work for them, and that the services of those teachers who will be required in July should be terminated at the end of this session".

It was *resolved*, that

(1) on principle, the Council accepts the spirit of the resolution and recognises Readers by promotion as Readers. Their cases for increments should be considered as soon as necessary funds are received from Government. Provision for the same be incorporated in the Schedule of New Demands for the year 1955-56.

(2) it is not possible to accept the recommendation this year but if block grant for them is received their appointments will be made on a permanent basis from next year.

It was further *resolved*, that the appointment of a permanent Reader in Chemistry be not made for the present.

39, The Council considered the following resolution of Pt. K. Chattopadhyaya :—

"(1) That resolution No. 25, dated February 7, 1931, of the Executive Council be rescinded, and

(2) That the principle of granting increments for temporary continouous service be applied in the case of all University employees."

It was *resolved*, that the resolution be accepted and for future the principle of granting increments for temporary continuous service be applied in the case of all employees of the University with effect from 1st April, 1955.

40. The Council considered the following resolutions of Dr. P. L. Srivastava :—

"(1) *Resolved*, that the Executive Council requests the State Government to include the scheme of establishing a Medical College and a Medical Faculty at Allahabad in the Second-Five-Year Plan."

(2) *Resolved*, that the Executive Council requests the State Government to make sufficient provision in the next year's Budget for grant to Allahabad University to enable it to take steps for starting 3 years' Degree Course,

(3) *Resolved*, that the Executive Council approves the following Ordinances with effect from the date to be decided after hearing from the Chancellor if he has any objection to it :

'Ordinance 1(a), printed on page 171 of the Calendar for the year 1952-53 be replaced :

'The following shall be the rates of salaries in the case of all appointments to full-time teaching posts in the University made after July 1, 1923 except in the case of such teachers as may be specified in the Regulations ;

(a) For a Professor, Rs. 800—50—1250 per month unless, in any special case, the Executive Council considers it advisable to pay a higher rate of salary.

(b) In the case of Readers, Rs. 500—25—800 per month.

(c) In the case of Lecturers, Rs. 300—20—480—EB—20—500 per month.

Provided the Executive Council shall have the power to give such higher starting salary within the grade in the case of Readers and Lecturers also provided the same has been recommended by the Selection Committee."

It was *resolved*, that

(1) the Council unanimously accepts the resolution.

(2) it be referred to the Academic Council for consideration.

(3) it be referred to the sub-committee appointed under the Academic Council resolution No. 31, dated 27th March, 1954 for consideration.

41. The Council considered the report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council to draft necessary Statutes and Ordinances for Provident Fund and Leave Rules for Inferior Staff of the University.

It was *resolved*, that the report of the Committee (*vide* Appendix B) be accepted and the Statutes and the Ordinances be submitted to the Court.

42. Under Section 41 of the Act, the Council considered the question of withholding the D. Phil. degree to be conferred on Sri Vimal Chandra Pande for serious offence involving moral delinquency in view of the rejection of his petition by the Chancellor.

It was *resolved*, that the Vice-Chancellor be requested to obtain legal opinion on the question and the matter be considered at the next meeting of the Council.

43. The Registrar reported the receipt of a letter dated February 9, 1955 from Dr. Shri Ranjan, informing that he would like to donate a Waiting Hall for women students on the Science side in the name of his late wife Mrs. Bhawani Ranjan on the condition that the University would offer a suitable site for the building and furnish the said building.

It was *resolved*, that the gift be thankfully accepted.

The Vice-Chancellor on behalf of the members of the Council thanked Dr. Shri Ranjan for his generous donation.

44. The Registrar reported the receipt of a letter from Sm. Lakshmi Devi Gour, President, Brahmin Mahila Sabha, Prayag, informing that the Sabha would like to award a silver medal to a Brahmin woman student of the University who tops amongst the successful Brahmin women candidates at the B. A. Examination of the University.

It was *resolved*, that unless an endowment is made, it is regretted the award cannot be accepted for one year only.

45. The Council considered the application of Dr. H. D. Bahri, Lecturer, Hindi Department for an advance out of his Provident Fund account for building a residential house.

It was *resolved*, that an advance of Rs. 1,500 be sanctioned out of his Provident Fund and be recouped in terms of the Statutes.

46. The Council considered a note from the Registrar regarding the re-advertisement of the post of a Reader in Law.

It was *resolved*, that the post be re-advertised with the modification that for "five years teaching experience in a University" the sentence "preference will be given to those who possess teaching experience" be substituted.

A. C. BANERJI,
Vice-Chancellor.

K. L. GOVIL,
Registrar.

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APPENDIX A

Report of the Finance Committee held on 9th & 10th February, 1955, in the Vice-Chancellor's Chambers, Senate House, Allahabad.

Members Present :

1. Dr. Sri Ranjan.
2. Dr. B. R. Saksena.
3. Dr. P. L. Srivastava.
4. Dr. Ishwari Prasad.
5. Prof. M. K. Ghosh.
6. Prof. K. K. Bhattacharya.
7. Prof. A. C. Banerji (Vice-Chancellor).
8. Pt. K. L. Misra-Hony. Treasurer (*in the Chair*).

1. The Committee considered the draft Budget for the year 1955-56.

It was *resolved*, that the Budget be generally approved and submitted to the Executive Council for approval with the following provisions for balancing the budget and as detailed (*vide* Annexure Z.) :—

1. The posts of Professorships in Arabic and Persian and Urdu may be kept in abeyance for the year 1955-56 when we expect that Government will give us additional grant to fill up these posts, or till July 1955 when we can provide for these posts out of our own finances.
2. The appointment of temporary Lecturers be made from 1st August, 1955.
3. The savings effected due to the resignation of Dr. Tej Prakash Srivastava, who was appointed lecturer on the maximum of Lecturer's grade be utilised to meet the deficit.
4. No payment be made against the provision made for the depreciation fund this year.

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It was further *resolved*, that the Statement of Income & Expenditure of (1) S. A. Fund (2) Delegacy fees, (3) Magazine fee and the grant to the Athletic Association should be shown in the Budget as appendices.

2. The Committee considered the comments on the Audit Note on the Accounts of the University for the year 1953-54.

It was *resolved*, that the comments as modified be submitted to the Executive Council for approval.

3. The Committee considered the question of appointing a Plumbering Mistry & Cooly.

It was *resolved*, that the creation of posts be sanctioned and necessary provision be made in the next budget.

4. The Committee considered the question of appointing an additional peon for the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts.

It was *resolved*, that the creation of the post be sanctioned and necessary provision be made in the next year's budget.

5. The Committee considered a note from the Head of Education Department regardig the appointment of a third male teacher.

It was *resolved*, that as the appointment of a temporary lecturer has already been sanctioned no action is necessary.

6. The Committee considered a note from the Engineer regarding the appointment of a Store Coolie.

It was *resolved*, that the request of the Engineer be not granted.

7. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 4 dated 12th May, 1954, the Committee considered the needs of extra inferior staff in certain Departments.

It was *resolved*, that the matter be postponed for the present.

8. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 4 dated 23rd & 24th July, 1954, the Committee considered the question of providing two part-time clerks for D. J. and A. Jha Hostels.

It was *resolved*, that the posts may be sanctioned and the provisions be made in the next year's budget.

9. With reference to the confidential note of the Vice-Chancellor, the Committee considered the question of revision of the scale of pay of the Confidential Clerk to the Vice-Chancellor.

It was *resolved*, that the scale of pay for the post of Confidential Clerk to the Vice-Chancellor in the grade of Rs. 110-200 be approved, and provided for in the next budget.

10. The Committee considered the letter from the Head of Physics Department regarding the increase in Laboratory grants and the continuance of Professor's Research grant of Rs. 5,000.

It was *resolved*,

(*a*) that at present it is not possible to give any additional grant.

(*b*) that the Government be approached to give a special Research grant to the Professor of Physics.

11. The Committee considered a letter from the Head of the Physics Department regarding additional staff required due to the opening of classes in J. K. Institute.

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed.

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12. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 13 dated 15th December, 1954, the Committee considered the following resolution of the Dean of the Faculty of Law :

"*Resolved*, that the two temporary appointments of Lectureship in Law which are continuing from September 1951 be made permanent from April 1955 or earlier"

It was *resolved*, that the two temporary posts in the Department of Law and one in the Department of Politics created in 1951 be made permanent and the necessary provision be made in the budget.

13. The Committee considered a letter dated 23rd October, 1954 from the Head of Education Department regarding the expenses required for opening a modest Psychological Laboratory.

It was *resolved*, that consideration of the request of the Head of the Department be postponed for the present.

14. The Committee considered a note from the Accounts Officer regarding the payment of T. A. to teachers and students who go out on educational tours or excursions from the S. A. Fund.

It was *resolved*, that T. A. for students be met from S. A. Fund, but for the T. A. of teachers who go out on Educational tour or excursions provision be made in the Budget.

15. The Committee considered the question of paying the bill of Sri Sangamlal Gupta for Rs. 528/8/- for doing plumbering work at Sir Sunder Lal Hostel and Sir P. C. Banerji Hostel as it was more than a year old.

It was *resolved*, that the payment be sanctioned.

16. The Committee considered the existing practice and rule for the award of S. A. Hill Prize.

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the next meeting.

17. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 9 dated 1st November, 1953 and No. 3 dated 12th May, 1954, the Committee considered the question of insuring Library and Laboratories of the University.

It was *resolved*, that due to financial difficulties of the University the consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

18. The Committee considered the question if the cost of maintaining Lawns should be met from Athletic Association Fund or from General Accounts.

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the next meeting.

19. The Committee considered a letter dated 7th December, 1954 from Prof. M. K. Ghosh, tenant of No. 6, Bank Road for the fitting of a cistern and flushing arrangement to one of the septic latrines in his quarter by M/S Narayan & Co., at an approximate cost of Rs. 100.

It was *resolved*, that the proposal may be accepted on the enhanced rent basis at 6% per annum.

20. The Committee considered the question of making the existing post of temporary Book Attendant in the Law Department, permanent.

It was *resolved*, that the post of the Book Attendant be made permanent and provision be made in the next year's budget.

21. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 276 dated 1st November, 1954 :—

"The Council considered the following resolution of Dr. Babu Ram Saksena :—

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Resolved, that free residential quarters be provided to the Warden of the Sarojini Naidu Hostel when a Lady is appointed.

It was *resolved*, that the matter be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration."

It was *resolved*, that the matter be postponed for the next meeting.

22. The Committee considered the following Executive Council Resolution No. 280 dated 1st, November 1954 :

"With reference to Academic Council Resolution No. 24, dated 27-3-54, the Council considered the following resolutions :

(1) It was *resolved*, that the award of D. Litt. & D. Sc. Scholarships be made only to such students as are entitled to proceed to D. Litt., or D. Sc. degree.

(2) It was further *resolved*, that the value of the D. Litt. and D. Sc. Scholarships be raisd from Rs. 100 p. m. to Rs. 200 p. m."

It was *resolved*, that paragraph (i) be accepted and paragraph (ii) be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration."

It was *resolved*, that the matter be postponed for the present.

23. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 284 dated 1st November, 1954 :—

"With reference to Academic Council Resolution No. 38 dated March 27, 1954, the Council considered the recommendation of the Academic Council regarding introducing a General Education Course at the University in pursuance of the recommendation of the University Education Commission.

In this connection the Council also considered the following resolution of Dr. Babu Ram Saksena : —

"The resolution No. 27, dated 27-3-54 of the Academic Council in respect of the General Education Scheme be enforced as early as possible'.

It was *resolved*, that the recommendations of the Academic Council (*vide* Appendix B) be accepted but the scheme be not introduced until the Finance Committee has considered the financial implications of the same."

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It was *resolved*, that the matter be postponed for the present.

24. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 287 dated 1st November, 1954 :—

"The Council considered the following resolutions of the Academic Council passed at its meeting held on 28th April 1954 :

(*i*) that four posts of Lecturers be created in the Department of English.

(*ii*) that the post of Associate Professor of English be converted into that of a Professor.

(*iii*) that a separate Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology be created.

(*iv*) that a Lectureship in Politics be converted into a Readership.

It was *rosolved*, that the matter be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration."

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

25. The Committee considered a note from the Engineer regarding the appointment of a temporary Draftsman.

It was *resolved*, that consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

26. The Committee considered a letter dated 10th December, 1954, from the Teacher-in-charge, Social Service Diploma class in connection with the payment of honorarium for lectures delivered to the class.

It was *resolved*, that the matter be referred to the Executive Council without any comments.

27. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 225 dated 3t0h October, 1954 :—

"The Council considered the following resolution of Dr. B. R. Saksena :

'That a temporary lectureship in Sanskrit be created to cope with the additional teaching work".

It was *resolved*, that a temporary lectureship in Sanskrit be created but the appointment be not made till funds are provided for it."

It was *resolved*, that consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

28. The Committee considered the statement of expenditure incurred during the years 1948-51 on apparatus out of the Central Government Grants of 10 and 2 lacs; State Government Non-recurring Special grant of Rs. 1.25 lacs and from the Balance of Donation of Diamond Jubilee from Kalakankar.

It was *resolved*, that the expenditure as per statement (*vide* Annexure X) be approved.

29. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 11 dated 15th December, 1954, the Committee considered the question of paying extra remuneration for doing additional work to the whole-time employees (inferior) of the University.

It was *resolved*, that as the work is done beyond the usual working hours, and the amounts paid are not excessive for the work done, the payment of allowance be continued.

30. The Committee considered the question of appointing one more sweeper for Science Library.

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

31. The Committee considered the followihg Library Committee resolution No. 9 dated August 18, 1954.

"*Resolved*, that the Executive Council be requested to re-consider the question of an extra sweeper for the General Library."

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It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

32. Ths Committee considered the question of paying Rs. 700 as advance for meeting the expenses for obtaining the probate of the will of late Sm. Binod Bala Ghosh.

It was *resolved*, that the payment of Rs. 700 as advance money be approved.

33. The Committee considered a note dated 26th December, 1954 from the Head of the Botany Department regarding the grant of Rs. 1,500 for Agr. Botany and (2) the appointment of a part-time clerk to maintain the accounts of the Farm. In this connection the Committee also considered Executive Council resolution No. 298 of 19th December, 1954.

It was *resolved*, that no further provision be made at present.

34. The Committee considered the note of the Engineer dated 26th November, 1954 in connection with the fixation of the share of Electric charges payable by the Lady Superintendent of Woman's Hostel Km. C. Tripathi who is occupying a portion of the said premises.

It was *resolved*, that the Engineer be asked to re-examine the whole matter more thoroughly and submit a fresh report pointing out the basis for fixing the monthly rate.

35. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 9 dated 15th December, 1954, the Committee considered the question of fixing the rate of daily allowance to be paid to Sri Hasan Akhtar for his halt at Delhi for which place he left on 23rd October, 1954 and is still there, having applied for extension for 2 months from 8th January, 1954.

It was *resolved*, that Director-General of Archaeology, Delhi be requested to inform if the halt of Sri Hasan Akhtar at Delhi for the period was essential in the interest of the University work.

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36. With reference to Executive Council resolution No. 34 dated 15th January, 1955, the Committee considered the question of inviting the Indian History Congress Association to hold its next session at Allahabad during the winter holidays in 1955.

It was *resolved*, that a grant of Rs. 1,000 be sanctioned for the purpose from the next year's budget.

37. The Committee considered the question of regularising the position of the present incumbents to Readerships by promotion along with a letter from Sri K. Chattopadhyaya.

It was *resolved*, that it does not appear possible to give immediate effect to any such proposal. The Government however, is considering the question of increasing the proportion of higher posts in the University and it is expected that within a very short time, some such scheme would come into force.

The Committee recommends that as soon as such scheme comes in or the money is otherwise available, increments should be given to these Readers.

38. The Committee considered certain demand of the Inferior Staff Union of the University.

It was *resolved*, that consideraiion of the matter be postponed for the next meeting.

39. The Committee considered a letter from the President of Allahabad University Ministerial Staff Union.

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed.

40. The Committee considered the representation of Sri Ram Raj Singh, Committee Clerk for the revival of the grade of Committee Clerk with retrospective effect.

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It was *resolved*, that the post of Committee Clerk be put in 150-250 grade and the provision for the same be made in the Budget.

41. The Committee considered the demands of Chemistry Department *vide* their letter dated 8th February, 1955.

It was *resolved*, that consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

42. The Committee considered a note from the Officer in-charge, Senate House grounds demanding Rs. 286 beyond the allotted amount to meet the expenditure in the current financial year.

It was *resolved*, that the amount required be sanctioned but in future the Officer should be asked to limit his expenditure within the budgetted amount.

At the request of the Head of Botany Department, a sum of Rs. 200 was also sanctioned for the Botany Garden.

43. The Committee considered the report of University Works Committee held on 9th February, 1955.

It was *resolved*, that the report (*vide* Annexure Y) be accepted.

K. L. MISRA,
Hony. Treasurer,
(Chairman).

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ANNEXURE X

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD

Department.	Particulars.	Total Exp. on constructional work and on purchase of apparatus & equipment 1948-1954.			Allotment of Govt. of India grant of 10 lacs.	Allotment of Govt. of India grant of 2 lacs.	Allotment from U. P. Govt. Non-re. grant of Rs. 1,25,000.	From donation from D. J. Fund.	Total amt. of cols. 4 to 7.	Difference of Cols. 3 & 8 Savings.			Difference of Cols. 3 & 8 Excess Exp.		
1	2	3			4	5	6	7	8	9			10		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Chemistry	Extension of Chemistry Lab. & purchase of apparatus etc.	3,21,815 16,675	11 13	9 0											
	Apparatus for post-graduate trg. & research.	40,000	0	0											
		3,78,491	8	9	3,00,000	40,000	37,500	11,831	3,89,331	10,839	7	3	...		

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Department.	Particulars.	Total Exp. on constructional work and on purchase of apparatus & equipment 1948-1954.	Allotment of Govt. of India grant of 10 lacs.	Allotment of Govt. of India grant of 2 lacs.	Allotment from U. P. Govt. Non-re. grant of Rs. 1,25,000.	From donation from D. J. Fund.	Total amt. of cols. 4 to 7.	Difference of Cols. 3 & 8 savings.	Difference of cols. 3 & 8 Excess Exp.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Rs. a. p.	Rs,	Ks.	Rs.	Rs.	Ks.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Physics...	Construction of South Room, 2 lecture rooms & casement and B.Sc. Lab,	81,993 12 6							
	Apparatus for Applied & Pure Physics.	1,67,760 3 6							
	Apparatus for Post-graduate trg & Research etc.	40,000 0 0							
		2,89,754 0 0	2,28,000	40,000	17,500	...	2,85,500	...	4,254 0 0
Botany ...	Extension of Botany Lab. & Farm.	1,57,584 11 0							
	Apparatus for Post-graduate Trg. & Research.	40,000 0 0							
		1,97,584 11 0	1,25,000	40,000	17,500	...	1,82,500	...	15,084 11 0

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Zoology...	Extension of Zoology Lab. & construction of Anthropology Block.	2,13,097 7 0										
	Apparatus & Equipment.	29,187 5 0										
	Apparatus & Equipment etc. for post-graduate Trg. & research etc.	40,000 0 0										
		2,82,284 12 0	1,75,000	60,000	27,500 Bldg—	10,000 } 15,000 }	2,72,500 +15,000	5,215 4 0	...			
Geography	Extension of Geog. Deptt. and Verandah.	23,670 7 6										
	Apparatus & Equipment.	34,442 11 6										
		58,113 3 6	50,000	10,000	...	...	60,000	1,886 12 6	...			
Maths. & Military Science.	Exclusion of Mathematics & Mily. Science apparatus and Equipment.	30,504 5 3 10, 00 0 0										
		40,504 5 3	25,000	10,000	25,000	...	60,000	19,495 10 9				
Statistics & Commerce.	Blocks—construction of Apparatus & Equipment	91,144 6 6 2 ,822 0 6										
		1,11,966 7 0	50,000	...	...	25,000 } 19,049 }	75,000 } +19,049 }	...		17,917 7 6		
Total ...		13,58,698 15 6	9,53,000	2,00,000	1,25,000	80,880	13,58,880	37,437 2 6		1,37,256 2 0		
						Savings 181	13,58,699 Net sav- ing.	181 0 6				

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ANNEXURE Y

Report of the University Works Committee held on Wednesday, 9th February, 1955 at 4-30 p. m. in the Vice-Chancellor's Chambers.

Members Present :

1. Sri K. L. Misra, Hony. Treasurer (*in the Chair*).
2. Dr. S. Ranjan.
3. Prof. M. K. Ghosh.
4. Kr. Balbir Singh.

1. The Committee considered the proposal and the estimates for replacing the country tiled roofs by slab-roofs of the remaining portions in 16, Bank Road and providing the same with sanitary installation at an estimated cost of Rs. 4,075 to be met out of the Building Fund.

It was *resolved*, that the work be sanctioned and executed at the tendered rates for the main building.

2. The Committee considered the proposal and the estimates for enclosing verandah on the north side of the Science Library to provide more space to the Library at a cost of (a) Rs. 4,542 or (b) Rs. 5,479 to be met out of the Building Fund. The Head of the Mathematics Department being in favour of (a).

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the proposal be postponed for the present.

3. The Committee considered the proposal of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts to enclose the space between the out-houses (at present used as Seminar classes) to build two rooms at an approximate cost of Rs. 4, 700 (inclusive of furniture and electric installation) to be met out of the Building Fund.

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It was *resolved*, that consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.

4. The Committee considered the following demands of the residents of Bank Road at the enhanced rate basis at 6% per annum :—

(*a*) 10/1B,. Bank Road, residence of Sri J. K. Misra for enclosing verandah and converting the same into a room at a cost of Rs. 372.

(*b*) 8/1B and 8/3B, residences of Sarvashri S. C. Kuchchal and D. Sharma for enclosing verandahs and converting them into rooms at a cost of Rs. 309 each i. e. Rs. 618 for both.

(*c*) Providing wire fencing in the compound of 2A, Bank Road, residence of Sri P. D. Hajela at a cost of Rs. 144.

The cost of (a) (b) and (c) to be met out of the Building Fund.

It was *resolved*, that work as detailed in (a), (b) and (c) be sanctioned and the tenants be charged enhanced rent at 6% per annum on the outlay.

5. The Committee considered the demand of the Superintendent, D. J. Hostel for providing 4 to 5 Hydrants to water the lawns and gardens of the Hostel at a cost of Rs. Rs. 1,140, the Engineer recommending only one at a cost of Rs. 172 within the main building. The cost to be met out of the balance under Hostel Construction Fund.

It was *resolved*, that only one Hydrant be given inside the quadrangle at a cost of Rs. 172 and the expenditure be met out of the savings under Hostel Construction Fund.

6. The Committee considered the demand of Superintendent, D. J. Hostel for a boundary wall around his quarters and to bring in the west gate within it at a cost of Rs. 2,232,

the Engineer's recommendations being to provide $2\frac{1}{2}'$ brick wall with a $2'$ wire-fencing on it at a cost of Rs. 1,070 to be met out of the savings under Hostel Construction Fund.

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the demand be postponed for the present.

7. The Committee considered the demand of the tenant 2A, Bank Road, to replace the tiled roof of some part of the house and demolishing of the other parts and providing a stair case at an estimated cost of Rs. 2,387. This being a case of special repairs the cost to be met out of the Building Fund.

It was *resolved*, that the request be not granted.

8. The Committee considered the following :—

(1) the Vice-Chancellor's sanction of a further sum of Rs. 167 to rebuild the damaged wall in the bath room of the Botany Department, the original sanction of the Executive Council of Rs. 520 proving inadequate.

(2) To approve of the rate of Rs. 16 per 100 cft of brick-bats if issued to the contractors.

It was *resolved*, that the Vice-Chancellor's action regarding (1) and (2) as given above be recorded.

9. The Committee considered the Engineer's report dated 7th July, 1954, for providing a separate tap for the servants of the tenants of houses No. 10/1A, 10/1B, 10/2 and 10/3 and also the question of subdividing the houses and enclosing the open land in front of them.

It was *resolved*, that the (a) servants' representation be rejected and no separate tap be given.

10. The Committee considered the Engineer's report and the detailed estimate, as envisaged in W. Com. Res.

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No. 10(2) dated 12th May, 1954, for re-roofing the Women's College at an estimated cost of—

(1) Building	Rs.	31,229
(2) Electric	Rs.	1,936
Total ...	Rs.	33,165

If flush baths are provided and a lecture gallery is added, a further sum of Rs. 4,500 will be needed—the cost to be met out of the Building Fund.

It was *resolved*, that the consideration of the matter be postponed as it is likely that the University may get a separate grant for the construction of Women's College building.

11. The Committee considered the proposals for utilization of the following non-recurring grants from the State Government :—

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Renovation of certain roads ...	15,000	0	0
2. Construction of verandah on upper floor of D. R. Hall ...	14,000	0	0
3. Construction of an Accounts Office	13,000	0	0
4. Construction of a Waiting Hall for Women students ...	15,000	0	0
5. Sanitary fittings	15,000	0	0

It was *resolved*, that :—

1. The Engineer's propasal to renovate certain roads be approved. Tenders be invited and the work be executed. Any extra cost involved be met out of the University Funds.

2. Detailed estimate etc., be prepared and tenders be invited and placed before the next meeting for final approval.

3. The construction of a separate building for Accounts Office is not desirable as control on the office will not be as good as it would be if the whole office was located in one building. The Committee also feels that the sum of Rs. 3,000 would be very inadequate for a Pay Office. For these weighty reasons it was *resolved*, that the North and South Halls of the Senate House building be roofed properly, keeping in view the architectural beauty of the building and the Government be approached for permission to utilise the grant for this purpose.

4. Estimates as prepared by the Engineer be approved. Tenders be invited and placed before the next meeting for final approval. Meanwhile the Vice-Chancellor, Treasurer, Prof. Ghosh and the Engineer may select the site.

5. Detailed estimate etc. be prepared for consideration at the next meeting along with the larger scheme for completing three tube wells and sanitary fittings for all University buildings.

12. With reference to the Executive Council resolution No. 35, dated 15th January, 1955, the Committee considered the recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Vice-Chancellor to select suitable sites for construction of the following buildings :—

1. Building for University Magazine office.
2. Building for Social Service League office.
3. Waiting Hall for Women students.
4. Pay Office.

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It was *resolved*, that in the case of the buildings of the offices of Magazine and Social Service League, necessary sanction be granted for the construction of these buildings, the cost of which to be met out of their own funds, on the explicit condition that the buildings will be the property of the University for all times.

The Committee has already taken decision under Resolution No. 11 above as regard 3 & 4.

K. L. MISRA,
Hony. Treasurer.
(Chairman).

ANNEXURE Z

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD

The Budget Estimates as framed for the year 1955-56 was carefully considered by the Finance Committee which recommended the following additions and alterations and suggested means to meet the deficit during the financial year 1955-56.

Increase in Expenditure under heads concerned

		Rs.
1.	By increasing the Statistical Lab. grant ...	300
2.	By increase in the Botany Agr. Farm grant	1,000
3.	By increase in the Garden Contingencies— Senate House	500
4.	By increase in printtng of Univ. Studies grant	2,000
5.	By increase in printing of Confidential— grant	5,000

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6.	By increase in printing of B.A. & B.Sc. Pt. I Exam. Roll Lists	3,000
7.	By increase in expenses for B.A. & B.Sc. Pt. I Exams.	2,000
8.	By increase in tabulation & checking for B.A. & B.Sc. Pt. I Exams. ...	1,000
9.	By increase in Remuneration to examiners B.A. & B.Sc. Pt. I Exams. ...	22,500
10.	By provision for equipment for Commerce Museum.	320
11.	By provision for the post of a Mechanic in Workshop Trg. classes, erroneously left in the Budget	1,200
12.	By providing the posts of 2 peons and 1 sweeper in the office of Dean, Faculty of Arts & Commerce and Botany Deptts. with usual D. A. & C. A. ...	1,584
13.	By providing the post of a Lady Doctor at Rs. 175 p. m.	2,100
14.	By providing the post of a Committee Clerk in Rs. 150—8—190—12—250 ...	2,160
15.	By providing 22 posts of lecturers in certain Deptts. created in 1953-54 for increased number of students at Rs. 300 each ...	43,200
16.	By providing annual increments earned by some teachers during the period of their temporary service in continuity of their substantive appoinments	20,000
	Total ...	1,07864

By reduction in expenditure under following heads.

		Rs.	Rs.
1.	Annual repairs to buildings ...	4,000	
2.	Petty original works etc. ...	5 000	
3.	Sizarships	18,000	
4.	Terminal Examination expenses ...	5,000	
5.	Tutorial Instruction in Colleges ...	2,000	—34 000
	By increase in income from Exam. fees & other fees		73,864
	B.A. Pt. I ... 25,000		
	B.Sc. Pt. I ... 6,000		
	Fee for marks ... 2,000	=33,000	—27,500
	Less—Terminal Exam. fee ...	—5,500	46,364
	Add estimated working deficit as in the Draft Budget		46,794
	Total Deficit ...		93,158

Means suggested to meet the deficit as below from :—

	Rs.	Rs.	
Profs'. pay—Arabic & Persian and Urdu	=19,200		
Profs'. Provident Fund cont....	= 1,920	21,120	
Salary for 4 months of 12 lecturers for 1953-54		14,400	93,400
Savings from pay of Dr. T. P. Srivastava (resigned) at Rs. 200 p. m. ...		2,400	+242 Net
Provision for Depriciation fund ...		25,000	result.
Reducing the rate of marking answer books for under-graduate classes by Rs 0-4-0		9,870	
From self-sufficiency in Univ. Hostels		20,610	
Total ...		93,400	

Note—The post of the Internal Auditor has already been shown in the Budget subject to Government giving the grant.

APPENDIX B

Report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council to draft necessary Statutes and Ordinances for Provident Fund and Leave Rules for Inferior Staff of the University, held on Friday March 12, 1954 at 3 p. m. in the Vice-Chancellor's Chambers, Senate House, Allahabad.

Members Present :

1. The Vice-Chancellor (*in the Chair*).
2. Prof. M. K. Ghosh.
3. Dr. Shri Ranjan.
4. Lt. Col. S. G. Tewari.
5. Sri K. Chattopadhyaya.

1. The Committee considered the question of drafting necessary Statutes for Provindent Fund for the Inferior Staff of the University.

It was *resolved*, that the following modifications be made in Chapters XVI and XVII relating to Provident Fund of the University employees :

I. (i) *Chapter XVI* (pp. 189-190 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

In Statute 1 of Chapter XVI, (p. 189 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Delete "carrying a salary of Rs. 30 p. m. or upwards" in the fourth line occurring after the words 'Substantive appointment'.

(ii) In Statute 4 of Chapter XVI (p. 189 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Substitute "The subscription to the fund shall be 6¼ p. c. on the salary of persons drawing less than Rs. 60 p. m. and 8 % for others."

for "The subscription to the fund shall be eight per cent on the salary of the subscriber", the 1st line of the Statute.

(iii) In Statute 6 of Chapter XVI (p. 190 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Substitute "At the end of each month the University shall, in the case of each subscriber, make a contribution at the rate of $12\frac{1}{2}$ % in the case of subscribers drawing a monthly salary of less than Rs. 60, 12 % in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of Rs. 60 or above but not exceeding Rs. 500".

for "At the end of each month the University shall in the case of each subscriber make a contribution at the rate of twelve per cent in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of Rs. 500 or less".

II. Chapter XVII (pp. 193-194 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

(i) In Statute 1 of Chapter XVII (p. 193 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Delete "carrying a salary of Rs. 30 p. m. or upwards" in the fifth line occurring after the words 'substantive appointment'.

(ii In Statute 3 of Chapter XVIII (p. 193 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Substitute "The subscription to the Fund shall be $6\frac{1}{4}$ % in the case of persons drawing a monthly salary of less than Rs. 60 and 8 % in the case of others''.

for "The subscription to the Fund shall be eight per cent on the salary of subscriber", the 1st line of Statute 3.

(iii) In Statute 5 of Chapter XVII (p. 193-194 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Substitute "At the end of each month the University shall, in the case of each subscriber make a contribution at the rate of $12\frac{1}{2}$ % in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of less than Rs. 60 p. m., at the rate of 12 % in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of Rs. 60 or above but not exceeding Rs. 500".

for "At the end of each month the University shall, in the case of each subscriber make a contribution at the rate of twelve per cent in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of Rs. 500 or less".

2. The Committee considered the question of drafting necessary Ordinances for Leave Rules for the Inferior Staff of the University.

The Committee recommends that as regards the leave which can be granted to the members of the Inferior Establishment, the rules followed by the U. P. Government be adopted and that the following Ordinance be added as Ordinance No. 30 under Chapter XV, (p. 187 of the Calendar for 1952-53) :—

"Members of the Inferior Establishment will earn and be granted leave in accordance with the rules of the Uttar Pradesh Government enforce".

3. The Committee further recommends that the Vice-Chancellor be requested to issue an executive Order to the effect that earned leave be ordinarily granted to the members of the Inferior Establishment as far as possible during the summer vacation.

A. C. BANERJI,
Vice-Chancellor,
(Chairman).

American Embassy
NEWS LETTER

NEW DELHI
December 9, 1959

Dear Friend:

As I write this letter, we are in the final hours of turmoil preparatory to President Eisenhower's arrival and a busy five-day schedule of events. As you read this letter the President will already have arrived in New Delhi. I am sorry that most of you who live outside of Delhi will not be able to see him in person but I am sure you will follow his visit with great interest by means of radio, newspapers and newsreels.

Many people have asked me ''Why is President Eisenhower making his 22,000 mile trip and visiting eleven countries in such a short period?'' The answer to that question was given succinctly and clearly by President Eisenhower at his first stop in Rome when he told his Italian hosts:

''I bring a simple message from America.... We want to live in peace, friendship and freedom.... This is a message that I hope will be heard in every country where communications are allowed freely.''

Just before his departure from the United States President Eisenhower spoke to the American people over the television and radio networks and gave his listeners a similar, but more complete account of his purposes:

''During this mission of peace and good will, I hope to promote a better understanding of America and to learn more of our friends.... In every country, I hope to make widely known America's deepest desire—a world in which all nations may prosper in freedom, justice and peace, unmolested and unafraid.

''I shall try to convey to everyone our earnestness in striving to reduce the tensions dividing mankind—an effort first requiring, as indeed Mr. Khrushchev agrees, the beginning of mutual disarmament. Of course, I will stress that the first requirement for mutual disarmament is mutual verification.

''Then I hope to make this truth clear—that, on all this earth,

not anywhere does our nation seek territory, selfish gain or unfair advantage for itself. I hope all can understand that beyond her shores, as at home, America aspires only to promote human happiness, justly achieved.''

In many respects, I think we can say that India is the most important stop in his tour. President Eisenhower has long had a deep interest in India and this visit is the realization of a deep-seated wish to gain first-hand knowledge and see for himself. He is particularly eager to renew his long-standing friendship with Prime Minister Nehru for whom he has deep regard and genuine affection. Ever since Mr. Nehru's visit to the United States, President Eisenhower has been trying to find a way to return the visit.

The most important, if least spectacular aspect of this visit, will be the personal conversations between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru and his associates. No one can tell exactly the course of these conversations although many people have enjoyed such speculation. There are, however, two important developments that we can expect. Mr. Eisenhower will return to the United States and with the prestige of his office, interpret sympathetically to the American people and the leaders of government the problems and aspirations of the Indian people. The two statesmen will no doubt discuss the many complex problems that must be resolved to clear the way for a permanent peace in which the peoples of the world are relieved of the heavy burdens of armaments and can devote their resources to the achievement of a free and abundant life for all mankind. It is hoped and expected that the second important result of this visit will be, therefore, to leave behind him a firm conviction that the United States is wholeheartedly and realistically devoted to such a goal.

AMRIKI MELA AT WORLD AGRICULTURE FAIR

While he is here, President Eisenhower will inaugurate the Amriki Mela at the World Agriculture Fair in New Delhi.

The United States is fully aware of the crucial importance of increased agricultural production in India. American foreign policy recognizes that if India is to remain free and independent it must resolve the problems of basic food supply. This appreciation of the importance of agriculture is responsible for the tremendous effort that has been devoted to the Amriki Mela.

Although those of you who live outside Delhi may not be able to attend the formal opening, I hope very much that while the fair is in progress you will be able to pay a visit to the Amriki Mela.

THE MID CENTURY CHALLENGE TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The active participation of private citizens in American foreign policy was dramatically portrayed this week by the release of a report by the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund Special Studies Project. This report was prepared by a group that included a former statesman, educators, business and labor union representatives, and is the fourth such study

to be released by this privately financed fund. The report said in part that the goal of American foreign policy should be ''a world order in which all nations can find their needs fulfilled and all peoples can find their requirements for life and hope and well-being.'' The group cited, as a major U.S. objective, ''the phases of development of a world order in which all people can live in security and realize their fullest potentialities.''

AID AND TRADE

United States Under-Secretary of State, Douglas Dillon, speaking before a group of special trainees of the United States International Cooperation Administration, said, ''economic assistance to the free world's newly developing areas will continue to be a key-stone of American foreign policy for many years to come.''

In addition to the interest of the United States Government in the assisting of newly developing countries, there is also widespread interest on the part of American business. This is typified by the announcement this week that approximately fifty businessmen, representing the Greater Detroit Board of Businessmen, are scheduled to leave for India on a two-week visit as part of the 9th International Trade Tour Program. They will arrive in Bombay on January 20, 1960 and will also visit Delhi and Calcutta. These tours are arranged to give businessmen with direct trade or investment interests the opportunity to discuss problems of mutual concern with Chambers of Commerce, business and industrial leaders, and government representatives in the countries they visit.

This week the United States and India signed an agreement which is expected to encourage a greater flow of American private capital to India. This new accord amends a convertibility guarantee agreement between the two countries signed two years ago. This amendment provides that American investors for a premium will be able to receive insurance for reimbursement in dollars by the United States Government of any losses that might be incurred because of expropriation.

Mr. D. N. Chatterjee, India's Charge d'Affaires, signed for his government. He said: ''It is our hope, that with increasing contacts between India and the United States and the various measures which we have taken, including the agreement which we are signing today, there will be a considerable increase in the flow of private capital from the United States to India.''

HUMAN RIGHTS WEEK

President Eisenhower has proclaimed the week of December 10 to 17 as HUMAN RIGHTS WEEK and called upon people of the United States to pursue the goal of universal freedom and justice. He recalled December 10 marks the 11th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly and that December 15 is the 160th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights to the Constitution of the United States of America.

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In his message he said, ''In gratitude for the liberties that we enjoy, let us work to advance universal freedom and justice and stand ready to uphold the rights of others which are inextricably linked with our own.''

ALGERIA

Expressing hope ''that effect will be given to the aspirations of the people of Algeria by peaceful means,'' the United States this week urged that ''discussion of the question in the United Nations reflect restraint and patience.''

United States delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, addressing the U.N. Assembly Political Committee, welcomed what he described as ''a spirit of conciliation'' evident thus far in the discussion. He reiterated the basic United States view in favor of ''a just, peaceful and democratic solution.''

Lodge pointed out that recent statements by the parties chiefly concerned ''offer real hope'' for such a solution. Accordingly, he said, ''these parties should be encouraged to reach agreement unhampered by extraneous factors which might endanger the chances of direct negotiations.''

TWELVE NATIONS SIGN HISTORIC AGREEMENT ON ANTARCTIC

Twelve nations active in the Antarctic regions last week signed a treaty to preserve the vast polar continent for scientific and peaceful use only. Military bases and nuclear explosions are to be banned there.

The signing ceremony culminated seven weeks of intensive study and negotiation among the signatories. The contracting parties convened at the suggestion of the United States.

Signing the treaty, which must later be ratified by the respective countries, were Argentina, Chile, Australia, France, Norway, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, the Soviet Union, the United States, Belgium, South Africa and Japan. Of these, first seven have advanced claims to sovereignty over parts of the region. Signatories neither renounce their claims nor necessarily recognize those of other countries.

United States officials attached far-reaching significance to provisions of the 12-nation treaty on Antarctica, which will bar military activities in the polar region and encourage continuation of international cooperation among scientists.

Yours sincerely,

WK Bunce

W. K. Bunce
Counselor of Embassy for Public Affairs

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AVARD NEWS LETTER

Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development
56-A, Janpath, New Delhi

Vol. I No. 4 | Annual Subscription Rs. 2.00 | July-September 1959

YOUTH & RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

POSSIBLY the biggest single event in the growth of independent India is the present transformation in the field of rural local self-government. New panchayat legislations are being discussed and adopted whereby powers of administrative and developmental nature are being specially made over to panchayats at the village, block and district levels.

Rajasthan, with its sturdy and confident traditions, has been bolder than other States. It is presently busy with the implementation of its new panchayat set-up, whereby all developmental activities are entrusted to Vikas Samitis (Block Panchayats). This set-up will be initiated on the birthday of Gandhiji. Perhaps this step has come easier to the brave people of Rajasthan as they, at least partly, still retain the older traditions of our self-governing villages. The good wishes and admiration of the rest of India go to the people of Rajasthan for taking a courageous lead.

Courageous Lead

In the new set-up in Rajasthan all developmental activities pertaining to community development, agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, education, rural housing, etc., are being entrusted to Vikas Samitis. These Samitis are constituted by all the Sarpanchs in a Block area. Members of the Vidhan Sabha from the particular Block sit as associate members with the right to participate in deliberations but without a vote. These Samitis are to be assisted by various standing committees, each dealing with a group of subjects. A Vikas Adhikari (the equivalent of a present BDO) will function under the Samiti and be its executive authority.

The other development staff in the area, both technical and supervisory, would also be at the disposal of the Samiti. Each Samiti in Rajasthan is to cover an area with a population of about 75,000 and would have an average income of Rs. 5 lakhs. The finances at present at the disposal of the CD and NES Blocks would also be at the disposal of the Samiti. Though the Samiti could be advised by the Zila Parishad of the area (such Parishads are also being constituted) it has the final say in preparing its own budget and allocating funds to various activities according to its own local priorities.

It is reported that the political parties in Rajasthan have decided that elections to the Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads will not be fought on a party basis. This example is commendable for parties in the other States of India where also the formation of such local bodies could be kept apart from wider party politics.

The success of the Rajasthan experiment and all such experiments in other States will largely depend on the availability of enthusiastic and socially aware cadre of workers for this work. Without a sufficient number of workers all such programmes, whether in the field of panchayats or in the field of service cooperatives, or of rural education, will mostly remain on paper.

The past century and more has sapped our rural areas and skimmed off its promising youth. The rural youth has continued to drift to the cities, the Government offices or to large-scale commercial establishments. Rural India has practically got no return for the youth it had reared. This process has to be reversed sometime. Only when this lost talent returns to the rural areas, devotes itself to the tasks of reconstruction, will it be possible to make appreciable headway in our rural life. Unfortunately, in spite of our pious hopes and planning most of our efforts are still in the nature of platitudes. This may also happen to the new panchayat structure and other such measures being advocated today unless we bend all our efforts to find more workers and retain them in the rural areas.

Most Precious Asset

Our universities today produce around 50,000 graduates every year. Very few of them ever return to the rural areas, and, worse still, most of them lead a discontented and frustrated life, not being able to secure the work or the jobs which they had hoped for during their academic days. To a large extent the fault is with our organisation. However, the greater responsibility in this regard lies on our inability to channel our educated youth in other fruitful activities. This equally relates to those who do not go beyond the higher secondary institutions.

(Continued on page 2)

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SEMINAR AT SEVAGRAM

THE last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, which met at the end of August, has decided that the annual general meeting of the Association should be held about the middle of January 1960. It is also intended to hold a Seminar for four or five days at that time.

Shri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe, on behalf of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, has extended an invitation to the Association to hold this meeting and Seminar at Sevagram. The invitation was gladly accepted by the Committee.

The subject of the Seminar would be "Approaches to Rural Development."

Causes of Inertia

PROJECTED STUDY BY AVARD

AT its last meeting the Executive Commitee of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development felt that the basic problem which underlies all constructive and developmental activities is the state of inertia which prevails at all levels. The Association has, therefore, decided to undertake a Research Study into the causes of prevailing inertia, particularly among the rural population. This Study will suggest the catalytic agent which may be essential to achieve the desired transformation.

The Association has also decided to undertake a Study of and investigation into the traditional forms of cooperation which existed in various parts of the country. AVARD feels that such a study may lead to the growth of a sound cooperative movement by the revival or adoption of these older forms.

The Association is requesting various other bodies, particularly the universities, for advice and assistance.

The Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development is devoted to promotion and strengthening of voluntary effort by helping in the exchange of experiences and ideas and by conducting research and evaluation studies.

More information about the aims, objects and activities of the Association can be obtained from the General Secretary, Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, 56-A, Janpath, New Delhi.

NATIONAL SERVICE FOR YOUTH

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan Heads AVARD Sub-Committee

AS a result of discussions at the Executive Committee meeting of the Association, a sub-committee has been constituted to consider how the youth can best participate in national reconstruction and development. This sub-committee would not only study the various programmes which exist today in India, but also take note of similar programmes in other countries, particularly Yugoslavia and Israel. Initial data in this respect is being collected.

The sub-committee is headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narain. Shri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe, Prof. N. D. Godbole and Shri Saligram Pathik are its members.

YOUTH AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

(*Continued from page 1*)

Present-day youth is usually blamed for its indifference to political and social activities. For such a state of affairs one cannot blame the youth alone. If the problem is considered in all earnestness it would be realised that the fault lies with our educational system which rears the youth on a set of values hardly conducive to self-sacrifice and social responsibility. Given a suitable atmosphere, opportunity and appreciation, the present-day youth would undoubtedly give a fair account of itself and prove the most precious asset in the emergence of new India.

An Urgent Need

The need today is to find the necessary means whereby the young people could participate and acquaint themselves with our programmes of development and the India which is in the making. Not many months ago the Ministry of Education formulated a scheme for national service for students. Similar ideas have also been advocated at various levels during the past decade. However, no concrete steps have yet emerged. Perhaps all those concerned have not yet realised the urgency of this problem.

It is agreed on all sides that no large-scale development in our 5½ lakh villages is possible unless the villagers feel a stake in such development and take the initiative in formulating, implementing and executing such programmes. Rajasthan, perhaps, is a symbol that the villagers have started to move. But such awakening alone is not sufficient. It has to be accompanied by willing workers, who, in their lakhs, could go and live in villages and, in addition to partaking in the normal life there, also assist with technical knowledge, account keeping, office know-how, etc.

Link Between Town & Village

A comprehensive programme is needed to make this possible. Perhaps, given unanimity and cooperation in the country, all youth, say between 18 and 25, could be mobilised for a year or two not only to participate in constructive work but also to get to know village life from the inside and obtain the necessary grounding for constructive work in later life. Such a programme could lead to a large number of our educated young people, if given opportunity and understanding, themselves volunteering to serve in our villages. It would then be possible for a part of the learning imparted by our academic institutions to reach the countryside. Thus contact would be re-established between our rural and academic life.

The problem of finding suitably trained cadre for work in rural India is to our mind the central and the most important link in the successful implementation of programmes of rural reconstruction and rural self-government. We have outlined a few urgently needed steps which perhaps would meet this urgent need. We are sure that organisations interested in the role and welfare of youth and those engaged in the task of rural development must have given thought to this problem. Perhaps some of these organisations have come to more practical suggestions in this regard. It is, therefore, all the more essential to discuss this problem on a wide scale leading to comprehensive national approach and programme of action.

CARROT AND STICK

Below we publish a condensed version of a review by Walter C. Neal of "Pilot Project, India" and "India's Changing Villages" which appeared in the "Far Eastern Survey" of December, 1958.

GREAT innovations in social revolution and economic development are rare. This century has seen two: the creation of heavy industry by forceful extraction of savings from collectivised agriculture, first in Russia and now in China; and the scheme of Community Development, of raising rural incomes and living standards by implanting initiative and competence in the villagers, which is now being tried in India. The 'stick' of the Communists succeeds with bloodshed and famine; the 'carrot' of Community Development is only now being tested.

The two books, *Pilot Project, India,* and *India's Changing Villages,* under review here describe the concept, the origins, the activities, and the transformation of community projects in India, and supplement each other to a remarkable extent. Both are excellent books and the first is deeply moving.

Pilot Project, India is a record of the Etawah Community Development Project and a distillation of Albert Mayer's observations and thoughts as the project grew from an idea that extension work techniques could revive and reform the Indian village to the prototype for rural extension work from Indonesia to Ghana. Two things shine through this book: what a community project can be, and what sort of man Albert Mayer is. India, and all of us, could use much more of both.

Sense of Immediacy

The book is built around excerpts from 84 reports and news-letters written by Mayer and a few of his colleagues in the Etawah Project from 1946 to 1956. In the early part of the book, describing the origins and early years of the project, the excerpts are roughly in a chronological order, but later passages are arranged topically with enough chronological order to indicate how the thoughts developed.

The excerpts from news-letters and reports are introduced and enlarged upon by new passages written by Mayer, and towards the end of the book new writings convey his recent thoughts on the subject. A few connecting links are supplied by Marriott and Park in collaboration with Mayer. Contrary to expectation, this system does not make for choppiness. A sense of immediacy is created by use of original writings, and this reviewer was interested to read that by 1948 Mayer was warning repeatedly against the kind of mistake which was to become more and more common in the administration of later projects.

Role of Village Level Workers

What happens when the shell without the content, the concept without the spirit, is taken over on a massive scale by an unprepared organisation is made sadly clear by S. C. Dubey in *India's Changing Villages.* Here we have a report from the Cornell Team on the progress and procedures of a later community project. The ideas of Etawah are there, the principles are there, the organisational frame is there, to a large extent the same urges are present; but the imagination, the attention to detail, and, above all, the sensitivity to person and to situation are lacking. The first quarter of Dube's book is a history of the community project which he observed. This is followed by a half of the book describing and analysing the reaction of the villagers to change and the characteristics and effectiveness of officials and Government servants as agents of change.

Meticulous Reporting

All this is well done and one understands the problems faced and how they arose, but the last quarter is the best of the book. Appendix I analyzes the role of the Village Level Worker (VLW), his reactions to his life and especially to the officers over him. The second appendix consists of thirty pages of diary recounting ten days in the life of a VLW. Even without this piece the book is good but these thirty pages add immensely to its value. The difficulties and tensions which have already been described and illustrated come to be for the reader the irritations which they were to the VLW. The pressure to get things done, the slips and mishaps, and the lack of support from above, left this reviewer in a mood to curse.

The strength of *India's Changing Villages* is the strength of good anthropology; meticulous reporting of observation without dependence upon *a priori* reasoning and predetermined conclusions. There is a summary chapter of recommendations, but what has come before almost makes it unnecessary. Dube dose not need to analyse the principles of effective extension work because his observations and analysis of the particular make the general principles, upon which Mayer insists, perfectly clear.

Proof of the Pudding . . .

The community project is the antithesis of the Soviet *Kolkhoz.* The *Kolkhoz* achieves its result because the power of the State forces the peasantry to do what is wanted. If the stick is applied ubiquitously and continuously, the State can get the development it wants; so we have learned from the USSR. But if the stick is applied occasionally, inconsistently, and not very hard, the peasants learn to duck the blows, and are quite right in reasoning that the risk of an occasional blow is less troublesome than compliance.

This is why the sporadic drives for sanitation, the barnstorming of cooperatives, the bursts of activities by district officers never achieved permanent results in India. In projects people will improve their lot if they can be shown that there is a better way of living, if they can be shown how to achieve this better life, and if they are supplied with those elements of help which must come from the outside. The basic doctrine is that the "proof of the pudding is in the eating."

Aspirations and Achievements

The corrollary for the extension worker is that he must persuade by presenting evidence that is convincing in the every day experience of the villager, and when some item or condition external to the village is needed, he must supply it. He must show by doing and help by succeeding.

To build in the idea of development the villager must first be shown that he can achieve things he wants but once thought he could not achieve. This means discovering the "felt need," showing how it can be achieved, but never trying to do the impossible,

(Continued on page 8)

Agriculture Under Community Development in West Bengal

by A. N. Roy

THE Community Development Programme for rural uplift has three chief objectives: (1) to teach villagers the art of better living and improved methods of production, (2) to generate self-help and group-action amongst them so that they are encouraged to discuss their problems collectively and solve them by their own united efforts, (3) to offer to the villagers certain services and aids considered essential by the Government.

How far these objectives are being progressively realised in the field of agriculture, we shall describe below. What has been called the Agricultural Programme under Community Development suggests specific lines along which community development work must be carried out. The programme in West Bengal falls into the following categories:

1. Distribution Scheme (of improved seeds, fertilizers, improved implements, etc.);
2. Cultivation of green manures;
3. Production of compost manures;
4. Result demonstration in cultivators' holdings;
5. Scheme for a small workshop and demonstration of improved agricultural implements, poultry incubator and plant protection equipment, pumping plant for irrigation;
6. Animal husbandry and veterinary aid;
7. Loan for cooperative marketing societies;
8. Miscellaneous schemes (promotion of horticulture, kitchen gardening, cotton cultivation, bee-keeping, demonstration of irrigation devices and use of irrigation water).

As irrigation and reclamation schemes benefit agriculture directly, we may as well include these in our present account. Irrigation is a prime need of agriculture in West Bengal. Extension of cultivation through double cropping will only be possible, if large-scale irrigation facilities are made available.

The benefit of the major irrigation projects can hardly be utilised unless we supplement those by small and minor schemes. In evolving such schemes, we have to study local needs and local conditions. In a Community Development Block, this task can be realistically carried out.

Agricultural Schemes executed under the general Five Year Plans also benefit block areas. One of the most important schemes under the State's Second Plan which will help the improvement of agriculture throughout the State, but particularly in the block areas, is for the establishment of 100 seed farms. Many of these are now located in the various Development Blocks. The Plant Protection Scheme is another scheme of some importance.

The poor quality of cattle in West Bengal affects agriculture in the State. It is one of the most urgent problems which must be solved if we want to improve village economy. Several Animal Husbandry and Veterinary aid schemes have been included in the Community Development Programme. But the scheme for Key Village Centres for artificial insemination and organisation of breeding tracts, which is being executed under our Second Plan, will render very useful service to the villagers.

Rabindranath Tagore writing on Cooperation said that it is the only way to generate faith in our villagers and help them to adopt practices which will improve their condition. The poet wrote, "It is not enough to say that we have no money. The real problem is that we have no hope." He tried to show that only through cooperative activities, our people would have faith and confidence in themselves and could hope to better their lot.

It is obvious after about seven years' experience in Community Development work that people's cooperation is a pre-requisite for the success of the movement. Since the greatest emphasis under the programme is on agriculture, cultivators' cooperatives either for production, marketing or credit are necessary. Thus, a drive has begun in rural areas to enlist the cultivators as members of cooperatives.

LESSONS OF A 'SELF-HELP SCHEME'

by Babu Lal Jalan

THE one thing which stands out very prominently in the operation of our pilot project is the feeling that the village people in India have lost confidence in themselves. They are intelligent, hard working but they have lost the confidence that they can rebuild their future.

It is necessary, therefore, as the very first step to make them conscious of their ability to improve their living conditions and, indeed, rebuild the economy of the country. Millions in the country who are jobless today — mostly underemployed — are the greatest asset of the country.

A Great Lesson

But any amount of effort will not arouse them from their slumber unless the social workers who go out in the villages are prepared to work shoulder to shoulder with the people. But people who have had education are completely averse to any kind of manual work.

One great lesson which one learns from this pilot project is that we should depend solely on self-help voluntary labour for rural development. The moment you give subsidy and doles, it inculcates a very bad spirit of charity.

However, it is also very clear that people are very religious minded and self-sacrificing. Thus when we were making roads in some of our project villages, people with very small holdings of land readily came forward to give away necessary land for road-making purposes. This shows that only if proper organisation could be provided and the projects undertaken with a correct approach to the basic problems, there would be no dearth of voluntary efforts

(*Continued on page 8*)

Some Lessons in Cooperation

by Sugata Das Gupta

THEY say, that a group of onion dealers from somewhere in the United States had once planned to set up a "Sellers' Cooperative." Accordingly a few leading dealers circulated a notice, called a meeting of all the onion dealers and adopted a unanimous resolution agreeing to sell all their produce through a common agency.

Impressed by the ready response and the unanimity of the participants the farm leaders went back only to find that when the actual hour of collection of the produce arrived, most of the individual farmers had already disposed off their produce individually, totally forgetting the promises they made a few days ago. The exasperated farm leaders then referred the matter to a local community organiser. The community worker called the onion dealers together again, and again and again; every afternoon, at a central place to organise musical evenings. Thus the onion dealers met in order to sing together, chat together, play together and joke together.

Disappointing Conditions

And so, developed a feeling of togetherness among the dealers, which broke the barriers of suspicion and brought the participants nearer to each other psychologically and socially till one fine evening the dealers themselves revived the question of forming a sellers' cooperative. This time the society met with almost hundred per cent success.

A village organiser working under the auspices of the Viswa Bharati Department of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan was similarly commissioned, twenty-five years ago, to set up one of the first cooperative credit societies of this region. Although the worker was a resident of the locality where he was now called upon to work, he had been away from home for some years. Arriving back, however, he found the conditions disappointing.

The village was sleepy and lethargic without any sign of life. The people lay shackled in the clutches of the money-lenders, and were litigative, quarrelsome, malaria stricken, poor and hopelessly fatalistic. The only active group was that of a handful of youths, who smoked *bidis* and sat in open spaces, to discuss the village scandal.

The village worker, himself a strict non-smoker, offered them *bidis* as a goodwill gesture and for days together he participated in their dubious and noisy gatherings, talked scandal with them and gradually, as they grew to like him, he told them stories of some other villages around Sriniketan which had established a few literacy centres in order to ensure that the money-lenders could no longer fool them.

Enamoured by the idea, the group proposed to the worker that they also should have a literacy centre and learn some reading and writing so as to reckon with the tyrant money-lenders of their village. The group now started addressing the village worker as their *Master Mashai* or "Teacher, Sir" and never smoked in class.

Cooperatives Organised

Later he spoke to them again about saving money and starting a cooperative credit society but before they could catch at the idea the *Santhals* of a neighbouring village came forward with the request to organise a "night class" for them, as they also wanted to control their money-lenders. The worker put before these groups of *Santhals* his idea of forming a cooperative credit society and they immediately consented to set up one. The youth group, referred to earlier, soon followed suit and a few other villages also came forward to form their own cooperatives.

The worker reports that within a few years the area was dotted with literacy centres and cooperative societies and in organising these the group of raffish young men played a leading role aiding and assisting the worker in all his endeavours and respecting him as their *Guru* and never smoking or showing any disrespect to him.

These two instances and many other like these could be quoted to illustrate that the beginnings of a cooperative are to be registered not in a government office but in the minds of the people.

Barriers Broken

Three things stand out, in this connection, which are of paramount importance : (i) No cooperative can be imposed either by a resolution of a committee or by a governmental fiat; (ii) Cooperatives can only be formed in a village when a clearly conceived need for a cooperative is consciously realised by all its members or at least by a greater portion of them; and (iii) The initiative of forming a cooperative must ultimately come from the people themselves; the cooperative organiser who must be a social worker par excellence or a community organiser can only stimulate the thinking of a group and integrate their disjointed interests through programmes of community action. Common activity will develop a sense of togetherness, thus gradually breaking the barriers which keep people apart.

Once these barriers of distance are broken, the people will grow to trust themselves and each other, and realise the benefits of common action in certain spheres in which they now realise that they cannot derive any benefit by isolated and individual efforts.

An Essential Truth

The ruling party of the country and the Government of India is keen on starting a number of service cooperatives all over the country. The idea is not, certainly, to prepare a strait-jacket where all of the many millions of India could fit in but the plan, one hopes, is to give to the people a way of thinking and working together so that they could meet all their basic needs which "experts" feel the people cannot realise without working jointly and without forming cooperative institutions.

The essential truth that people cannot by individual effort only defeat the giant evil of the poverty cannot be disputed. But what can certainly be disputed is whether the cooperatives could be formed overnight, by a government fiat or by a party's resolution or even by appointing paid workers who arrive at the village to set up the "cooperatives" ? The way of builders of cooperatives

(Continued on page 12)

THE STILL-BORN SUPPLE

THE Government of India has recently circulated to the Development Commissioners of all States and Union Territories another note regarding supplementary credit on a pilot project basis in supersession of the earlier note issued in May this year. After a brief encounter with the realities of the situation, agricultural credit has returned to its impregnable ivory tower. The poor cultivator has been left to the tender mercies of orthodox cooperative banking after a genuine gesture of generosity.

One thing that immediately strikes, even to a casual reader of the new note, is that it does not even once refer to the programme envisaged in the previous note. Nor does it provide any reasons why that programme was found to be unworkable. A covering letter simply announces that the earlier note is being superseded "in the light of recommendations of the Conference" of the State Ministers of Cooperation held at Mysore in July and "in the interests of clarity." The recommendations of the Mysore Conference on this score emphasise that "there should be only one line of credit" and that "central banks should sympathetically consider the question of making increased amounts available" to the village cooperatives.

Pompous Report

While beating this retreat all along the line, the Department of Cooperation has announced that a Committee will examine "existing standards for credit limits" and "their justification from the point of view of the principles of sound cooperative banking" in order to suggest "measures necessary for increasing the borrowing power of primary credit societies to the extent necessary in this connection." This step, too, has been taken in pursuance of a recommendation of the Mysore Conference.

Thus, instead of creating the much-needed credit, the Government of India has, as has become its usual habit, created one more committee. The question which everyone, who feels concern for the Indian cultivator, will ask is : when will Government policy move beyond conferences and committees and earnestly accept a positive policy of extending full-scale assistance to our agriculturists who not only constitute the bulk of the nation but also carry on their shoulders the onerous weight of feeding a fast-expanding population?

Ever since the question of supplying State-sponsored credit to the cultivator was taken up at the turn of the last century, a host of committees and commissions have examined the problem again and again. An elaborate All-India Rural Credit Survey has produced a pompous report which, at one time, promised to be a panacea for all the ills from which our rural population has been suffering for centuries. All sorts of conferences at all levels have, time and again, discussed this question threadbare. The basic issues involved have, by now, been spotted and summarised with a degree of unanimity which it is difficult to discover elsewhere. It is, therefore, beyond one's imagination as to what new light a new committee is expected to throw on this simple and straight-forward subject.

Woolly Language

Nor does a comparison of the two notes support the argument that the earlier and bolder programme has been abandoned in the "interests of clarity."

The first note had forthrightly recognised that, on account of its own inner inhibitions, the existing structure of cooperative banking was unable to supply adequate credit to the cultivator and that a new approach was urgently needed for making it available to "cultivators who are not in a position to obtain their full requirements from cooperative agencies" and to "small cultivators who are at present not members of cooperative societies and are, therefore, not eligible for loans from them."

The soundness of this new approach was to be tested by a number of pilot projects in all parts of the country. And what was most important, additional finances outside the existing cooperative funds had been promised to make the pilot projects a practical proposition. There was no confusion at all in the essentials of this scheme, notwithstanding the cautious and somewhat woolly language which has become the stock-in-trade of all our Government communications.

Confusion Worse Confounded

In contrast, the new note consists of nothing but confusion worse confounded. No doubt, it is meticulously clear so far as the preparation of village production plans and the appointment of additional community development and cooperative staff is concerned. The Government of India promises to share the new establishment expenses on a 50 : 50 basis. But on the question of providing additional credit, it only expresses the forlorn hope that "once a proper production plan for each member of the village society is prepared.. it should be possible for the village society to provide the necessary finances" and that "it should be possible for the central banks to provide larger funds to primary societies on the strength of such production plans." The impression that is sought to be given here is that cooperative credit in abundance has been held up so far only for want of proper production plans. Nothing can be farther from the truth.

Waste of Time

Nobody disputes the need and desirability of proper production plans. If there has been, till now, a delay in such planning from village to village and from family to family, the fault has entirely been with the Government and its fast-expanding and expensive bureaucratic machine. To the best of our knowledge, the agriculturist has never been encouraged or helped to plan his production in detail and in terms of improved methods and supplies. But the point that needs to be stressed here is that a mere production plan without an adequate assurance of finance needed for implementing it is just another nan to the cultivator to harbour false hop no more effective n the all too abunda tion which the c piling up all throug

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PPLEMENTARY CREDIT

by SITA RAM GOEL

is just another name for an invitation to the cultivator to waste his time and harbour false hopes. There can be no more effective method of adding to the all too abundant fund of frustration which the cultivator has been piling up all through these years.

Had the cooperative banking structure been able to meet the problem, it would have been solved long ago. It is not our poor cultivator who has been hesitating to avail of cooperative credit. On the contrary, it is cooperative credit which has so far refused to go anywhere near the really needy and deserving cultivator. Those who are responsible for evolving the policies followed at present by our cooperative banks have left no one in doubt that their first priority is not to rush to the help of the hard-pressed cultivator but to safeguard, at all costs, the funds entrusted to them by the Government for helping the cultivator.

Sterile Policies

Unless these sterile and self-defeating policies are radically and irrevocably reversed, it will be hoping against hope to think that the cooperative banks will come forward with additional credit. Hatching out production plans for consideration by banks that are tied, hand and foot, by outmoded directives and attitudes will make no noticeable difference to the fast-deteriorating situation.

In order to look the problem in the face, we have to begin at the beginning. Our cultivators need large-scale financial help immediately and urgently in order to rescue themselves from the private moneylender who still dominates the countryside, to improve their methods and increase their production and, thus, to come into their own as full-fledged citizens of Independent India. Does the Government of India recognise and accept the responsibility of helping the cultivators to help themselves?

If it does, the straight and simple course for it is to *rush* the necessary finances at the earliest by whatever methods and on whatever terms are found workable under the existing circumstances. If the cooperative banks are permitted and are prepared to modify their methods and do the job, they have the first priority. But if they have their doubts and hesitations, if they have confined themselves within the four walls of canons which render their performance ponderous and purposeless at the source, they can very well be ignored and told to find out for themselves whatever other business suits their convenience. Alternate methods and agencies should be evolved to meet and solve a problem which brooks no further delay.

Mis-spent Energy

It has become an inveterate habit of all committees and conferences that are asked to deliberate upon this subject to forget completely that the sole purpose of creating the cooperative banks at so much administrative and financial cost was to make adequate credit available to the cultivator promptly and on easy terms. Consequently, all discussions have inevitably tended to centre on what are described as the "requirements of sound cooperative banking." One fails to understand what can ever be sound about cooperative banking if it fails to deliver adequate and timely credit to the cultivator. Yet that is exactly what has happened in this country. Today we spend all our energy on safeguarding the resources put in the hands of cooperative banks rather than insist that these resources should be used for the purpose they are intended to serve.

A Vicious Circle

The banks are not allowed to take the risk of advancing adequate and timely funds to the cultivator who, in their opinion, is a poor risk because "the fellow does not have a shirt on his back." This extraordinary cautiousness lands the whole machinery of cooperative credit straight into a vicious circle from which there seems to be no way out. If this circle is to be broken, someone somewhere will have to take the risk some day. For, otherwise the cultivator will never come to have a shirt on his back and will run the risk of losing even his skin.

Trust the Cultivator

Looking at it from another angle, it is simply a question of showing a certain amount of initial trust in the cultivator. A decision has to be taken by those who are eager and responsible for rebuilding the nation, that our hardworking and honest cultivator is going to be trusted. If we are not prepared to trust him, let us end this round of committees and conferences which only increase the bulk of already voluminous reports without adding an iota to the initiative needed in this direction. Let us drop the whole matter. Let us admit defeat and leave the cultivator to his fate. Lofty talk without corresponding capacity to act boldly, generously and imaginatively will henceforward sound more and more hypocritical and breed only cynicism.

A Great Opportunity

Here is a great opportunity for the Committee which has been recently appointed by the Department of Co-operation to go over this question. The terms of reference laid down for the Committee leave the impression that it is also expected to travel up the traditional track and provide yet another variation on the age-old theme of "sound cooperative banking." But the Committee has the opportunity to break a new path. It can very well point out in its report that these terms of reference are too narrow and unrealistic for accommodating the solution of a giant problem. At the same time, the Committee can once more lay bare the fundamentals involved and advocate an altogether revolutionary line of attack. It is hoped that what has been stated in this article about those fundamentals will help the Committee to make up its mind and set a new example for all subsequent committees to follow.

CARROT AND STICK

(Continued from page 3)

because that way lies disillusionment and reversion to the old pattern. The essence of any relationship of consent is trust, and trust can be founded only upon experience. "...We cannot fall down on a promise. That is the absolutely unforgivable sin." Beyond the "felt need" the project worker wants to show the villagers that there are other goals which he can gain and thus build in a spiral of aspiration and achievement.

It follows from these requirements that the programme in each village must be tailored to the needs of that village, that each spiral of aspiration will be different since it arises from different village circumstances, histories, and tastes. Only by working with villagers as equals can be VLW persuade, find out what the villagers want and envisage a spiral of aspiration; and only by treating the VLW with respect, listening to him, and supporting him can the higher echelons of the developmental services help to create a dynamic rural society. Mutual respect between villagers and hierarchy and within the hierarchy itself is the essence of the new "democratization" of administration and "grass roots planning."

The Greatest Sin

One sometimes has the impression that Dube feels the greatest sin is the hypocrisy of the higher officials when they recruit and train VLWs for democratic work and then order them about and force them to drive the villagers. But hypocrisy is not the major sin; the real objection to ordering results without prior consent from below is simply that it will not work, and that the man who orders instead of asking is an ineffective administrator.

Pilot Project, India drives home this point. *India's Changing Villages* shows the weakness of the technique when turned over to men whose background is the stick and not the carrot. Mayer says, "No work should be undertaken, however necessary, except in an emergency, unless effective personnel is available for the particular work." In the area he studied Dube found only seven of the needed twenty VLWs at the start of project and seventeen after a year and a half, and raises some doubt as to whether they were well selected. Mayer insisted that programmes vary from village to village, but Dube found that "conformity to the State-wide pattern was regarded as more desirable than planning for specific local needs." The injunction that lower echelons should not be humiliated was often ignored by the project officers. The very definite feeling on the part of the VLWs in Dube's area that they were not truly a part of a new extension service is death to the "vital factor of devotion, enthusiasm, initiative, the strong sense of status, validity and recognition" without which a "new stagnation and frustration will be reached, and that in the not very distant future."

From Frustration Comes Failure

Should we conclude from the disillusioning evidence of Dube, from the fears of Mayer in his writings of 1956, from the observations of others in the field, that community projects have been a failure ? By no means. They have not been given time to come to fruition. The danger is that they will be swamped by the rush to cover the country with projects and never be given the time or the personnel or the supplies to come to fruition. This danger is the burden of the last two chapters of Mayer's book.

The essence of success in extension work is time, and community projects are extension work writ large over every part of village life. How long does it take to achieve results? "At Etawah the possibility of a general uplifting of the villagers' own standards developed only after four years of cumulative growth and experience... It was apparent also by 1956 that at least six or seven years of sustained work are needed for such results. Today undermanned, ill-mannured, overworked, and under-supplied are asked to accomplish the task in three years."

This is asking for frustration, and from frustration will come failure, and from failure a stagnation all the harder to overcome because experience has taught the villager to distrust the new projects.

Mayer feels that it would be politically impossible to prolong greatly the period during which the projects will be spread across India, but this reviewer is inclined to disagree. The electorate is not nearly as enthusiastic about the projects as are the officials in the higher levels of political and administrative life (why else must the work proceed so slowly and so tactfully?) and the Congress Party workers are unlikely to rebel so long as there is some progress and each region gets a share. Proposals to increase the rigours of selection and training of VLWs and other officers were circulated to the State and central governments and the reactions were favourable. Most impressive was the acceptance, by twelve or thirteen responding State governments, of the suggestion that the period of intensive community development be extended to six years, and that the degree of intensity of the post-intensive period be increased over an additional six years. This would involve a three-year extension of the period for spreading the projects, a year more than Mayer has been urging.

Lessons of a 'Self-Help Scheme'

(Continued from page 4)

and contributions to make the projects a success.

Personal Incentives

But if the effort of the constructive voluntary labour is to be sustained on a regular long-term basis, it is necessary that projects of personal benefit like a house for the family, a well for their own land be launched. In any case the programme should not be one-sided. While it may seek to undertake schemes of community development and benefit, it should also initiate projects which would benefit the individual directly.

Great stress should also be laid on provision of irrigation facilities so that the incomes of the people improve. When social consciousness is created while people remain poor, there will be greater dissatisfaction and frustration.

PLANNING FOR ABUNDANCE

A Review of the Ford Foundation Team's Report

by Ranjit Gupta

"INDIA in search of food for her ever-soaring population" reminds one of a parable in ancient literature. The story is about a quarrel between the mosquitoes and Mr. West Wind. Even Jupiter could not arbitrate because as Mr. West Wind came in the mosquitoes flew out. There, though it sounds rhetoric, is nothing more common than to see while the Expert Committees try to find ways and means of balancing over-population and undernutrition, the gap between the two increases manifold.

A number of committees which have gone into the question of food shortage have given different estimates. But the reported scale of shortage, closely following the chronological order of these committees, is expanding itself. The Ford Foundation Team's estimates—the latest in the run of 1966 overwhelm us with a 120 million rise in population in 15 years (from 1951 to 1966) and a 28 million ton shortage of foodgrains for 480 million Indians. To feed them at 18 ounces per person per day, as also to make provision for live-stock feed, seed, wastage and storage, India, by 1965-66, shall have to achieve a target of 110 million tons of foodgrains.

Immediate Action Needed

As the future sounds sufficiently grave, the Team emphasises the need for taking immediate steps, almost on war footing, for increasing the country's food production to the desired level of 110 million tons. To meet this emergency, it suggests a number of steps which would enable the farmer to increase production and the country to plan for an abundant economy.

A careful look into the Ford Team's estimates—thanks to Daniel Thorner (see his 'Ploughing the Plan Under,' The Economic Weekly, Special number, July 1959)—however, assures us that the prospect is not so appalling as it sounds. In estimating the expansion of population and consequently the quantity of foodgrains needed to feed it, the Team errs on the statistical side. Thus, whereas it finds that by the end of the Third Plan food will be needed for 480 million persons, the estimated population, even using the Team's own measurements, should not have been more than 470 million. For, the Team, which assumes a base figure of 360 million persons in 1951, calculates the increase at 5 million persons per year during the First Plan period, 7 million during the Second Plan period and 10 million during the Third Plan period.

At this rate the net increase by 1966 comes to 110 million and, when added to 360 million, the sum total is 470 million only. This excess of 10 million excludes another 3.2 million the difference between Ford Team's 360 million in 1591 and the Census Report's 356.8 million. After adjusting these errors, population by 1966 slips from 480 million to 467 so suddenly that the statistically created 'elbow room' almost cracks at the middle.

The suggested target of 110 million tons of foodgrains by 1965-66 includes: (i) the consumption need of cereals and pulses at 18 ounces per person per day, or 88 million tons for 480 million persons; (ii) provision for seed, live-stock feed and wastage at 12.5 per cent of total production, or 12.6 million tons; and (iii) 9.4 million tons as safety margin stock. Daniel Thorner gives another estimate. According to him, the consumption need of cereals and pulses at the standard stipulated rate of 18.3 ounces per adult per day will be 77 million tons, provided that the population of 480 million persons is reduced to an approximate number of adult equivalent, as is normally done.

Actual Requirements

This estimate may sound unconvincing, particularly in view of the fact that even with 7.3 million tons of foodgrains, supplemented by a large quantity of imported stock, we are still having serious difficulties. But it is evident that the actual requirement of foodgrains by 1966 will not be as high as 110 million tons.

Probably the weakest recommendation of the Team is its 9.4 million tons safety margin stock. In one of its Reports, 'National Food Reserve Policies in Underdeveloped Countries' (1958) the F.A.O. has worked out the storage cost in India. Accordingly, the capital cost of building 2 million tons storage capacity is about Rs. 23 crores. The annual recurring cost of storing 2 million tons is about Rs. 8 crores or Rs. 39 per ton. Since the present storage capacity of hired and owned godowns of the Government is less than 1.5 million tons, it would mean that to stock 9.4 million tons of foodgrains, we shall be needing Rs. 92 crores as capital cost of building the new storage capacity, and an annual recurring cost of Rs. 37.6 crores on its maintenance. Where is this money to come from ? Presumably it is none of the Team's concern.

Technical Recommendations

Mistakes, such as this, are bound to evoke criticism. But it shall be rather unbecoming of the critics to make sweeping generalisations or else to cover the Ford Team's Report with heavy smoke and thus create a sense of complacency about our food situation. The latter certainly calls for the best of efforts. It is in this respect that the report of the Ford Team excels itself. Its technical recommendations pave the way for improving the level of food production.

The suggestion that "India can make greater and more immediate gain in food production by intensifying expenditure on time and efforts on water management than by constructing large-scale irrigation projects" is supported by the facts given in the FAO's Report. To quote the latter, "while expenditure on major irrigation works was very near the target, the effect on production was less than one-half of what was anticipated. The reverse is true of minor irrigation works." And again, "only about two-thirds of the additional irrigation provided in 1951-56 was actually used, largely because farmers are reluctant to pay the water rates and also because of the cost of switching from dry to wet cultivation methods in some areas."

In planning for an abundant agriculture not only should the Ford Team's Report be read carefully but also due cosideration must be given to the steps suggested by it.

Grain Bank at Khed Shivpur

by J. S. Aiman

RECENTLY, Khed Shivpur, near Poona became the proud possessor of a Bank. But it was a Bank with a difference. It was a Grain Bank started with a donation of 20 bags of wheat and 20 bags of rice from the Relief and Gift Supply Council, New Delhi, to serve 30 villages, 15 miles from Poona on the Bangalore-Poona Road.

The grain was distributed to the poor and needy irrespective of caste, colour or creed, as an advance in their hour of need. Due to incessant rain, the crops were almost totally destroyed, and the villagers had nothing to fall back on. They had either to starve or migrate to the cities to eke out their hand-to-mouth existence. There was no other agency in this area that could come to their help and provide them with a means of subsistance. Instead of doling out the grain received from the Relief and Gift Supply Council, it was agreed that the grain should be given as an advance to be returned within a period of six months in the form of *Jowar*.

In the first place it has succeeded in bringing together the village people and creating a sense of cooperation and fellow-feeling among them. Even those villagers who had not taken grain because they did not need it, accepted the responsibility of returning it along with the poor and the needy. Any scheme of rural development in India will be successful to the extent it succeeds in enthusing and uniting the village people.

In the second place the villagers will have at their disposal four thousand pounds of *Jowar* at the end of six months, again to be given to some villages when the need arises. The four thousand pounds of *Jowar* would not, of course, be the only capital of the proposed Grain Bank. It is hoped that some more grain will be collected from the 30 villages as donations to the Bank.

Such an experiment is unique in this part of the country. And it is being carried on with the full cooperation of the village people thus fulfilling the main purpose of this scheme namely to enthuse the villagers and to teach them to stand on their own feet by creating a self-sufficient village economy.

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Book Review

A Pioneer's Job

Population & Planned Parenthood in India, by Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, George Allen & Unwin, Price : 12sh. 6d.

ONE extra mouth every three-and-a-half seconds. Nearly one-third of the population of Kerala every year. Dwindling land yield. Increasing deforestation. This, in short, is the theme of Dr. Chandrasekhar's book.

Dr. Chandrasekhar is not a prophet of doom. He is only a Cassandra who after painstaking research has written what anybody can see boldly inscribed on the wall. A recent Ford Foundation Study Team foresaw famine conditions just in the next ten years. And what then are we going to do ?

Indian rate of population increase is not very high. It is only 1.3 per cent. US, Canada and Australia have a much higher rate. But the US can support six times her present population. Canada and Australia have vast expanses of unutilised land. Oh yes, some of us could migrate to US or Canada or Australia. But the present laws permit only 100 of us per year in each country. We wish for real socialism in the world, and we could win our *lebensraum*. But since we cannot change others, at least let us change ourselves. Even our present population lives on 1,600 calories per day. For a manual worker the requirement is much high. And most of us are manual workers.

However, the picture is not as bad as it seems. An awareness of the problem has grown. There have also been steps to counteract this increase, both by way of stress on greater food production and by an advocacy of the need for planned parenthood. In fact we may take credit when Dr. Julian Huxley says : "India is the first modern country enunciating a national policy in limiting population and reducing its rate of increase."

Nevertheless whatever our public pronouncements, a great deal yet remains to be done. People have to be convinced of the need of family planning by various means. Conditions are also to be created where such means would be conveniently adopted. Dr. Chandrasekhar has done a pioneer's job in bringing our population problem to the forefront.

Committee on Rural Credit

ACCORDING to a Gazette Notification, the question of providing adequate credit to cultivating families in the villages, in the light of production programmes and consistent with the principles of cooperative finance, was discussed at Cooperative Ministers' Conference held in July at Mysore.

It was decided that the problem should be examined in all its aspects by an expert committee. The Government of India has now constituted a Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Vaikunth Lal Mehta. Eleven other members include two representatives of the Cooperative Movement. The rest belong to official bodies.

The Committee will examine the existing cooperative credit structure in different States and suggest necessary measures to increase the borrowing capacity of primary credit societies. The question of revising the existing standards for fixing credit limits and the conditions under which it should be effected will be studied, as also the question of State participation in the share capital of the village societies.

The Committee has been asked to utilise the existing data as much as possible, to visit the societies and to make definite recommendations. With its headquarters in Bombay the Committee will also record evidence of any societies or individuals who may have expert knowledge of the subject.

(Attention of readers is drawn to a separate article on this subject "The Still-born Supplementary Credit" appearing in this issue on page 6. We welcome comments and views from readers.—Editor)

The editor invites news-items, Comments and book reviews from readers for publication in the Newsletter. Editorial Correspondence should be addressed to: Editor, AVARD Newsletter, 56-A, Janpath, New Delhi.

AVARD NEWSLETTER

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SOME LESSONS IN COOPERATION

(Continued from page 5)

must be the path of a slow and patient traveller, one whose journey is fraught with hazards and failures.

The social worker commissioned to build cooperatives should not necessarily go and build a "cooperative" but he should rather concentrate on programmes of common interest, which enable people to realise and appreciate the values of thinking together and of joint action. These will help to win the disunited groups away from the path of litigation, quarrels, conflicts and mutual distrust. And once these difficult hurdles are crossed, cooperatives will be easily formed not by the worker but by the people themselves.

The cooperatives thus formed may not be "service cooperatives" "credit cooperatives" or for that matter any other set pattern of a cooperative, demanded by the workers or by the governments, but each of these will nevertheless be a "cooperative" of the people of the area which will help to solve some of the vital problems of the participating community.

The exact nature, type and pattern of the cooperative, together with the actual time when it would be formed, cannot be and should not be determined by the wishes of any external authority but these must necessarily be the product of the growth and maturity of a developing community which may continue to differ on many an issue but chooses to cooperate on a particular matter, of its own free will.

Published by Dharampal, General Secretary, Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, 56-A, Janpath, New Delhi and Printed at Delhi Printers, Delhi-7.

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Supplement to "Young India" for Thursday, the [illegible] 1927.

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OUTLINE SCHEME

of

SWARAJ.

ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A word to the Reader regarding this Pamphlet.

After presiding over the Gaya Congress, Deshabandhu Das came to Benares for a little rest in January 1923. Shri Bhagavan Dasji, who had been pressing on the attention of the country continuously from 1921 onwards when the non-co-operation movement was launched, the necessity of defining Swaraj, met Deshabandhu Das in Benares and they had many long talks together on the subject. Shri Bhagavan Dasji then drew up the Scheme embodied in these pages and circulated them over the single name of Deshabandhu Das with his consent. Shri Bhagavan Dasji has been writing, from time to time, ever since, in favour of this Scheme; and he drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to the necessity of educating public opinion in its favour when they met in Benares in January last. (The interview was published in Aj and reprinted in the Hindi press. It is hoped that an English edition will also soon be published through the medium of the English press). With the kind permission of Mahatmaji, this Scheme is being circulated with "Young India" in the hope that it will attract the attention of all persons specially interested in the attainment of Swaraj. It is also hoped that they would please preserve this for future reference.

Seva-Upavana,
Benares.
25 Chaitra 1983.

SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA.

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Supplement to "Young India" for Thursday, the 12th May 1927.

NOTE.

In some public statements made by me in October and November, 1922, and again in my Presidential address at the Gaya Congress, on 26th December, 1922, I drew the attention of the public to the need for stating the fundamental principles and formulating the broad outlines of a Scheme of Self-government which should form the basis of Indian Swaraj.

Subsequently, the new party (known as the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party) which has been formed within the Congress, in consequence of division of opinion over the question of contesting elections for the official Councils, desired me to outline such a scheme, in conjunction with other friends, who also had been pressing the matter on the attention of the Indian People for some time past, and were co-opted for the Drafting Committee.

The Outline now placed before the public is the result. It was laid before a meeting of leading members of the new party, at Bombay, on 29th January, 1923. There was no time to discuss it properly. Many of the members present (from almost all the larger Congress Provinces) expressed a general approval; others reserved opinion. But it was unanimously agreed that the draft should be placed before the Indian People, through the Press, and suggestions and criticisms invited.

It was also unanimously agreed that the Outline represents the Ideal which should be kept in view, as one to be gradually worked up to, and that a certain number of intermediate and progressive steps have to intervene, but which must all definitely, unmistakeably, steadily and progressively help to change the present regime so as to realise that ideal at no distant date.

BOMBAY,
30-1-1923

CHITTA RANJAN DAS.

NOTE—It is requested that all suggestions and criticisms may be sent, in envelopes marked on the face with the words, "Swaraj Scheme", to the address of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Ananda Bhawan, Allahabad.

Supplement to "Young India" for Thursday, the 12th May 1927.

OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ.

Chapter I—Essential Principles.

The principles which guide this outline are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial, and have been re-iterated in the Presidential Address of the Gaya Congress, in December, 1922, thus

"To form a scheme of government, regard must be had

(1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India;

(2) the growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres;

(3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth;

(4) the village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous;

(5) the residuary power of control must remain in the central Government, but the exercise of such power should be exceptional, and for that purpose, proper safeguards should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained, and at the same time, the growth of the central government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such Central Government should be mainly advisory."

Briefly, *a maximum of local autonomy*, carried on mainly with advice and co-ordination from, and only *a minimum of control by higher centres*, which will have some special functions besides.

To this should be added that *every possible care should be taken to ensure that the people's elected representatives*, who will constitute the Chief Authority for each grade of centre, local and higher, with power to make laws and rules, *shall be*, not self-seekers, but *seekers of the public welfare.*

Chapter II—Administrative Divisions.

(*a*) *Local Centres.*

1. The foundation of the whole administration should be in Local Centres (*grama*), small but practically autonomous.

2. A Local Centre should ordinarily consist of a number of villages of which the population should total about ten thousand souls.

(*b*) *Town Centres.*

3. Towns (*nagar*), should form separate entities, and might, as necessary, be sub-divided into wards or quarters, of about the same population limits as the rural Local Centres.

(*c*) *District Centres.*

4. Rural and urban Local Centres should be integrated into larger groups of District Centres (zila) with populations of from five to twenty lakhs.

(*d*) *Provinces*

5. District Centres should be integrated into Provincial Organisations.

6. Provinces (sooba) should be demarcated on the linguistic basis. Any which are considered too large may be divided into smaller ones.

(*e*) *All India Organisation.*

7. The Provincial Organisations should be integrated into and be co-ordinated by an All-India (Bharata-varsha or Hindustan)

Organisation according to population.

8. Subject to these general principles, each province should draw up its own scheme of administrative divisions to suit provincial variations.

CHAPTER III—ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS.

Functions should be as below:

A. (*i*) Provision for appropriate *Education* of all educable children and youth of both sexes (*Siksha or Talim*).

(*ii*) Provision for *Re-creation (vinoda or dil-bastagi)*, *e. g.*, Public Gardens, Parks, Museums, Playing-grounds, Libraries, Reading Rooms, Art-galleries, Popular Lectures, Recitations, Processions, Pageants, Religious Festivals*, (Katha, Yatra, Kala-kshepam, Kirtan, Ram-lila, Krishna-lila, Maulud, Christmas and Easter celebrations, etc.) refining, elevating and instructive Dramas, Cinema and Magic Lantern shows, games and sports, etc.

B. Provision for *Protection* (*Raksha or Hifazat*), by means of,

(*i*) Police and Local Militia and Regular Military Forces;

(*ii*) Justice and Settlement of Disputes, through Arbitration Courts or Panchayats in the narrower sense, and Registration of Deeds;

(*iii*) Appropriate Medical help and Sanitation.

C. Provision for *Economic and Industrial Welfare* (*Jivika or Maash*), by promotion of

(*i*) Agriculture (*Krishi or Zira-at*);

(*ii*) Cattle-breeding (*Go-raksha or Taraqqi-maweshi*), *i. e.*, increase and preservation of domestic animals of all kinds, for purposes of milk, wool, plough, transport, etc.

(*iii*) Other Productive Industries relating to Mines, Forests, Fisheries, Salt, Sericulture, Arboriculture, etc, (*Akara-karma* or *Madaniyat*, etc.,

(*iv*) Arts and Crafts and Manufactures of all kinds (*Shilpa* or *Sanaat-hirfat*);

(*v*) Trade and Commerce (*Vanijya* or *Tijarat*); and

(*vi*) By promotion and regulation of the various means which subserve the above, *e.g.*, Railways, Post and Telegraph, Shipping, Roads, Waterways, Canals, Bridges, Ferries, Presses, Public Buildings, Monuments, Rest-Houses, Currency, Measures of Flood and Famine Relief, Rates and Taxes, Tariff and Customs, Surveys of various kinds (Geographical, Geological, Botanical, Meteorological, Statistical, Archeological, *etc.*), Friendly Relations with other States, etc.

D. The above provisions would be made

(*i*) by means of laws and rules which would be framed by the different grades of Panchayats, and would have force within the domains of their respective makers, the enactments of the lower grades of Councils being made with advice from and co-ordination by the higher when needed;

(*ii*) by appointment of executive official (who would be wholly responsible to the Councils appointing them) to carry out the laws and rules; and

(*iii*) by supervision of their work.

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* As regards "Places of Public Worship, for the various Creeds," see Appendix, Note to Chapter III.

CHAPTER IV.—PANCHAYATS AND ALLOCATION OF FUNCTIONS.

A. Local Centres or Communes and Local Panchayats.

(*a*) For each rural or urban Local Centre or Commune there should be one Local Panchayat of twenty-one periodically elected members.

(*b*) This Panchayat should be in charge of the different functional departments mentioned above, so far as the Commune affords scope for them, and should carry on the work by means of sub-committees.

(*c*) Under *Education*

(*i*) they would maintain local Schools, giving elementary cultural and vocational-technical instruction, and

(*ii*) would provide for suitable *Recreation*.

(*d*) Under *Protection*

(*i*) they would appoint their own *Chaukidars* (Watchmen), and would form Local Militia out of such chaukidars and other able-bodied men, and would provide for their proper training;

(*ii*) they would arrange for Arbitration Courts (the members of which would be separately elected), which would deal with simple civil (including what are now known as rent and revenue, *divani* and *mal* or *artha-vivada*) and criminal (*faujdari* or *parushya-vivada*) cases;

(*iii*) they would also maintain an adequate Hospital (*chikitsalaya* or *shafa-khana*) and Medical Staff which would provide treatment free and be responsible for the proper Sanitation of the Commune.

(*e*) Under *Economical and Industrial Ministration*, they would see

(*i*) that all arable lands are properly tilled, and village commons, playing-grounds, pasture-lands, groves, orchards, *etc.*, are properly maintained, and a sufficiency of necessaries, specially corn, cotton, and cattle, (or other forms of food, clothing, and accessories, in specially circumstanced tracts), for the use of the Commune, is always available within their jurisdiction;

(*ii*) that co-operative organisations, in the shape of Stores, Banks, *etc.*, are maintained in the needed numbers;

(*iii*) that wells, tanks, *tals*, canals, and all means of supply of good water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and for irrigation, and all roads *etc.*, within their Commune, are properly ma ntained;

(*iv*) that production of surplus corn, cotton, cattle, and other necessaries as well as comforts, and of mineral and other products and means of increasing the wealth of the locality is encouraged, cottage-industries promoted, and arrangements made for commercial dealing with this produce in such a manner as to avoid competitive waste.

B. Intermediate Centres or Districts and District Panchayats.

(*a*) The District Panchayat should be constituted by each Local Panchayat (or grou of Local Panchayats) periodically choosing one member, who may or may not be one of them; provided that the total number of members should not exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least two fifths of them should be residents of towns.

(*b*) They would form sub-committees among themselves on the lines before mentioned.

(*c*) The District Panchayat would generally *advise* and *not control* the Local Panchayat, in respect of all functions. Special

provision would be made for such control as may be occasionally or absolutely necessary.

(*d*)—(*i*) Under *Education*, the District Panchayat should maintain one or more higher educational institutions (like colleges and high schools) as may be necessary, which would give cultural as well as technical instruction.

(*ii*) They would also provide *Recreation*, arranging for the more expensive items which may not be within the means of the Local Panchayats.

(*e*) Under *Protection*, they would

) co-ordinate the Local Police ;

(*ii*) arrange to maintain some special Reserve of District Police:

(*iii*) organise and co-ordinate the Local Militia, so that they might discharge the functions of a disciplined Army; and

(*ir*) Maintain one or more larger Hospitals and supply medical and sanitary advice to their Communes.

(*f*) Under *Economic and Industrial Ministration*, the District Panchayat would

(*i*) co-ordinate the Local Banks and Stores and other local economic and industrial and commercial enterprises; and

(*ii*) organise or promote independent such enterprises.

C. Town Centres and Town Panchayats.

(*a*) Aggregation of dwellings containing ten thousand or more inhabitants should be regarded as towns.

(*b*) Towns should be organised in the same way, generally, as the rural Local Centres ; and the same general principles should be applied to their functioning as to the rural Local Centres, as far as practicable, but regard must be had to the special variations in the economic and other circumstances.

(*c*) For the purposes of the integration of the District Centres and the election of the District Panchayats, the rural and the urban Local Centres should be counted side by side as component units; and the headquarters or the seat of the District Panchayats would ordinarily be the largest town of the district.

(*d*) For the purpose of unifying the administration of each town as a single whole, the Town's Members of the District Council, together with such other members as may be specially elected by the Ward-Panchayats, in the proportion of two or more per ward, should form a Town Panchayat (like the present Municipal Boards), which would be intermediate between the urban Local (i.e., Ward) Panchayats and the District Panchayat, and would discharge as many of the functions of the District Council, towards the whole Town, as may be conveniently possible.

D. Provinces and Provincial Panchayats.

(*a* The Provincial Panchayats should consist of members elected by the District Panchayats in the proportion of one for every two lakhs of the population; provided that the total number should not fall below twenty-one, nor exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least half the number should be urban residents. They may or may not be members of the District Panchayats.

(*b*) The Provincial Panchayats would advise the District Pan-

chayats and co-ordinate them and their work, using residuary powers of control under proper safeguards.

(*c*) Its special work would be

(*i*) to maintain advanced Educational Institutions (in the nature of Vidya-pithas, Dar-ul-ulums, "Seats of Learning," "Centres of Knowledge," Universities) which would give expert cultural and technical training and promote research;

(*ii*) to maintain special Police and Military Forces, for the guarding of Frontiers, Sea-boards etc;

(*iii*) to make provision for Justice in special cases;

(*iv*) to administer Provincial Railways, Water-works, Canals, Roads, etc.

E. The India Panchayat.

(*a*) The All-India Panchayat should consist of members elected by the Provincial Panchayats in the proportion of one for every thirty lakhs of population, but Provinces which may have a total population of less than thirty lakhs would send one representative. At least three-fifths of the members should be urban.

(*b*) The functions of the India Panchayat would be similar to those of the Provincial Panchayat *mutatis mutandis;* a special one would be to deal with neighbouring States (including Indian States) and Foreign Countries.

(*c*) The India Panchayat should create a Consulting Senate, consisting of eminent men and women of thought and special knowledge, belonging to all parts of India, who would be elected by the India Panchayat from time to time, without restriction of numbers, *etc.*, and who would be asked for advice on any subject, as needed, by the India Panchayat or the Provincial Panchayats.

(*d*) The language of the India Panchayat should be Hindustani while the Provinces would use their mother tongues.

F. Special Provision for Filling up Vacancies.

Generally, if a member of a lower Council is elected to a higher, his place may be filled up by a new election by the same electorate.

CHAPTER V—THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CHOOSERS AND THE CHOSEN.

1. Every individual of either sex, who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twenty-five years of age if a man, and twenty-one years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

5. The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre, and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, color, race, or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of creedal or communal representation.

6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not less than

forty years of age; should have done some good work in any walk of life; should, if rural be at least literate, and if urban, should possess higher educational qualifications, and in the case of rural and urban members of the Provincial and India Councils, should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience; should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of bread-winning or money-making, and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give practically all their time to national work, and should do so without any cash remuneration. But their travelling and other *ex-officio* expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds, and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honor attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions.

7. The members of each Panchayat should possess, between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer.

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass for himself, as a candidate for election; but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office, if elected.

CHAPTER VI.—SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS.

1. Throughout the whole administration, Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions should be kept separate from one another.

CHAPTER VII—FINANCE.

1. The revenues needed to meet necessary expenditure should be raised by the Local Panchayats by means of taxation, with advice from the upper Panchayats.

2. State factories might be opened as necessary, with a view to prevent waste by individual competition, over-production, bad production, *etc.*, to cheapen commodities, and to reduce taxation, but not so as to create monopolies and stifle private enterprise.

3. Where practicable, Local and District Councils should make such improvements in the locality as might result in addition to the communal income, *e.g.*, public wells, tanks, canals, roads, groves of timber and fruit trees, *etc.*, and thereby lead to reduction of taxation.

4. Contributions would be made by the Local Panchayats to make up the revenues of the District Panchayats; by them to the Provincial; and by the Provincial; to the India Panchayat.

5. Special taxation might be imposed by the Provincial and India Panchayats.

CHAPTER VIII—PROPRIETORSHIP.

1. Private property would be recognised and maintained and the growth of individual wealth, both movable and immovable, would be permitted, but so as not to encroach on or make impossible or impracticable the growth of public possessions as well; and the owner of invidual wealth, who spends it on pious works, *i.e*, works of public utility, as requested by a Panchayat, would receive special marks of honor.

APPENDIX.

Note to Chapter I.

Fundamental Principles.

(*a*) Excessive centralization, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a bureaucratic clique, mindful of its own prestige and emoluments, careless of the public weal, walling itself off more and more thickly from touch with public opinion, in fact arrogant and disdainful towards the public regarding itself as public-*master* rather than as public-*servant*—this is the bane, in consequence of which the public servant waxes and the public wanes, more and more, every day, in India. Genuine decentralization of administration, substantial distribution of power, and real responsibility of the public servant to the People's trusted representatives—this is the only remedy. Hence the formulation of practical local autonomy as a fundamental principle.

(*b*) The failure to secure *ethical* fitness, the philanthropic and humanitarian outlook upon life, in the elected legislators, —in consequence of which failure, the laws made by them are not wise and just, but partial to special class interests, and promote an excessive inequality and therefore widespread discontent and conflicts of all kinds and degrees—this is the disastrous and all-vitiating defect of western system of Swaraj, the cause of all their internal ferments and their external wars, of the enslavement of Labour by Capital, of the many by the few, within each State, and of the ruthless exploitation of weaker nations without. This failure must be strenuously guarded against in our scheme. Hence the formulation of the second fundamental principle.

Note to Chapter II.

Administrative Divisions.

This scheme of administrative divisions is in accord with the time-honoured traditions of the country. The agricultural village and the village community were, are, and ought to continue to be the natural basis of our special type of culture and civilisation, and of all wise administration in a country ninety percent of the population of which is rural. Most writers and thinkers about India are agreed in this. In the most ancient days, of which accounts are available, the socio-politico-economical divisions were the village, the group of ten villages, the group of ten tens or a hundred, the group of ten such or a thousand—grama, janapada, pranta, vishaya, mandala, and so on. In medieval times and the days of the Moghals, the arrangement was much the same—mauza, tappa, pargana, zila, sooba, etc. It is the same to-day in the Indian States and in the territories under British occupation. The names of the divisions and sub-divisions differ in the different provinces. No radical change can be made in this principle of groupings and integration. But for the purpose of the electoral principle, which worked sub-consciously in the old days of the panchayat and the village community, and has to work consciously and deliberately now, a population basis is suggested for the initial groups, and also for the next intermediate groups, though with greater elasticity. For the third grade, the linguistic basis is the most natural and has been already recognized by the Congress. The fourth and the final grade is governed by many considerations, geographical, political, economical, cultural, etc.; for fixing the outermost boundaries of this whole, no single principle suffices.

The single village cannot well be accepted to-day as the initial unit of administration. The population of the five hundred thousand villages of British-occupied India varies from a few dozens to a few thousands. Therefore, in the interests of a convenient uniformity, a population basis of approximately ten thousand is suggested. This will give about three to four thousand electors for the Local Panchayat (dealt with in a subsequent chapter)—not too large a number for such common consciousness and general acquaintance, by reputation or directly, as is needed for electoral purposes. For the whole of India, the proportion of women over twenty-one is, roundly, about sixty-five millions out of one hundred and fifty; and of men over twenty-five, also about sixty-five millions, but out of one hundred and sixty.

The treatment of towns as separate entities is suggested for obvious reasons. The difference between the conditions of the two, town and country-village, *pura* and *jana-pada*, *shahar and dehat*, has been recognized in all times and climes. The one represents (by no means exclusively, but only by predominant feature) the *intellectual power* (*buddhi*, *agl*) of the people; the other, their *vital power* (*prana*, *jan*). They are *inter*-dependent. *Both* are necessary for a full civilized life for the People as a whole. But the modern western plutocratic and bureaucratic centralizing tendency causes the town to grow *excessively* and absorb the vitality of the country inordinately. This excess needs to be checked, and *just balance between the two* to be restored, in order to prevent disastrous devitalization of the soul and

the body of the vast agricultural population, and the consequent crashing down, before long, of the whole much too top-heavy organism.

This balance will be restored by emphasizing the *separate autonomy* of the village groups and the towns—the needed co-ordination and mutual support being secured by the advice, and where absolutely necessary, the control, of the Provincial Authority. The need of this separateness is recognized even under the British regime by the distinction between Municipal Boards and District Boards, though, of course, in that regime, the 'local *self*-government' of the Boards is carried on under the strict '*other*-government' of the district officials.

The reason for fixing more elastic population-limits for the District and Town Groups is this. In the Punjab, the population of the existing twenty-nine districts varies from five lakhs to ten lakhs, and gives an average of about seven lakhs. The twenty-six districts of Bombay vary between three and twelve lakhs, and give an average of eight. The average for Bengal is sixteen; the largest population not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, being that of Mymensingh i. e., forty-five lakhs. The average for Madras is also sixteen. Also for Behar. That for the U. P., ten. Some of the larger districts, *f. i.*, Mymensing with forty-five lakhs, Vizagapatam and Gorakhpur with thirty-two each, Dacca and Darbhanga with thirty each, Muzaffarpur and Midnapore with twenty-eight each, are too bulky for convenience of autonomous administration. Even the men of the British regime have been thinking of dividing some of them into two or three districts each. The capital towns have eleven or twelve lakhs. The lower limits for towns may be regarded as ten thousand. The Census officials of the present regime have defined the town as every continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than five thousand persons. Ten thousand is suggested in the text, later on, in view of the fact that that figure has been suggested for the rural Local Centre also. In British occupied India there are about twelve hundred 'towns' or villages, with a population between five and ten thousand, or a total of about eighty lakhs. In view of such facts, elastic limits, of five to twenty lakhs, have been suggested for the District. For purpose of symmetry, the figure might have been fixed at ten lakhs uniformly. It is the actual average for the two hundred and seventy-five districts of British-occupied India. But the centre of a district has ordinarily, to be a fair-sized town. And in tracts where towns are few and far between, large agricultural areas and populations have to be grouped around and with them. Natural boundaries, rivers, forests, ranges of hills, etc., also make for variation of area and population

Note to Chapter III.

Functions.

Western writers divide the functions of government, into (i) Constituent or Protective, and (ii) Ministrant or Promotive. The former are what may be called negative mainly, (*a*) the prevention of crimes and branches of peace, and (*b*) adjustment of wrong; in other words, preventive and curative, or police-military and judicial. The others are positive and constructive, the active promotion of the welfare of the community.

The *laisser fair* school of socio-political thought, looking at the mischievous consequences of over-interference by the State, i. e., the Bureaucracy, would confine the duties of government to the former only; and would give to the individuals, regarded as units, who compose the Public or People, full liberty to work out their own destiny in their own ways, in competition with each other so far as positive welfare or 'success in life —whatever that might mean—is concerned. This is the school of individualism. Another school, looking at the immense waste of energy and life, which results from unregulated competition, and at the exploitation of the less cunning and less able 'many' by the more cunning and strong 'few', (so that the evils of bureaucracy re-appear as the evils of plutocracy) and also realising that widespread and substantial and lasting 'success in life' depends more upon 'mutual aid' and co-operation and communal organization, than upon individual enterprise, recommend State-regulation and the free exercise of promotive functions by the State in new ways which will obviate the evils resulting from bureaucracy. This school of thought is generally known as that of Socialism; but by differences of views as to the ways, becomes divided into many, known as Collectivism, Communism Anarchism, State-socialism, Guild-socialism, etc.

As usual, the truth is in the golden mean, and error in the extremes. The best course is the middle course. Our Swaraj must maintain a balance between Individualism and Socialism, (*swartha* and *parartha*); must reconcile the two. For *both* are *necessary* to full civilized life, even as the pronouns 'I and We'. The needed reconciliation will be effected by maximising local elective autonomy and minimizing centralization.

As to the preventive and curative functions, Police-Military and Justice, there is no dispute. Also as regards Medicative and Sanitative, which may be regarded partly as protective and partly as promotive, Sanitation being preventive of disease and promotive of health, and medication being curative of ills.

But a certain amount of 'promotive' work must also be done by the various

grades of Centres. This work may be grouped under two main heads, the promotion (*i*) of right Education, the very foundation of all communal welfare, (and therefore placed here before even Protection) and (*ii*) of Economic and Industrial Well-being. Education will include Recreation also, as being indirect education in a popular and elastic and almost more effective form.

It is the duty of the elders of the family (*i*) to protect the younger generation, (*ii*) to amuse and educate them, (*iii*) to settle them in life, to put them in the way of earning a livelihood. The duty, the right, the function, of the elders of the village, of the districts, of the provinces, of the country as a great whole, is *none other*. All the functions of government are either these, or subsidiary to these.

A word may be specially added here on the subject of Recreation. The object of measures under this head would be twofold; (*i*) to provide such *refined entertainment*, for young and old alike, as will give healthy *relaxation*, as well as healthy *tone*, and also *indirect* yet very useful *education*, to the mind and body of all sections of the public, in leisure hours; and (*ii*) at the same time to *displace the evil recreations*, of drink and drugs and other social v'ces and harmful indulgences. It should be borne in mind that *some* recreations human beings *will* have; and where healthy ones are not easily available, evil ones *will* be resorted to.

The desirability should be considered here, of putting provision for "Places of public worship for the various creeds" among the duties of Panchayat, under the head of Education and Recreation, and putting it even in the forefront. The Worship of the Infinite, (a more indubitable fact than the Finite, is Re-creation, creation anew of the soul and the finer elements of the body, nourishment for the inmost heart, in very real sense. That the Elders of the Commune should have the duty of making this provision duly (and separately only to the extent unavoidably necessary, and with at least one place where members of *all* and *any* creed might join occasionally in a Common Prayer worded so as to be acceptable to all)—this would conduce to the liberalisation of all the creeds concerned and thence to the Religious Peace which is indispensable for India's and the world's progress.

Note to Chapter IV.

Panchayats and Allocation of Functions.

The placing of the head-quarters of the District Panchayat in the largest town of the district will make the co-ordination of the administration of the town and the country easy. And it is in accordance with natural tendency. The danger that the town may begin to dominate the country, is guarded against by the provision that the country members of the District Panchayat should be in the majority.

The proportion of the two classes of members is made equal in the Provincial Panchayat, and reversed in the India Panchayat, because the upper bodies have to deal more and more with technical and non-agricultural affairs.

The Essential Change.

"*Advisory* and not *mandatory* excepting in rare cases"—this is the essence of the change needed in the administration. The change is one of *spirit*. The details of the official executive machinery may remain much as they are now; but, if the executive, the judicial, and the legislative powers are separated, and the 'legislators' (in the broad sense) who compose the Panchayats, of all grades, are elected, and the higher Panchayats ordinarily *advise* and not *command* the lower Panchayat, and the executive officials are really responsible to the Panchayats, then, it is expected, the evils of the present regime will be cured. For the autocracy of the Bureaucracy will be replaced by what may be called an aristo-demo-cracy. Aristo-cracy, because the Panchayats will be composed of the *best* and most trusted and honoured of the people; demo-cracy because the people will *choose* them. The members of the Panchayats would not exercise any executive powers directly, either in their individual or their corporate capacity, but would only make laws or rules or pass resolutions. These would be carried out by the Executive. And the Executive or at least the chief officials thereof, would be appointed and, if necessary, dismissed or otherwise punished, by the Panchayats. In some cases the executive official may be an elected one. He too would be subject to the supervision of the Panchayat. The control of the Panchayat-Legislative would thus be exercised over the Executive by means of this power of appointment, dismissal, or advancement. The Judiciary would be mostly elective also, subject to approval by the Panchayat-Legislative.

This separation of powers would minimise the temptations to, and opportunities of, corruption for all, and would make the Executive (and also the Judiciary) *responsible* to the People, in the persons of their Elect, which responsibility is the one great desideratum to-day.

It will be remembered that Mr. Gokhale suggested and endeavoured that Advisory Committees should be formed in each district, to advise the district officer in all important matters. Of course, the Bureaucracy declined, on the ground that it would interfere with the individual responsibility of the district officer.

When they said 'responsibility', they, of course, meant ir-responsibility; for when was the district officer responsible, and to whom? If he was or is responsible at all, it was and is only to the Bureaucratic Clique. If Mr. Gokhale could have agreed, as was suggested in some quarters, that the Advisory Committee should be nominated by the district officer himself, then, indeed, there would have been no difficulty in the acceptance of his suggestion. Only, then, each district officer would have had a standing Darbar of so many courtiers, the nawab-ic arrangement would have been complete, and the People would have been worse off than before.

What is needed is that the Advisory Committee should be a Panchayat made up of the Elders of the People, which will not *interfere* with the pretended and non-existent responsibility of the executive official, but will make it *real* and *enforce* it.

Measures are outlined later on, for further safeguarding and ensuring, as far as is humanly possible, the uprightness of the members of the Panchayats themselves; for such safeguarding is the very heart of the whole scheme.

It should be noted that, though option is given, the presumption is that the majority of the members of the higher Panchayats will be chosen from among the members of the lower, who will be all directly elected by the People. Constant and sympathetic touch and unity of spirit and of work will thus be maintained throughout, and the People will, for all practical purposes, directly elect to all the Panchayats, Local, Intermediate and Central, even though technically. the election to the latter will be by a process of distillation through electoral colleges. The latter process has some advantages, which too will be secured by this method. The immense worry and trouble and expense of holding huge elections, by millions upon millions of voters, over and over again, for a handful of seats, would be all saved. And in the Local Panchayats, with their small area and population, and through them, in the upper ones, the elected and the electors will be in constant touch with each other, and public opinion will carry its full weight and receive its full due, influencing the members of the Local Panchayats and through them those of the upper ones effectively.

It is very desirable that there should be a certain number of persons who should belong to all grades of Panchayats. They will serve as the personal linking medium and would bind together all parts of India continuously and effectively, and at the same time keep all the centres in real touch with each other. And this would be one important measure for guarding against the possibility (which is always present in federations of practically autonomous areas and communities) of their falling apart, under the influence of false provincialisms and insularities and other such causes, (which are very liable to be fostered by the linguistic demarcation), and so weakening the whole. Another measure is connected with finance, in the shape of some special All-India taxation; and a third, with the use of a common language by the All-India Panchayat. Both are mentioned in their proper places.

In this way, the virtuous (and not the vicious), circle of (not to use the harsh word 'government', but) administration of the affairs of the People, for the People, (by the People's Trusted and Chosen Elders) will be wholesomely completed. Human affairs should be administered by those who know human nature in mind and body; a People's affairs should be administered by those who are its Elect and are in constant and sympathetic touch with, and therefore know, the People and their requirement of body and mind.

It will be seen that, under the scheme, the District Councils will be fairly large in point of numbers. A district of the maximum population of twenty lakhs, will have a Panchayat of one hundred members; whereas the provinces which are largest in population (at present) will have no more in their Provincial Panchayats. As the bulk of the administrative work will be disposed of by the Local and the District Council, when they are really autonomous, very large numbers for the upper Council are unnecessary from the standpoint of diposal and distribution of work between and by sub-committees. Very large numbers are also otherwise undesirable in deliberative bodies. The personnel may be changed at short intervals, by framing rules in that behalf. It may be observed here that these sub-committees properly framed and used, would correspond to heads of guilds, and would secure to the communal administration, the advantages, on a higher level, of the village-community as well as the city-guilds-system.

NOTE TO CHAPTER V.

Qualifications of Chosers and Chosen.

With regard to the ages suggested for Electors, the idea is that only those who are mature in body and mind, and have had some experience of life, and especially of family responsibility, should be entrusted with the duty of choosing those who would rule their affairs. The ages suggested would ordinarily give these requisites in India. It seems that in England the difference is reversed, twenty-one is fixed for men and thirty for women.

Perhaps it was thought that at the earlier age, women would be too busy with family cares and work inside the home, to be able to take much interest in the work outside. In India women are as mature in body and mind at twenty-one as men at twenty-five; and these different ages, if fixed as suggested, would generally enable husband and wife to go to the poll together.

As regards the qualifications of the elected it has been said at the outset that the conditions for election should be such as would make it humanly probable that the electors may be seekers of public weal and not self-seekers. The qualifications mentioned in the Outline Scheme are as "the outward symbols of the inward grace." They are such as ordinarily go with the wise and self-denying and philanthropic nature. The reasons for suggesting them may be mentioned in greater detail as below.

(*a*) Legislators should be permanent residents of the country for which they are to legislate; but their creed, caste, class, colour, race, or sex should not, as such, be regarded either as a qualification or as a disqualification. Without permanent residence in the country, sympathetic understanding is not possible; while taking account of creed, caste, *etc.*, in the elections, imports into the resulting legislature the vicious spirit of conflicting interests and party-politics in place of the virtuous spirit of each caring for all. But if, because, at present, there is much creed and caste and class jealousy existent in the country, it should seem necessary that some exceptions should be made, there is provision for communal representation. It is to be trusted, however, that once the scheme begins to work, the whole atmosphere will change so that these jealousies will disappear, and it will be realised by all that civic well-being is independent of creeds and sectarian beliefs, as has been realised in Japan.

(*b*) At forty, persons have well passed middle age and usually have children of their own and thus experience of the house-hold life. This will make reasonably probable that the legislator possesses intimate knowledge of human nature in its more common and important aspects, knows what responsibility for the well-being of other means, and has sober and mature judgment. But he should have also retired from all competitive bread-winning or money-making, and should be living on his past earnings or on a 'pension'. So, he would feel financially independent; his outlook upon life, his attitude towards his fellow-being, would have changed from that of selfish taking to that of unselfish giving; and he would have all the leisure needed for his public duties.

It may be that many persons are not able to retire from their business or profession at forty. But we do not want many. Exceptions will be able to. And we want exceptionally selfless men for this essential and highest kind of public work. Twenty-one persons in ten thousand are not too many to expect. If the country cannot provide even so much self-denial, it may as well give up all attempt at Swaraj. But the country *has* been showing capacity for self-denial; and there is no need to be doubtful. Moreover, if few people are in a position to give up business or profession at forty, many *can* and *ought to*, at forty-five or fifty, with considerable benefit to the whole moral tone of themselves and their community. And if the Panchayat members are fifty years or more, there is no harm done, but rather more mature wisdom and experience secured. After all, even under the current managements, the deliberative and legislative and guiding assemblies of most nations and communities are composed of grey-haired persons. A younger and physically more vigorous and active age is wanted in the executive offices, where action is required more than thought. It has to be remembered that the old *have been young*, and *know* what the young know; but the young *have not* been old, and *do not know* what the old know; though it is devoutly to be prayed that they may all become very very old and learn all that the old know, except the pains of old age! It may be that many persons tend to become mentally inactive also, after fifty-five or sixty. But between forty-five and fifty-five is ordinarily, a very good age for the kind of deliberative and legislative work we have in view here. And there are cases, though rare, in which the mind is thoroughly capable and active, and the body healthly, right up to seventy or more. But it may be worth while to fix a maximum age-limit also, say sixty or sixty-five as the minimum is forty.

Provision may also be made for exceptions. It may be that these high age-limits will sometimes exclude really brilliant younger men. Our conception of the legislator requires not *brilliance* but *wisdom*. Brilliance comes and goes, and plays false and proves tinsel, and makes messes, but wisdom lingers. Wisdom is matured knowledge *plus* philanthropy, patriarchal benevolence. Brilliance may well wait and mature into a softer, steadier, soberer light and do its duty so much the better *after* attaining the forty years. If it is substantial, it will not get extinguished by waiting a few years. Yet, for cases in which the work of the Panchayat concerned is likely to suffer if any particular person is shut out because of the age-limit, provision may be made for exceptions, as said.

(*c*) We want another qualification in our Panchayat member. He should have done outstandingly good work in *some* walk of life—whether literary, scientific, educa-

tional, priestly, medical, artistic, *etc.*, or administrative, official, military, *etc.*, or commercial, agricultural, industrial, financial, *etc.*, or as a labourer and manual worker; and he should have done this and at the same time acquired a reputation for uprightness and honest dealing and sympathy for fellow-creatures. An aged agriculturist who has tilled his few acres successfully, has raised up a good family, is respected and trusted in his own and neighbouring villages, and can express his views clearly, is a wise village-elder, in short, may be a more useful member of a legislature which has to deal with vast agricultural interests like those of India, even though he may be only just able to sign his name, than many brilliant speakers or writers with only a college education that has little touch of reality.

(*d*) Another desirable condition is that the legislator should not receive any cash remuneration for his work from the public funds. Such cash payment, while perfectly right and even necessary in other fields of work, taints the peculiar fiduciary status of the *legislator*, who should stand in the position of Trustee and Elder to the people. He should therefore meet all his *personal* expenses himself. But, of course, all his *ex-officio* expenses must be met out of public funds. This would invest the legislator with the venerable dignity which naturally belongs to such an Elder. Trust, honour, reverence—these are the proper, the only, and the natural price of patriarchal benevolence and caring; and they usually *are* paid, where the generous instincts and traditions of the community have not been perverted. Also, the giving and receiving of such honour—a reward greater than power and wealth and amusements, for it can be enjoyed not only in life, but also after the death of the physical body, which the others cannot be—is a great nourishment to the heart of both giver and receiver, and is a continuous inducement to benevolent work on the part of the latter (*when it is not mixed up with and corrupted by power and wealth,*) and a powerful check against temptations to corruption. The natural corollary of this is that in all public functions, the unsalaried legislator should have rank and precedence above all salaried office-bearers as well as persons engaged in competitive money-earning professions.

It will be readily seen that the idea underlying this condition is that which has been discussed and emphasised before, the idea of spritualising politics by changing the whole culture and civilization of society from its present *mercenary* to a *missionary* basis, even as the work of the elder in a family is done for the youngers, not for mercenary motives, but out of 'missionary' benevolence. The right instinct is already there; it has only to be revived. Many western countries do not, or until recently did not, give any salary to their legislators. Aldermen are not paid. Nor are justices of the peace. The theory about the *honorarium* of the barrister is the same. But the prevailing mammonism of western civilization has corrupted the whole moral atmosphere of human life and penetrated into and vitiated even the most sacred domestic and fiduciary relations. If this atmosphere cannot be purified by the introduction of the missionary and patriarchal spirit in the Panchayats, the Legislators and the Courts of Arbitration, then there is no hope of true Swaraj.

(*e*) It goes without saying that, grade after grade, each Panchayat should have, in its personnel, members possessing between them, all the knowledge and experience needed for dealing with all the different kinds of work which the panchayat as a whole has to attend to. For making rules for, and dealing with, each main department of work, the Panchayat will have to form a sub-committee out of its own members; and it is obvious that these should have special knowledge of that kind of work.

(*f*) Another important point is this: There should be no 'standing' offering of or canvassing for, himself by any one as a candidate for election. The idea of self display and *seeking* election is wholly incongruous with the spirit of philanthropic public service. Favours are sought, not burdens. The conception here should be, not that the electors confer a favour or honour on the elected, but that they place a heavy burden of public work on him; and it is therefore they who are to be placed under obligation, and should request the electee, instead of being requested by him. *Seeking* election for oneself has an inevitable savour of selfishness of some sort or other about it, which is quite inconsistent with our ideal of the legislator. Of course there will always be possibilities of abuse. But the point to be considered is whether they will be *less* or *greater* than under the current systems, under which the gross abuses of "electioneering", are as much a by-word as commercial and financial "profiteering" and bureaucratic "domineering." And it has also to be remembered that the mere *public acceptance and declaration of the principles* and ideas here suggested will change for the better, the whole tone and atmosphere of politics.

It may be objected that we may make a rule that there must be no canvassing *etc.*, but—will not persons surreptitiously get others to nominate and canvass for them? The reply is that obviously we do not profess to be able to abolish all evil. Whoever or Whatever made the Universe has not succeeded in doing so.

Human beings can obviously not do better. Indeed, some people think and believe that if evil *were* abolished, *good* would disappear automatically also. But what human beings ought to and can do is, to try to minimise the evil and maximise the good, in a given time, place, and circumstance. We profess only to make suggestions towards this. No doubt, there will be room for underhand doings. But the *other* conditions which we propose must not be overlooked. They will blunt the edge of the temptations to such doings. Thus, legislators will not be entrusted with executive powers, as they are to-day, in the capacity of Ministers or Executive Councillors, *etc.* Judicial powers will also be separated off from the other two. And the re-formed public opinion will make a different atmosphere altogether. The general recognition of the non-mercenary principle; and of the principle of the division of the rewards of extra honor, and special official powers, and extra wealth, and more amusements *etc.*, in correspondence with the division of labour and functions and the difference of the main kinds of temperaments and capacities; the condition that legislators should not be engaged in any money-making business, which will naturally keep the public eye alertly and wakefully upon his purity—all this will make the election something to be accepted only from a sense of duty, as a burden for which the only (but great) recompense is honor, rather than to be eagerly sought for as a means of easy selfish joys.

Note to Chapter VI.

Separation of Functions.

That Judicial functions should be separated off from Executive functions is admitted even by the Bureaucracy in profession; though they are avoiding, might and main, the carrying out of their profession into practice. But it is not equally generally recognised that the Legislative function should also be separated off from the other two. Even more radically dangerous than the combination of Judicial and Executive, is the combination of Legislative and Executive. If the Executive-Judge will always *decide* in favour of himself, or of his class or clique, the Executive-Legislator will *make laws* in favour of himself or of his class or clique—a far more radical danger, mischief at the very root.

In the ancient Indian scheme, the man of thought was the Legislator, and the man of action was the Executor of his law. Such a pioneer of reform in India as Raja Ram Mohan Roy has expressed an opinion that the downfall of India began when the Rajas usurped the power of making laws from the Pandits. The ancient *Smritis* are all composed by Rishis, not by Rajas The Islamic tradition is similar, too. Therefore no legislator should have direct executive power; but the Legislature should supervise and control the Executive which should be responsible in every way to the Legislature. This is the very essence of responsible government and self-government as conceived here. Where the chief Executive and the chief Legislative are practically identical, and the members of the former are substantially or heavily salaried as in England, true responsibility ceases, maneuvres and intrigues of party politics become rampant, and legislation cannot be disinterested. In other places the opposite error is observable, *viz*, that if the Legislative is separated from the Executive, the latter is free of control by the former.

Note to Chapter VII.

Finance.

These provisions will reverse the present order of things, secure financial autonomy, and provide a safeguard against the disastrous extravagance and top-heaviness which are the consequences of excessive centralisation, have plunged western countries in hopeless indebtedness and bankruptcy, and are ruining India also.

Note to Chapter VIII.

Proprietorship.

The opposite tendencies are patent in politics and economics as throughout human and other nature, in all the aspects and manifestations thereof. The current names for them are Individualism and Socialism. Other names for them are egoism and altruism, the separative 'I' and the communal 'We', mutual struggle or struggle for existence, and mutual aid or alliance for existence, competition and co-operation. To endeavour to suppress either, and retain the other only, is a fatal error, due to ignorance of the very elements of human nature, or to blinding arrogance and greed for power and wealth. Bureaucracy and all other 'cracies', as also the many current schemes of collectivism —one of which is being tried in Russia under the name of Bolshevism—are always committing this disastrous error of one-sided and top-sided excess and exaggeration, and therefore are always committing suicide while causing grievous disturbance and injury to the People. Russian Bolshevism, after a vain endeavour to abolish private property, in the course of which widespread misery of the most awful character has been caused, seems now to have decided to recognise private property, as was inevitable. Safety lies in recognising both these indefeasible and unabolishable aspects of human nature, and in trying to reconcile them wisely. The growth

of the sense of separate *Individuality*, the growth of egoistic intelligence, of the institution of monogamous marriage and the sentiments connected with it, of the definition of the family life, of the sense of private property, of the customs of inheritance, of the incentive to productive efforts of an ever more complicated order—all these are inter-connected, inter-dependent, flourish or decay together. At the same time, by that paradox of antimonial duality or ambivalence which is the very nature of the universe, their flourishing is possible only in the setting of a Society. Society and Individual, "We" and "I", are inter-dependent yet opposed. The reconciliation must be found in a National Organisation of Society, such as will give due play to the instincts or forces of individualistic competition, (*droh-atmaka vibhuti*) as well as socialist co-operation (*sambhuya-samutthana, sangh-atmaka sambhuti*). Refinement of life is not possible without accumulation of wealth; and that is not possible without some play of Individualism (*vyashti-budhhi, bhed-budhhi, swartha, khud-garzi, khudi*) the sense of private, exclusive, separate possession. But the excess of individualism leads to class wars and disruption of communities, and (when the spirit of Individualism puts on the mask and the larger form of Nationalism) to world-ruining wars, like the recent or indeed still continuing European War; and so it defeats its own ends and commits suicide. To guard against this excess, to set due limits to private accumulations, to ensure even the refinement against degenerating into vulgar loudness, to bring about an equitable distribution of necessaries and comfort—this is the work of the spirit of socialism (*Samashti-buddhi, abheda buddhi, parartha, isar, aql-i-ijmaai*). The reconciliation is to be found in making the private life simpler and the public possessions richer, by putting 'private' individuals in charge of 'public' properties of common use and enjoyment like public parks, museums, zoos, children's and youths' playgrounds, reading-rooms, libraries, roads, tanks, wells, places of worship, rest-houses, dharmashalas, sarais, almshouses, bathing ghats, hospitals, etc., and inducing them, by the incentives of public honour (and public censure in the opposite case) to lay out their individually-accumulated wealth on these. In this connection the principle of the separation of the four main prizes of life should be very carefully borne in mind. The preservation of the integrity of the central authority (in other words, of the purity of the Legislature), and the inducing of all the individuals composing the community to put forth the best work that there is in them—these are the main problems of government and social organisation. Modern governments and modern collectivist schemes and experiments are all failing to find a solution for them. As said before, Lenin, in Russia, after extraordinary efforts to abolish private property has realised that capitalism has to be restored (though, no doubt, with limitations). He is reported to have found out that the peasants avoid working more than will produce enough for their necessary wants, and are not interested in supporting the 'intellectuals' etc., who are necessary for the State', unless special inducement is applied. Now the simple old traditional solution, in India, of these problems is the separation of the four main prizes of life, viz. honor, power wealth and amusements, which constitute the main ambitional inducement to strenuous work of correspondingly different kinds. The possibility of combining them, of securing them all, is the one prime cause of all kinds of social and political corruption. Separate them, and you at once minimise the temptations of the central authority, and at the same time provide an adequate (if not excessive) inducement to every worker to put forth his best. Socio-political reform of the affairs of human beings, if it is to be successfully carried out, must not ignore these facts and laws of the Science of Psychology, *i e*, of Human Nature.

By taking due account of these laws and facts, it is possible to minimise the disadvantages and pick out the advantages of all the many forms socio-political organisation, which man has tried of the village community, the city-guilds system, the city-state, the country-state, theocracy and sacerdotalism, autocracy and monarchy and despotism, aristocracy and feudalism and militarism, plutocracy and capitalism, bureaucracy and oligarchy of many kinds, and finally democracy and collectivism of many shapes and forms, each one only a lop-side exaggeration of one constituent and necessary element in the corporate life of humanity—and synthesise them all anew in a truly beneficent form of Swa-raj, government of the community by *its higher self*.

प्रकाशक व मुद्रक—माधव विष्णु पराड़कर, ज्ञानमण्डल यन्त्रालय, काशी २०५९-८३ ।

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OUTLINE SCHEME
OF
SWARAJ
By
SHRIYUT DESHABANDHU C. R. DAS
AND
SHRIYUT BHAGAVAN DAS
FIFTH EDITION

Page - 3
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NOTE
In some public statements made by me in October and November, 1922, and again in my Presidential address at the Gaya Congress, on 26th December, 1922, I drew the attention of the public to the need for stating the fundamental principles and formulating the broad outlines of a Scheme of Self-government which should form the basis of Indian Swaraj.
Subsequently, the new Party (known as the Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj Party) which has been formed within the Congress, in consequence of division of opinion over the question of contesting elections for the official Councils, desired me to outline such a scheme, in conjunction with other friends, who also had been pressing the matter on the attention of the Indian People for some time past, and were co-opted for the Drafting Committee.

The Outline now placed before the public is the result. It was laid before a meeting of leading members of the new party, at Bombay, on 29th January, 1923. There was no time to discuss it properly. Many of the members present (from almost all the larger Congress Provinces) expressed a general approval; others reserved opinion. But it was unanimously agreed that the draft should be placed before the Indian People, through the Press, and suggestions and criticisms invited.

It was also unanimously agreed that the Outline represents the Ideal which should be kept in view, as one to be gradually worked up to, and that a certain number of intermediate and progressive steps have to intervene, but which must all definitely, unmistakeably, steadily and progressively help to change the present regime so as to realise that ideal at no distant date.

BOMBAY,
30-1-1923 A.C.
CHITTA RANJAN DAS.

A WORD TO THE READER REGARDING THIS PAMPHLET

After presiding over the Gaya Congress, Deshabandhu Das came to Benares for a little rest in January, 1923. Shri Bhagavan Dasji, who had been pressing on the attention of the country continuously from 1921 onwards when the non-co-operation movement was launched, the necessity of defining Swaraj, met Deshabandhu Das in Benares and they had many long talks together on the subject. Shri Bhavavan Dasji then drew up the Scheme embodied in these pages and circulated them over the single name of Deshabandhu Das wit his consent. Shri Bhagavan Dasji has been writing, from time to time, ever since, in favour of this scheme; and he drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to the necessity of educating public opinion in its favour when they met in Benares in January last. (The interview was published in Aj and reprinted in the Hindi press. It is hoped that an English edition will also soon be published through the medium of the English press.) With the kind permission of Mahatmaji, this Scheme is being circulated with "Young India" in the hope that it will attract the attention of all persons specially interested in the attainment of Swaraj. It is also hoped that they would please preserve this for future reference.

Seva-Upavana,
Benares.
25 Chaitra 1983, A.V.

SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA.
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Page - 5
ERRATUM.
The words "Indian Legislative Assembly" in the third line of the first paragraph on page 5, should read "Viceroy of India."

Page - 6
AN APOLOGY
S
At this particular juncture when the Swaraj Scheme embodied in what is popularly known as the Nehru Report is before the country, and the Central Committee appointed by the Indian Legislative Assembly have finished their labours and submitted their reports to H.E. the Viceroy of India in the very teeth of opposition from their countrymen throughout India, and also when the Simon Commission, boycotted universally in India as they are, have well-nigh finished their work and are expected to bring forth the result of their work in the early part of the next year, a word of explanation is perhaps needed in publishing this scheme which was drawn up by the late lamented Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Shriyut Bhagwan Das in the early part of the year 1923, and already circulated in India three times.
It is very well known that the Indian National Congress do not recognise the right of the British Parliament or for the matter of that of any other person or body, to decide our future fate for us. The Indian National Congress claims the right of self-determination and the right to shape our destiny ourselves. It is also very well known to the world at large that the leaders assembled at Calcutta last year in the Congress (1928) after a great deal of deliberation, passed a compromise resolution. The country thereby pledged itself, though reluctantly, to accept and for the present abide by, the recommendations embodied in the Nehru Report, if Great Britain also on her part chose the way of peace and let us have our way to develop ourselves in the best way we could.
But it seems almost unlikely that Great Britain, the most powerful country of the world at the present time, will let us have our own way. The utter-ances of responsible men in England on the occasion of the last Indian debate

in the Houses of Parliament have clearly shown, if there was any doubt at all in the minds of anybody in India or elsewhere, that there is forthcoming a grim fight, however peaceful it may be on our side, between the peoples of these two countries whose forefathers, as Mr. Baldwin reminds the world, came from the same Aryan stock.

Now the Nehru Report will have been dead by the midnight of the 31st December, 1929. India will then have to face the question of framing a fresh constitution for herself according to her genius and in keeping with her traditions. The publisher believes that the present scheme, conceived and elaborated by two giant thinkers of India, one of whom, unfortunately for us, is no more among ourselves, might furnish us with an impetus and might also perhaps suggest some new points to the world at large as it is substantially different from the schemes that are before the people in India at present.

It is with a view to contributing to the solution of that practical question and co-operating with the other publicists from certain standpoints that are likely to be ignored, that this new European edition is being placed before the students of constitution-making.

Be it noted, however, finally, that the present publication purports but to be a statement of the general principles that should guide us in our work. Nothing more than a framework is in any case furnished here. Details remain to be filled in. To the elaboration of the principles as well as to the filling in of details the attention of statesmen is cordially invited.

GENEVA,
23rd Margashirsha, 1986, A.V.
SHIVAPRASAD GUPTA
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OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	
8	9	After "ones," add "according to population".
9	13	Omit "according to population".
39		

23
26
9
12
34
99
10
31
Do:
11
37
16
Before "Museums" add "Monuments".
Omit "Monuments".
For "sub-committees" read "committees".
For "twenty-two" read "twenty-one".
(Foot-note) For "regime only" read "regime, but only".
Do:
1
99
19
(,,) 6
Omit "the resolution of".
99
(,,) 8
For "confusedly" read "confessedly".
17
(,,) 6
Omit "a".
99
(,,) 7
For "Mauriya" read "Maurya",
(„) 8
For "bundred" read "hundreds"
99
19
19
For "Pahchayat" read "the Panchayat".
12

12
99
28
ود
25
36
29
29
99
30
1
44
For "in" read "in a".
For "then" read "thus".
For "Legislators" read "Legislatures".
For "forms socio-political" read "forms of socio-political".
For "tried of the" read "tried-the",
For "lop-side" read "lop-sided".

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OUTLINE SCHEME OF
CHAPTER I.-ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES.
SWARAJ
The principles which guide this outline are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial, and have been re-iterated in the Presidential Address of the Gaya Congress, in December, 1922, thus
"To form a scheme of government, regard must be had
(1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India ;
(2) the growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres ;
(3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth;
(4) the village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous;
(5) the residuary power of control must remain in the central Government, but the exercise of such power should be exceptional,

and for that purpose, proper safeguards should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained, and at the same time, the growth of the central government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such Central Government should be mainly advisory."

Briefly, a maximum of local autonomy, carried on mainly with advice and co-ordination from, and only a minimum of control by higher centres, which will have some special functions besides.

To this should be added that every possible care should be taken to ensure that the people's elected representatives, who will constitute the Chief Authority for each grade of centre, local and higher, with power to make laws and rules, shall be, not self-seekers, but seekers of the public welfare.

CHAPTER II.-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.

(a) Local Centres.

I. The foundation of the whole administration should be in Local Centres (grama), small but practically autonomous.

2. A Local Centre should ordinarily consist of a number of villages of which the population should total about ten thousand souls.

(b) Town Centres.

3. Towns (nagar), should form separate entities, and might, as necessary, be sub-divided into wards or quarters, of about the same population limits as the rural Local Centres.

(c) District Centres.

4. Rural and urban Local Centres should be integrated into larger groups of District Centres (zila) with populations of from five to twenty lakhs.

(d) Provinces.

5. District Centres should be integrated into Provincial organisations.

6. Provinces (sooba) should be demarcated on the linguistic basis. Any which are considered too large may be divided into smaller ones.

(e) All-India Organisation.

7. The Provincial Organisations should be integrated into and be co-ordinated by an All-India (Bharata-varsha or Hindustan)

Organisation according to population.
8. Subject to these general principles, each province should draw up its own scheme of administrative divisions to suit provincial variations.

CHAPTER III.-ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS.

Functions should be as below:

A. (i) Provision for appropriate Education of all educable children and youth of both sexes (Siksha or Talim).

(ii) Provision for educative and cultural Re-creation (vinoda or dil-bastagi), e.g., Public Gardens, Botanical Gardens, Zoos, Parks, Museums, Playing-grounds, Libraries, Reading Rooms, Art-galleries, Popular Lectures, Recitations, Processions, Pageants, Religious Festivals*, (Katha, Yatra, Kala-kshepam, Kirtan, Ram-lila, Krishna-lila, Maulud, Christmas and Easter celebrations, etc.) refining, elevating and instructive Dramas, Cinema and Magic Lantern shows, games and sports, etc.

B. Provision for Protection (Raksha or Hifazat), by means of,

(i) Police and Local Militia and Regular Military Forces;

(ii) Justice and Settlement of Disputes, through Arbitration Courts or Panchayats in the narrower sense, and Registration of Deeds;

(iii) Appropriate Medical help and Sanitation.

C. Provision for Economic and Industrial Welfare (Jivika or Maash) by promtion of

(i) Agriculture (Krishi or Zira-at);

(ii) Cattle-breeding (Go-raksha or Taraqqi-maweshi), i.e., increase and preservation of domestic animals of all kinds, for purposes of milk, wool, plough, transport, etc.

* As regards "Places of Public Worship for the various Creeds," see Appendix Note to Chapter III.

(iii) Other Productive Industries relating to Mines, Forests, Fisheries, Salt, Sericulture, Arboriculture, etc. (Akara-karma or Madaniyat, etc.);

(iv) Arts and Crafts and Manufactures of all kinds (Shilpa or Sanaat-hirfat);
(v) Trade and Commerce (Vanijya or Tijarat); and
(vi) By promotion and regulation of the various means which subserve the above, e.g., Taxes, Rates and Revenues, Tariff and Customs, Railways, Post, Telegraph, Telephone and Radiogram, Shipping, Harbours, Lighthouses, Airways, Roads, Waterways, Canals, Bridges, Ferries, Vehicular Traffic, Presses, Public Buildings, Monuments, Rest-Houses, Currency, Weights and Measures, Banks, Co-operative Societies, Factories, Public Property and Private Property, Measures of Flood and Famine Relief, Surveys (Geographical, Geological, Botanical, Meteorological, Statistical, Archaeological, tc.), Friendly Relations with other States, etc.

D. The above provisions would be made
(i) by means of laws and rules, bye-laws and resolutions, etc., which would be framed by the different grades of Panchayats, and would have force within the domains of their respective makers, the enactments of the lower grades of Councils being made with advice from and co-ordination by the higher when needed;
(ii) by appointment of executive officials (who would be wholly responsible to the Councils appointing them) to carry out the laws and rules; and
(iii) by supervision of their work.

CHAPTER IV.-PANCHAYATS AND ALLOCATION OF FUNCTIONS.

A. Local Centres or Communes and Local Panchayats.
(a) For each rural or urban Local Centre or Commune there should be one Local Panchayat of twenty-one periodically elected members.
(b) This Panchayat should be in charge of the different functional departments mentioned above, so far as the Commune affords scope for them, and should carry on the work by means of sub-committees.
(c) Under Education
(i) they would maintain local Schools, giving elementary cultural and vocational-technical instruction, and
(ii) would provide for suitable Recreation.
(d) Under Protection
(i) they would appoint their own Chaukidars (Watchmen), and would form Local Militia out of such chaukidars and other able-bodied men, and would provide for their proper training;

(ii) they would arrange for Arbitration Courts (the members of which would be separately elected), which would deal with simple civil (including what are now known, as rent and revenue, divani and mal or artha-vivada) and criminal (faujdari or parushya-vivada) cases;
(iii) they would also maintain an adequate Hospital (chikitsalaya or shafa-khana) and Medical Staff which would provide treatment free and be responsible for the proper Sanitation of the Commune.
(e) Under Economical and Industrial Ministration, they would see
(i) that all arable lands are properly tilled, and village commons, playing-grounds, pasture-lands, groves, orchards, etc., are properly maintained, and a sufficiency of necessaries, specially corn, cotton, and cattle (or other forms of food, clothing, and accessories, in specially circumstanced tracts), for the use of the Commune, is always available within their jurisdiction;
(ii) that co-operative organisations, in the shape of Stores, Banks, etc., are maintained in the needed numbers;
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(iii) that wells, tanks, tals, canals, and all means of supply of good water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and for irrigation, and all roads, etc., within their Commune, are properly maintained;
(iv) that production of surplus corn, cotton, cattle, and other necessaries as well as comforts, and of mineral and other products and means of increasing the wealth of the locality is encouraged, cottage-industries promoted, and arrangements made for commercial dealing with this produce in such a manner as to avoid competitive waste.
B. Intermediate Centres or Districts and District Panchayats.
(a) The District Panchayat should be constituted by each Local Panchayat (or group of Local Panchayats) periodically choosing one member, who may or may not be one of them; provided that the total number of members should not exceed one hundred ; and provided also that at least two-fifths of them should be residents of towns.
(b) They would form sub-committees among themselves on the lines before mentioned.
(c) The District Panchayat would generally advise and not control the Local Panchayat, in respect of all functions. Special provision

would be made for such control as may be occasionally or absolutely necessary.
(d)-(i) Under Education, the District Panchayat should maintain one or more higher educational institutions (like colleges and high schools) as may be necessary, which would give cultural as well as technical instruction.
(ii) They would also provide Recreation, arranging for the more expensive items which may not be within the means of the Local Panchayats.
(e) Under Protection (i) they would co-ordinate the Local Police;
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(ii) arrange to maintain some special Reserve of District Police;
(iii) organise and co-ordinate the Local Militia, so that they might discharge the functions of a discipline Army; and
(iv) Maintain one or more large hospitals and supply medical and sanitary advice to their Communes.
(f) Under Economic and Industrial Ministration, the District Panchayat would
(i) co-ordinate the Local Banks and Stores and other local economic and industrial and commercial enterprises; and
(ii) organise or promote such other independent enterprises.
C. Town Centres and Town Panchayats.
(a) Aggregation of dwellings containing ten thousand or more inhabitants should be regarded as towns.
(b) Tons should be organised in the same way, generally, as the rural Local Centres ; and the same general principles should be applied to their functioning as to the rural Local Centres, as far as practicable, but regard must be had to the special variations in the economic and other circumstances.
(c) For the purposes of the integration of the District Centres and the election of the District Panchayats, the rural and the urban Local Centres should be counted side by side as component units; and the headquarters or the seat of the District Panchayats would ordinarily be the largest town of the district.
(d) For the purpose of unifying the administration of each town as

a single whole, the Town's Members of the District Council, together with such other members as may be specially elected by the Ward-Panchayats, in the proportion of two or more per ward, should form a Town Panchayat (like the present Municipal Boards), which would be intermediate between the urban Local (i.e., Ward) Panchayats and the District Panchayat, and would discharge as many of the functions of the District Council, towards the whole Town, as may be conveniently possible.

D. Provinces and Provincial Panchayats

(a) The Provincial Panchayats should consist of members elected by the District Panchayats in the proportion of one for every two lakhs of the population; provided that the total number should not fall below twenty-two, nor exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least half the number should be urban residents. They may or may not be members of the District Panchayats.

(b) The Provincial Panchayts would advise the District Panchayats and co-ordinate them and their work, using residuary powers of control under proper safeguards.

(c) Its special work would be

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(i) to maintain advanced Educational Institutions (in the nature of Vidya-pithas, Dar-ul-ulums, "Seats of Learning," "Centres of Knowledge," Universities) which would give expert cultural and technical training and promote research;

(ii) to maintain special Police and Military Forces, for the guarding of Frontiers, Sea-boards, etc.;

(iii) to make provision for Justice in special cases;

(iv) to administer Provincial Railways, Water-works, Canals, Roads, etc.

E. The India Panchayat.

(a) The All-India Panchayat should consist of members elected by the Provincial Panchayats in the proportion of one for every thirty lakhs of population, but Provinces which may have a total population of less than thirty lakhs would send one representative. At least three-fifths of the members should be urban.

(b) The functions of the India Panchayat would be similar to those of the Provincial Panchayat mutatis mutandis; a special one would be to deal with neighbouring States (including Indian States and Foreign Countries.
(c) The India Panchayat should create a Consulting Senate, consisting of eminent men and women of thought and special knowledge, belonging to all parts of India, who would be elected by the India Panchayat from time to time, without restriction of numbers, etc., and who would be asked for advice on any subject, as needed, by the India Panchayat or the Provincial Panchayats.
(d) The language of the India Panchayat should be Hindustani while the Provinces would use their mother tongues.
F. Special Provision for Filling up Vacancies.
Generally, if a member of a lower Council is elected to a higher, his place may be filled up by a new election by the same electorate.
CHAPTER V.-THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CHOOSERS AND THE CHOSEN.
1. Every individual of either sex, who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twenty-five years of age if a man, and twenty-one years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.
2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.
3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.
4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

5. The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre, and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, colour, race, or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of creedal or communal representation.
6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not under forty years of age; should have done some good work in any walk of life; should, if rural, be at least literate, and if urban, should possess

higher educational qualifications, and in the case of rural and urban members of the Provincial and India Councils, should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience; should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of bread-winning or money-making, and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give practically all their time to national work, and should do so without any cash remuneration. But their travelling and other ex-officio expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds, and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honour attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions.

7. The members of each Panchayat should possess, between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer.

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass for himself, as a candidate for election; but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office, if elected.

CHAPTER VI.-SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS.

1. Throughout the whole administration, Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions should be kept separate from one another.

I.

CHAPTER VII.-FINANCE.

The revenues needed to meet necessary expenditure should be raised by the Local Panchayats by means of taxation, with advice from the upper Panchayats.

2. State factories might be opened as necessary, with a view to prevent waste by individual competition, over-production, bad production, etc., to cheapen commodities, and to reduce taxation, but not so as to create monopolies and stifle private enterprise.

3. Where practicable, Local and District Councils should make such improvements in the locality as might result in addition to the communal income, e.g., public wells, tanks, canals, roads, groves of timber and fruit trees, etc., and thereby lead to reduction of taxation.

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4. Contributions would be made by the Local Panchayats to make up the revenues of the District Panchayats; by them to the Provincial; and by the Provincial to the India Panchayat.
5. Special taxation might be imposed by the Provincial and India Panchayats.
CHAPTER VIII.-PROPRIETORSHIP.
9
Private property would be recognised and maintained and the growth of individual wealth, both movable and immovable, would be permitted, but so as not to encroach on or make impossible or impracticable the growth of public possessions as well; and the owner of individual wealth, who spends it on pious works, i.e., works of public utility, as requested by a Panchayat, would receive special marks of honour.
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APPENDIX.
(by BHAGAVAN DAS).
NOTE TO CHAPTER I.
Fundamental Principles.
(a) Excessive centralization, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a bureaucratic clique, mindful of its own prestige and emoluments, careless of the public weal, walling itself off more and more thickly from touch with public opinion, in fact arrogant and disdainful towards the public regarding itself as public-master rather than as public-servant-this is the bane, in consequence of which the public servant waxes and the public wanes, more and more, every day, in India. Genuine decentralization of administration, substantial distribution of power, and real responsibility of the public servant to the People's trusted representatives-this is the only remedy.*
Hence the formulation of practical local autonomy as a fundamental principie.
(b) The failure to secure ethical fitness, the philanthropic and humanitarian outlook upon life, in the elected legislators,-in consequence of which failure, the laws made by them are not wise and just,

but partial to special class interests, and promote an excessive inequaliy and therefore widespread discontent and conflicts of all kinds and degrees--this is the disastrous and all-vitiating defect of western system of Swaraj, the cause of all their internal ferments and their external wars, of the enslavement of Labour by Capital, of the many by the few, within each State, and of the ruthless exploitation of weaker nations without. This failure must be strenuously guarded against in our scheme. Hence the formulation of the second fundamental principle.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II.

Administrative Divisions.

This scheme of administrative divisions is in accord with the time-honoured traditions of the country. The agricultural village and the village community were, are, and ought to continue to be the natural basis of our special type of culture and civilisation, and of all wise administration in a country ninety per cent. of the population of which is rural. Most writers and thinkers about India are agreed in this.

In the most ancient days, of which accounts are available, the socio-politico-economical divisions were the village, the group of ten villages, the group of ten tens or a hundred, the group of ten such or a thousand -grama, janapada, pranta, vishaya, mandala and so on. In medieval times and the days of the Moghals, the arrangement was much the same-mauza, tappa, pargana, zila, sooba, etc. It is the same to-day

* For the contrast between the English and the U.S. American systems on this point,
and the immense superiority of the former, see, e.g., Ford's Representative Government
(1925).

in the Indian States and in the territories under British occupation.+ The names of the divisions and sub-divisions differ in the different provinces. No radical change can be made in this principle of groupings and integration. Eat for the purpose of the electoral principle, which worked sub-consciously in the old days of the panchayat and the village community, and has to work consciously

and deliberately now, a population basis is suggested for the initial groups, and also for the next intermediate groups, though with greater elasticity. For the third grade, the linguistic basis is the most natural and has been already recognised by the Congress. The fourth and the final grade is governed by many considerations, geographical, political, economical, cultural, etc.; for fixing the outermost boundaries of this whole, no single principle suffices.

The single village cannot well be accepted to-day as the initial unit of administration. The population of the five hundred thousand villages of British-occupied India varies from a few dozens to a few thousands. Therefore, in the interests of a convenient uniformity, a population basis of approximately ten thousand is suggested. This will give about three to four thousand electors for the Local Panchayat (dealt with in a subsequent chapter)-not too large a number for such common consciousness and general acquaintance, by reputation or directly, as is needed for electoral purposes. For the whole of India, the proportion of women over twenty-one is, roundly, about sixty-five millions out of one hundred and fifty; and of men over twenty-five, also about sixty-five millions, but out of one hundred and sixty.

The treatment of towns as separate entities is suggested for obvious reasons. The difference between the conditions of the two, town and country-village, pura and jana-pada, shahar add dehat, has been recognised in all times and climes. The one represents (by no means exclusively, but only by predominant feature) the intellectual power (buddhi, aql) of the people; the other, their vital power (prana, jan). They are inter-dependent. Both are necessary for a full civilised life for the People as a whole. But the modern western plutocratic and bureaucratic centralising tendency causes the town to grow excessively and absorb the vitality of the country inordinately. This excess needs to be checked, and just balance between the two to be restored, in order to prevent disastrous devitalisation of the soul and the body of the vast

† It is the same under the British regime only nominally and geographically. The Village Panchayats and their beneficent local self-government have been violently
uprooted. The tremendous confusion, and the change for the worse in many respects,
that took place in India, with regard to these and the customs and laws of the land
tenure have to be studied in works specially dealing with the subject, in order to

realise
the need for the resolution of the restoration of the old arrangement on a higher level.
The village Panchayat seems to have constituted a well-developed example of the
confusedly embryonic ideas regarding "group-organisation," "neighbourhood organisation," etc., which are now beginning to be discussed in the West, e.g., in Miss
M. P. Follett's The New State (1926).
I Some western writers have calculated that, even with the widest franchise, the proportion of enrolled electors to the total population comes to about one in five; the
actual number of voters at any election is always much less.
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agricultural population, and the consequent crashing down, before long, of the whole much too top-heavy organism.
This balance will be restored by emphasising the separate autonomy of the village groups and the towns-the needed co-ordination and mutual support being secured by the advice, and where absolutely necessary, the control, of the Provincial Authority. The need of this separateness is recognised even under the British regime by the distinction between Municipal Boards and District Boards, though, of course, in that regime, the 'local self-government' of the Boards is carried on under the strict' other-government' of the district officials.
The reason for fixing more elastic population-limits for the District and Town Groups is this. In the Punjab, the population of the existing twenty-nine districts varies from five lakhs to ten lakhs, and gives an average of about seven lakhs. The twenty-six districts of Bombay vary between three and twelve lakhs, and give an average of eight. The average for Bengal is sixteen; the largest population not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, being that of Mymensingh i.e., forty-five lakhs. The average for Madras is also sixteen. Also for Behar. That for the U.P., ten. Some of the larger districts, f.i., Mymensing, with forty-five lakhs, Vizagapatam and Gorakhpur with thirty-two each, Dacca and Darbhanga with thirty each, Muzaffarpur

and Midnapore with twenty-eight each, are too bulky for convenience of autonomous administration. Even the men of the British regime have been thinking of dividing some of them into two or three districts each. The capital towns have eleven or twelve lakhs. The lower limits for towns may be regarded as ten thousand. The Census officials of the present regime have defined the town as every continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than five thousand persons. Ten thousand is suggested in the text, later on, in view of the fact that that figure has been suggested for the rural Local Centre also. In British occupied India there are about twelve hundred towns' or villages, with a population between five and ten thousand, or a total of about eighty lakhs. In view of such facts, elastic limits, of five to twenty lakhs, have been suggested for the District. For purpose of symmetry, the figure might have been fixed at ten lakhs uniformly. It is the actual average for the two hundred and seventy-five districts of British-occupied India. But the centre of a district
And in tracts where towns are
has ordinarily, to be a fair-sized town.
few and far between, large agricultural areas and populations have to be grouped around and with them. Natural boundaries, rivers, forests, ranges of hills, etc., also make for variation of area and population.*

* Aristotle, without railway, steamship, aircraft, telegraph, telephone, wireless and
a minimum of ten
printing press, thought the population for an ideal state was
thousand and a maximum of a hundred thousand, and the area, as far as a herald's
voice could reach, Even the much later Rousseau, the philosopher of the French Revolution, thought of ten thousand. The present Scheme tries to synthesise Aristotle's and Rousseau's midget (a city-state) with the leviathan (country-state) of
Aristotle's distant contemporary, Chandragupta Mauriya and even more of modern
times, consisting of millions of square miles and hundred of millions of human beings.

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NOTE TO CHAPTER III.
Functions.
Western writers divide the functions of government, into (i) Constituent or Protective, and (ii) Ministrant or Promotive. The former are what may be called negative mainly, (a) the prevention of crimes and breaches of peace, and (b) adjustment of wrong; in other words, preventive and curative, or police-military and judicial. The others are positive and constructive, the active promotion of the welfare of the community.
The laisser faire school of socio-political thought, looking at the mischievous consequences of over-interference by the State, i.e., the Bureaucracy, would confine the duties of government to the former only; and would give to the individuals, regarded as units, who compose the Public or People, full liberty to work out their own destiny in their own ways, in competition with each other so far as positive welfare of 'success in life'-whatever that might mean-is concerned. This is the school of individualism. Another school, looking at the immense waste of energy and life, which results from unregulated competition, and at the exploitation of the less cunning and less able many' by the more cunning and strong 'few', (so that the evils of bureaucracy reappear as the evils of plutocracy) and also realising that widespread and substantial and lasting success in life' depends more upon mutual aid and co-operation and communal organisation, than upon individual enterprise, recommend State-regulation and the free exercise of promotive functions by the State in new ways which will obviate the evils resulting from bureaucracy. This school of thought is generally known as that of Socialism; but by differences of views as to the ways, becomes divided into many, known as Collectivism, Communism, Anarchism, State-socialism, Guild-socialism, etc.
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As uusal, the truth is in the golden mean, and error in the extremes. The best course is the middle course. Our Swaraj must maintain a balance between Individualism and Socialism (swartha and parartha) must reconcile the two. For both are necessary to full civilised life, even as the pronouns 'I and We'. The needed reconciliation will be effected by maximising local elective autonomy and minimising centralisation.

As to the preventive and curative functions, Police-Military and Justice, there is no dispute. Also as regards Medicative and Sanitative, which may be regarded partly as protective and partly as promotive, Sanitation being preventive of disease and promotive of health, and medication being curative of ills.
But a certain amount of 'promotive' work must also be done by the various grades of Centres. This work may be grouped under two main heads, the promotion (i) of right Education, the very foundation of all communal welfare (and therefore placed here before even Protection) and (ii) of Economic and Industrial Well-being. Education will include Recreation also, as being indirect education in a popular and elastic and almost more effective form.
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It is the duty of the elders of the family (i) to protect the younger generation, (ii) to amuse and educate them, (iii) to settle them in life, to put them in the way of earning a livelihood. The duty, the right, the function, of the elders of the village, of the districts, of the provinces, of the country as a great whole, is none other. All the functions of government are either these, or subsidiary to these.
A word may be specially added here on the subject of Recreation. The object of measures under this head would be two-fold: (i) to provide such refined entertainment, for young and old alike, as will give healthy relaxation, as well as healthy tone, and also indirect yet very useful education and general culture, to the mind and body of all sections of the public, in leisure hours; and (ii) at the same time to displace the evil recreations, of drink and drugs and other social vices and harmful indulgences. It should be borne in mind that some recreations human beings will have; and where healthy ones are not easily available, evil ones will be resorted to.
The desirability should be considered here, of putting provision for "Places of public worship for the various creeds" among the duties of Pahchayat, under the head of Education and Recreation, and putting it even in the forefront. The Worship of the Infinite (a more indubitable fact than the Finite) is Re-creation, creation anew of the soul and the finer elements of the body, nourishment for the inmost heart, in

very real sense. That the Elders of the Commune should have the duty of making this provision duly (and separately only to the extent unavoidably necessary, and with at least one place where members of all and any creed might join occasionally in a Common Prayer worded so as to be acceptable to all)-this would conduce to the liberalisation of all the creeds concerned and then to the Religious Peace which is indispensable for India's and the world's progress.*

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV.

Panchayats and Allocation of Functions.

The placing of the headquarters of the District Panchayat in the largest town of the district will make the co-ordination of the administration of the town and the country easy. And it is in accordance with natural tendency. The danger that the town may begin to dominate the country, is guarded against by the provision that the country members of the District Panchayat should be in the majority.

The proportion of the two classes of members is made equal in the Provincial Panchayat, and reversed in the India Panchayat, because

*With reference to Chap. III.D (a) the objection has been taken that there would be thousands of Communes, and each having its own laws would mean utter disintegration.

The objection overlooks the higher-co-ordinating bodies. Even to-day, under the British regime, a single province, f. i., the U.P., has over eighty municipalities and about fifty districts, and each has its independent board with its own rules, bye-laws, and minute-books of resolutions. But the rules of all are the same, following one set of model rules framed by the Government, the bye-laws are nearly the same with small variations, the resolutions are special and different.

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upper bodies have to deal more and more with technical and non-agricultural affairs.

The Essential Change.

Advisory and not mandatory excepting in rare cases"--this is the essence of the change needed in the administration. The change is one of spirit. The details of the official executive machinery may remain much as they are now; but if the executive, the judicial, and the legislative powers are separated, and the 'legislators' (in the broad sense) who compose the Panchayats, of all grades, are elected, and the higher Panchayats ordinarily advise and not command the lower Panchayat, and the executive officials are really responsible to the Panchayats, then, it is exepected, the evils of the present regime will be cured. For the autocracy of the Bureaucracy will be replaced by what may be called an aristo-demo-cracy. Aristo-cracy, because the Panchayats will be composed of the best and most trusted and honoured of the people; demo-cracy because the people will choose them The members of the Panchayats would not exercise any executive powers directly, either in their individual or their corporate capacity, but would only make laws or rules or pass resolutions. These would be carried out by the Executive. And the Executive or at least the chief officials thereof, would be appointed and, if necessary, dismissed or otherwise punished, by the Panchayats. In some cases the executive official may be an elected one. He, too, would be subject to the super-vision of the Panchayat. The control of the Panchayat-Legislative would thus be exercised over the Executive by means of this power of appointment, dismissal, or advancement. The Judiciary would be mostly elective also, subject to approval by the Panchayat-Legislative. This separation of powers would minimise the temptations to, and opportunities of, corruption for all, and would make the Executive (and also the Judiciary) responsible to the People, in the persons of their Elect, which responsibility is the one great desideratum to-day.

It will be remembered that Mr. Gokhale suggested and endeavoured that Advisory Committees should be formed in each district, to advise the district officer in all important matters. Of course, the Bureaucracy declined, on the ground that it would interfere with the individual responsibility of the district officer. When they said responsibility,' they, of course, meant ir-responsibility; for when was the district officer responsible, and to whom? If he was or is responsible at all, it was and is only to the Bureaucratic Clique. If Mr. Gokhale could have agreed, as was suggested in some quarters, that the Advisory Committee should be nominated by the district officer himself, then, indeed, there would have been no difficulty in the

acceptance of his suggestion. Only, then, each district officer would have had a standing Darbar of so many courtiers, the nawab-ic arrangement would have been complete, and the People would have been worse off than before.
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What is needed is that the Advisory Committee should be a Panchayat made up of the Elders of the People, which will not interfere with the pretended and non-existent responsibility of the executive official, but will make it real and enforce it.
Measures are outlined later on, for further safeguarding and ensuring, as far as is humanly possible, the uprightness of the members of the Panchayats themselves; for such safeguarding is the very heart of the whole scheme.
It should be noted that, though option is given, the presumption is that the majority of the members of the higher Panchayats will be chosen from among the members of the lower, who will be all directly elected by the People. Constant and sympathetic touch and unity of spirit and of work will thus be maintained throughout, and the People will, for all practical purposes, directly elect to all the Panchayats, Local, Intermediate and Central, even though technically, the election to the latter will be by a process of distillation through electoral colleges. The latter process has some advantages, which too will be secured by this method. The immense worry and trouble and expense of holding huge elections, by millions upon millions of voters, over and over again, for a handful of seats, would be all saved. And in the Local Panchayats, with their small area and population, and through them, in the upper ones, the elected and the electors will be in constant touch with each other, and public opinion will carry its full weight and receive its full due, influencing the members of the Local Panchayats and through them those of the upper ones effectively.*
It is very desirable that there should be a certain number of persons who should belong to all grades of Panchayats. They will serve as the personal linking medium and would bind together all parts of India continuously and effectively, and at the same time keep all the centres in real touch with each other. And this would be one important

measure for guarding against the possibility (which is always present in federations of practically autonomous areas and communities) of their falling apart, under the influence of false provincialisms and insularities and other such causes (which are very liable to be fostered by the linguistic demarcation), and so weakening the whole. Another measure is connected with finance, in the shape of some special All-

* The question whether all elections should be direct, or those for the upper bodies should be indirect, is no doubt very debatable. There are pros and cons on each side.
But in view of the special circumstances of India, the system recommended in the text has seemed the most suitable. It appears that, by a curious coincidence, the Soviet Constitution of Russia is somewhat similar in this particular respect; coincidence, in that I had no information as to the nature of that Constitution, and, so far as I am aware Deshabandhu C. R. Das too had none, when we were working at this scheme in January, 1923, But the coincidence is perfectly natural, seeing that Russian conditions are very similar, vast areas, immense (though not so thick) population, the bulk of it agricultural and living in villages.
It will be noted that the idea of the present scheme is to build up the pyramid of the State from the bottom upwards, with a broad and solid base in the group-organisation of the whole people, up to the apex in a Central Legislature guiding a Central Executive.
Most modern Constitutions reverse the process, construct the apex first and the base afterwards.

India taxation; and a third, with the use of a common language by the

All-India Panchayat. Both are mentioned in their proper places.
In this way, the virtuous (annot the vicious) circle of (not to use the harsh word' government', but) administration of the affairs of the People, for the People (by the People's Trusted and Chosen Elders) will be wholesomely completed. Human affairs should be ministered by those who know human nature in mind and body; a People's affairs should be administered by those who are its Elect and are in constant and sympathetic touch with, and therefore know, the People and their requirement of body and mind.
It will be seen that, under the scheme, the District Councils, will be fairly large in point of numbers. A district of the maximum population of twenty lakhs, will have a Panchayat of one hundred members; whereas the provinces which are largest in population (at present) will have no more in their Provincial Panchayats. As the bulk of the administrative work will be disposed of by the Local and the District Council, when they are really autonomous, very large numbers for the upper Council are unnecessary from the standpoint of disposal and distribution of work between and by sub-committees. Very large numbers are also otherwise undesirable in deliberative bodies. The personnel may be changed at short intervals, by framing rules in that behalf. It may be observed here that these sub-committees properly framed and used, would correspond to heads of guilds, and would secure to the communal administration, the advantages, on a higher level, of the village community as well as the city-guilds system.
NOTE TO CHAPTER V.
Qualifications of Choosers and Chosen.
With regard to the ages suggested for Electors, the idea is that only those who are mature in body and mind, and have had some experience of life, and especially of family responsibility, should be entrusted with the duty of choosing those who would rule their affairs. The ages suggested would ordinarily give these requisites in India. It seems that in England the difference is reversed, twenty-one is fixed for men and thirty for women. Perhaps it was thought that at the earlier age, women would be too busy with family cares and work inside the home, to be able to take much interest in the work outside. In India women are as mature in body and mind at twenty-one as men at twenty-five; and these different ages, if fixed as suggested, would generally enable husband and wife to go to the poll together.
As regards the qualifications of the elected it has been said at the

outset that the conditions for election should be such as would make it humanly probable that the electors may be seekers of public weal and not self-seekers. The qualifications mentioned in the Outline Scheme are as "the outward symbols of the inward grace." They are such as ordinarily go with the wise and self-denying and philanthropic

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nature. The reasons for suggesting them may be mentioned in greater detail as below.

(a) Legislators should be permane residents of the country for which they are to legislate; but their creed, caste, class, colour, race, or sex should not as such, be regarded either as a qualification or as a disqualification. Without permanent residence in the country, sympathetic understanding is not possible; while taking account of creed, caste, etc., in the elections, imports into the resulting legislature the vicious spirit of conflicting interests and party-politics in place of the virtuous spirit of each caring for all. But if, because, at present, there is much creed and caste and class jealousy existent in the country, it should seem necessary that some exceptions should be made, there is provision for communal representation. It is to be trusted, however, that once the scheme begins to work, the whole atmosphere will change so that these jealousies will disappear, and it will be realised by all that civic well-being is independent of creeds and sectarian beliefs, as has been realised in Japan.

(b) At forty, persons have well passed middle age and usually have children of their own and thus experience of the household life. This will make reasonably probable that the legislator possesses intimate knowledge of human nature in its more common and important aspects, knows what responsibility for the well-being of others means, and has sober and mature judgment. But he should have also retired from all competitive bread-winning or money-making, and should be living on his past earnings or on a 'pension.' So, he would feel financially independent; his outlook upon life, his attitude towards his fellow-being, would have changed from that of selfish taking to that of unselfish giving; and he would have all the leisure needed for his public duties.

It may be that many persons are not able to retire from their business or profession at forty. But we do not want many. Exceptions will be able to. And we want exceptionally selfless men for this essential and highest kind of public work. Twenty-one persons in ten thousand are not too many to expect. If the country cannot provide even so much self-denial, it may as well give up all attempt at Swaraj. But the country has been showing capacity for self-denial; and there is no need to be doubtful. Moreover, if few people are in a position to give up business or profession at forty, many can and ought to, at forty-five, or fifty, with considerable benefit to the whole moral tone of themselves and their community. And if the Panchayat members are fifty years or more, there is no harm done, but rather more mature wisdom and experience secured. After all, even under the current managements, the deliberative and legislative and guiding assemblies of most nations and communities are composed of grey-haired persons.

A younger and physically more vigorous and active age is wanted in the executive offices, where action is required more than thought. It has to be remembered that the old have been young, and know what the young know; but the young have not been old, and

do not know what the old know; though it is devoutly to be prayed that they may all become very, very old and learn all that the old know, except the pains of old age! It may be that many persons tend to become mentally inactive also, after fifty-five or sixty. But between forty-five and fifty-five is ordinarily, a very good age for the kind of deliberative and legislative work we have in view here. And there are cases, though rare, in which the mind is thoroughly capable and active, o and the body healthy, right up to seventy or more. But it may be worth while to fix a maximum age-limit also, say sixty or sixty-five, as the minimum is forty.

Provision may also be made for exceptions. It may be that these high age-limits will sometimes exclude really brilliant younger men. Our conception of the legislator requires not brilliance but wisdom. Brilliance comes and goes, and plays false and proves tinsel, and makes

messes, but wisdom lingers. Wisdom is matured knowledge plus philanthropy, patriarchal benevolence. Brilliance may well wait and mature into a softer, steadier, soberer light and do its duty so much the better after attaining the forty years. If it is substantial, it will not get extinguished by waiting a few years. Yet, for cases in which the work of the Panchayat concerned is likely to suffer if any particular person is shut out because of the age-limit, provision may be made for exceptions, as said.

(c) We want another qualification in our Panchayat member. He should have done outstandingly good work in some walk of life-whether literary, scientific, educational, priestly, medical, artistic, etc., or administrative, official, military, etc., or commercial, agricultural, industrial, financial, etc., or as a labourer and manual worker; and he should have done this and at the same time acquired a reputation for uprightness and honest dealing and sympathy for fellow-creatures. An aged agriculturist who has tilled his few acres successfully, has raised a good family, is respected and trusted in his own and neighbouring villages, and can express his views clearly, is a wise village-elder, in short, may be a more useful member of a legislature which has to deal with vast agricultural interests like those of India, even though he
may be only just able to sign his name, than many brilliant speakers or writers with only a college education that has little touch of reality.*

(d) Another desirable condition is that the legislator should not receive any cash remuneration for his work from the public funds.

* The idea underlying Chap. V., 6-7, is that, generally speaking, representation should be "functional," and the members should represent, in adequate numbers for
each, either (1) Learning, Art and Science, or (2) Defensive Power, Military Skill and
Executive Ability, or (3) Property, Trade, Capital, the Production of Wealth generally,
or (4) Industry, Craft, Labour-which four are the main functions of society, corres-
ponding with the four ancient estates of the Indian realm. This idea is called by the
names of "functional," "vocational," and "occupational" representation, now, and is
beginning to be discussed in the West. The difference between this idea, as

under-
stood in Indian tradition and the modern representation of "interests," the "employ-
ers," "the employees," "the land-owners," "the cultivators," "the beer-makers," "the
bankers," etc., is that these are groups of persons, all expressly regarded as competing
against each other, whereas the four are the main functions of society as an organic
whole, and are regarded as co-operating with each other.
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Such cash payment, while perfectly right and even necessary in other fields of work, taints the peculiar fiduciary status of the legislator, who should stand in the position of Trustee and Elder to the people. He should therefore meet all his personal expenses himself. But, of course, all his ex-officio expenses must be met out of public funds. This would invest the legislator with the venerable dignity which naturally belongs to such an Elder. Trust, honour, reverence-these are the proper, the only, and the natural price of patriarchal benevolence and caring; and they usually are paid, where the generous instincts and traditions of the community have not been perverted. Also, the giving and receiving of such honour-a reward greater than power and wealth and amusements, for it can be enjoyed not only in life, but also after the death of the physical body, which the others cannot be is a great nourishment to the heart of both giver and receiver, and is a continuous inducement to benevolent work on the part of the latter (when it is not mixed up with and corrupted by power and wealth) and a powerful check against temptations to corruption. The natural corollary of this is that in all public functions, the unsalaried legislator should have rank and precedence above all salaried office-bearers as well as persons engaged in competitive money-earning professions.
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It will be readily seen that the idea underlying this condition is that which has been discussed and emphasised before, the idea of spiritual-

ising politics by changing the whole culture and civilisation of society from its present mercenary to a missionary basis, even as the work of the elder in a family is done for the youngers, not for mercenary motives, but out of ' missionary' benevolence. The right instinct is already there; it has only to be revived. Many western countries do not, or until recently did not, give any salary to their legislators. Aldermen are not paid. Nor are justices of the peace. The theory about the honorarium of the barrister is the same. But the prevailing mammonism of western civilisation has corrupted the whole moral atmosphere of human life and penetrated into and vitiated even the most sacred domestic and fiduciary relations. If this atmosphere cannot be purified by the introduction of the missionary and patriarchal spirit in the Panchayats, the Legislators and the Courts of Arbitration, then there is no hope of true Swaraj.

(e) It goes without saying that, grade after grade, each Panchayat should have, in its personnel, members possessing between them, all the knowledge and experience needed for dealing with all the different kinds of work which the Panchayat as a whole has to attend to. For making rules for, and dealing with, each main department of work, the Panchayat will have to form a sub-committee out of its own members; and it is obvious that these should have special knowledge of that kind of work.

(f) Another important point is this:-There should be no standing,' no offering of or canvassing for, himself, by anyone as a candidate for election. The idea of self display and seeking election is wholly incongruous with the spirit of philanthropic public service. Favours are sought not burdens. The conception here should be, not that

the electors confer a favour or honour on the elected, but that they place a heavy burden of public work on him; and it is therefore they who are to be placed under obligation, and should request the electee, instead of being requested by him. Seeking election for oneself has an inevitable savour of selfishness of some sort or other about it, which is quite inconsistent with our ideal of the legislator. Of course, there will

always be possibilities of abuse. But the point to be considered is whether they will be less or greater than under the current systems, under which the gross abuses of "electioneering", are as much a by-word as commercial and financial "profiteering" and bureaucratic "domineering." And it has also to be remembered that the mere public acceptance and declaration of the principles and ideas here suggested will change for the better, the whole tone and atmosphere of politics.

It may be objected that we may make a rule that there must be no canvassing, etc., but-will not persons surreptitiously get others to nominate and canvass for them? The reply is that obviously, we do not profess to be able to abolish all evil. Whoever or Whatever made the Universe has not succeeded in doing so. Human beings can obviously not do better. Indeed, some people think and believe that if evil were abolished, good would disappear automatically also. But what human beings ought to and can do is, to try to minimise the evil and maximise the good, in a given time, place, and circumstance. We profess only to make suggestions towards this. No doubt, there will be room for underhand doings. But the other conditions which we propose must not be overlooked. They will blunt the edge of the temptations to such doings. Thus, legislators will not be entrusted with executive powers, as they are to-day, in the capacity of Ministers or Executive Councillors, etc. Judicial powers will also be separated off from the other two. And the re-formed public opinion will make a different atmosphere altogether. The general recognition of the non-mercenary principle; and of the principle of the division of the rewards of extra honour, and special official powers, and extra wealth, and more amusements, etc., in correspondence with the division of labour and functions and the difference of the main kinds of tempera-ments and capacities; the condition that legislators should not be engaged in any money-making business, which will naturally keep the public eye alert and wakeful upon his purity-all this will make the election something to be accepted only from a sense of duty, as a burden for which the only (but great) recompense is honour, rather than to be eagerly sought for as a means of easy selfish joys, feel of power, and high life.*

* It has been objected that the laying down of such qualifications limits the electors

in their choice of persons to represent them. But every election rule does, more

or less.
Why should there be a minimum age? Why any disqualifications? Why, indeed, the system of representation by election at all-if unlimited unregulated freedom of the
people is the ideal? It is true that such qualifications as are suggested above may
strike a reader as very curious, even absurd, in modern times, when all human values
seem to have been superseded and replaced by the cash value; but they are in accord
with Indian traditions. The Greece of Theseus (vide Plutarch's Lives) and early Rome,
and even the Europe of the Middle Ages, here and there, seems to have had somewhat
similar notions about "honour" (see Ford, Representative Government, the two chapters
on "Securities" and "Further Securities").
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NOTE TO CHAPTER VI.
Separation of Functions.
That Judicial functions should be separated off from Executive functions is admitted even by the Bureaucracy in profession; though they are avoiding, might and main, the carrying out of their profession into practice. But it is not equally generally recognised that the Legislative function should also be separated off from the other two. Even more radically dangerous than the combination of Judicial and Executive, is the combination of Legislative and Executive. If the Executive-Judge will always decide in favour of himself, or of his class or clique, the Executive-Legislator will make laws in favour of himself or of his class or clique-a far more radical danger, mischief at the very root.
In the ancient Indian scheme, the man of thought was the Legislator, and the man of action was the Executor of his law. Such a pioneer of reform in India as Raja Ram Mohan Roy has expressed an

opinion that the downfall of India began when the Rajas usurped the power of making laws from the Pandits. The ancient Smritis are all composed by Rishis, not by Rajas. The Islamic tradition is similar, too. Therefore, no legislator should have direct executive power; but the Legislature should supervise and control the Executive which should be responsible in every way to the Legislature. This is the very essence of responsible government and self-government as conceived here. Where the chief Executive and the chief Legislative are practically identical, and the members of the former are substantially or heavily salaried as in England, true responsibility ceases, manoeuvres and intrigues of party politics become rampant, and legislation cannot be disinterested. In other places the opposite error is observable, viz., that if the Legislative is separated from the Executive, the latter is free of control by the former.*

NOTE TO CHAPTER VII.

Finance.

These provisions will reverse the present order of things, secure financial autonomy, and provide a safeguard against the disastrous

* Of course, in theory, all the powers of the State ultimately vest in the Legislature; the power of making laws includes all powers; and, in emergencies, the Legislature may exercise executive and judicial powers of any and every kind (and has done so in historical instances), through individual members or committees. But this is good for emergencies only, not for everyday administration.

The Swiss system seems to avoid both defects.

The President of the Legislature, the Head of the Executive (who has to be the right arm of the Legislature), the relations with England-these matters have been purposely left untouched in the scheme.

The ancient political theory of India seems to have been that, just as the elders of a joint family (1) think out the ways to promote the family's welfare (Yogat, A-praptasya Prapanam the securing of new gains) and to prevent its ill-fare (Kshema, Praptasya Rakshanam, the protecting and preserving from loss of what has been gained)

and (2)
have those ways followed by the other members even so, a state, i.e., its sovereign
power, the legislature (1) thinks out laws, and (2) has them executed by the salaried
Public Service, i.e., the Executive, including all departments, the judicial being only
one of them.
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extravagance and top-heaviness which are the consequences of excessive centralisation, have plunged Western countries in hopeless indebtedness and bankruptcy, and are ruining India also.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

Proprietorship.

The opposite tendencies are patent in politics and economics as throughout human and other nature, in all the aspects and manifestations thereof. The current names for them are Individualism and Socialism. Other names for them are egoism and altruism, the separative 'I' and the communal 'We,' mutual struggle or struggle for existence, and mutual aid or alliance for existence, competition and co-operation. To endeavour to suppress either, and retain the other only, is a fatal error, due to ignorance of the very elements of human nature, or to blinding arrogance and greed for power and wealth. Bureaucracy and all other cracies,' as also the many current schemes of collectivism-one of which is being tried in Russia under the name of Bolshevism-are always committing this disastrous error of one-sided and top-sided excess and exaggeration, and therefore are always committing suicide while causing grievous disturbance and injury to the People. Russian Bolshevism, after a vain endeavour to abolish private property, in the course of which widespread misery of the most awful character has been caused, seems now to have decided to recognise private property, as was inevitable. Safety lies in recognising both these indefeasible and unabolishable aspects of human nature, and in trying to reconcile them wisely. The growth of the sense of separate Individuality, the growth of egoistic intelligence, of the institution of monogamous marriage and the sentiments connected

with it, of the definition of the family life, of the sense of private property, of the customs of inheritance, of the incentive to productive efforts of an ever more complicated order-all these are interconnected, inter-dependent, flourish or decay together. At the same time, by that paradox of antinominal duality or ambivalence which is the very nature of the universe, their flourishing is possible only in the setting of a Society. Society and Individual, "We" and "I" are interdependent yet opposed. The reconciliation must be found in a National Organisation of Society, such as will give due play to the instincts or forces of individualistic competition (droh-atmaka-vibhuti, prati-spardha) as well as socialist co-operation (sambhuya-samutthana, sangh-atmaka sambhuti, saha-yoga). Refinement of life is not possible without accumulation of wealth; and that is not possible without some play of Individualism (vyashti-budhhi, bhed-budhhi, swartha, khud-garzi, khudi) the sense of private, exclusive, separate possession. But the excess of individualism leads to class-wars and disruption of communities, and (when the spirit of Individualism puts on the mask and the larger form of Nationalism) to world-ruining wars, like the recent or indeed still continuing European

War; and so it defeats its own ends and commits suicide. To guard against this excess, to set due limits to private accumulations, to ensure even the refinement against degenerating into vulgar loudness, to bring about an equitable distribution of necessaries and comfort-this is the work of the spirit of socialism (Samashti-buddhi, abheda-buddhi, parartha, isar, aql-i-ijmaai). The reconciliation is to be found in making the private life simpler and the public possessions richer, by putting 'private' individuals in charge of 'public' properties of common use and enjoyment like public parks, museums, zoos, children's and youths' playgrounds, reading-rooms, libraries, monuments, roads, tanks, wells, places of worship, rest-houses, dharma-shalas, sarais, almshouses, bathing ghats, hospitals, etc., and inducing them, by the incentives of public honour (and public censure in the opposite case) to lay out their individually-accumulated wealth on

these. In this connection the principle of the separation of the four main prizes of life should be very carefully borne in mind. The preservation of the integrity of the central authority (in other words, of the purity of the Legislature), and the inducing of all the individuals, composing the community to put forth the best work that there is in them-these are the main problems of government and social organisation. Modern governments and modern collectivist schemes and experiments are all failing to find a solution for them. As said before, Lenin, in Russia, after extraordinary efforts to abolish private property has realised that capitalism has to be restored (though no doubt, with limitations). He is reported to have found out that the peasants avoid working more than will produce enough for their necessary wants, and are not interested in supporting the intellectuals' etc., who are necessary for the State, unless special inducement is applied. Now the simple old traditional solution, in India, of these problems is the separation of the four main prizes of life, viz., honour, power, wealth and amusements (for the man of knowledge, the man of action, the man of acquisitive desire, and the man of unskilled labour, respectively), which constitute the main ambitional inducement to strenuous work of correspondingly different kinds. The possibility of combining them, of securing them all, is the one prime cause of all kinds of social and political corruption. Separate them, and you at once minimise the temptations of the central authority, and at the same time provide an adequate (if not excessive) inducement to every worker to put forth his best. Socio-political reform of the affairs of human beings, if it is to be successfully carried out, must not ignore these facts and laws of the Science of Psychology, i.e., of Human Nature.

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By taking due account of these laws and facts, it is possible to minimise the disadvantages and pick out the advantages of all the many forms socio-political organisations, which man has tried of the village community, the city-guilds system, the city-state, the country-state, theocracy and sacerdotalism, autocracy and monarchy and despotism, aristocracy and feudalism and militarism, plutocracy and capitalism, bureaucracy and oligarchy of many kinds, and finally democracy and

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collectivism of many shapes and forms, each one only a lop-side exaggeration of one constituent and necessary element in the corporate life of humanity-and synthesise them all anew in a truly beneficent form of Swa-raj, the Raj of the nigher Swa, government of the community by its higher self, its best and wisest and most philanthropic members.
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GULABDEVI MEMORIAL
TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL
JULLUNDUR
FOUNDER: L. LAJPAT RAI
REHABILITATON EFFORTS

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The Pure Donation.
दातव्यमतिि यद्दानं दीयतेऽनुपकारणिे ।
देशे काले च पात्रे च तद्दानं सात्वकिं स्मृतम् ॥
That donation is pure which is made to one who does nothing in return, with the idea that it is one's duty to give and with due regard to the place, time and recipient of the donation.
(Gita chapter 17, verse 20)

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Appeal By Trustees.
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The Gulab Devi Tuberculosis Hospital, uprooted from Lahore in the fateful year of 1947, is now being rehabilitated in Jullundur. The foundation stone, of

the hospital was laid by our Health Minister in the Central Government, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, in Febuary last year. But its building work has been delayed due to financial difficulties.

The hospital, founded by that illustrious son of India, Lala Lajpat Rai, in sacred memory of his mother Shrimati Gulabdevi, needs no introduction. Opened by Mahatma Gandhi in 1934, the hospital continued to serve the victims of tuberculosis in a spirit of dedication for full thirteen years until the partition. The growth of the hospital was a romance in self-help, for it was built brick by brick from public charities and without any help from the Government. Its assets on the eve of partition exceeded Rs. 15 lakhs in land, buildings and equipment, and they are mainly left in Pakistan.

As trustees of the hospital, we have considered the institution a sacred charge from Lalaji. The duty of reviving it has been heavily weighing on us ever since the partition. A modest beginning has now been made by the opening of a tuberculosis clinic in the heart of Jullundur City as an outpatient department of the hospital. The clinic has all the

scientific equipment considered necessary for the treatment of tuberculosis, including X-ray, surgical theatre, laboratory and dispensary, and it is already serving the people of Jullundur and areas surrounding it.

But it has been felt that service rendered by the outpatient department can considerably be increased if it is attached to a hospital where patients can be segregated and treated under proper conditions. Our urgent need, therefore, is of suitable hospital buildings, consisting of general and special wards, an adminstrative block for X-ray, surgical theatre, laboratory and dispensary, staff quarters and essential equipment needed for a modern

hospital. All this is estimated to cost about ten lakhs.
The reestablishment of an uprooted hospital in
these hard times is no easy job.
We are, however,
embarking on the venture in the hope that an institution
dedicated to the cause of suffering humanity never dies
far want of support.
It is our fervent hope that the work of building the
hospital will not be delayed, and people from all walks
and parts will generously contribute their utmost towards
its reconstruction. We have already completed the pre-
liminary work of planning various hospital buildings and
technical staff has been engaged for supervising their
construction. For the progress of our scheme we eagerly
look forward to the people for a very warm-hearted
response.

Contribution in cash or kind will be gratefully.
received and thankfully acknowledged.
Remittances may kindly be made to the Secretary,
Gulabdevi Memorial Hospital Trust, Jullundur or to our
current account with our bankers, the Punjab National
Bank Ltd., Civil Lines, Jullundur City.
Board of Trustees
Gulab Davi Memorial Hospital
(Col.) D. H. Rai, I. M. S (Rtd) President.
(Dr.) Nihal chand Sikri
(Dr.) Gopi Chand Bhargava.
(Dr.) Bhagat Ram Khanna. (Dr.) Maharaj Krishan Kapur
Saraswati Rai.
Bharat Bhushan.
Kumari Lajjawati.
Baldev Rai
Premvati Thapar.
Mohan Lal, Secretary.

The First Donation.
Extracts from President Dr. Rajender Prasad's letter to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.
Thank you for your letter dated the 12th September, 1952, forwarding therewith an appeal for funds from the Trustees, Gulabdevi Memorial Tuberculosis Hospital, Jnllundur.
I
am glad to see that the appeal has been endorsed by the State Government, and in view of the good work done by this Institution, I have much pleasure in sending herewith a sum of Rs. 500/- as a token donation for the institution.
Perhaps a separate endorsement from me will be no longer necessary, and I am returning the papers as wanted.

(6)
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's Message.
I am glad to lend my support to any appeal that is made to the public on behalf of our war against tuberculosis.
The Gulabdevi Memorial Tuberculosis Hospital used to do excellent work in Lahore. I was happy that after Partition this institution could be revived in Jullundur. It is, as the Board of Trustees say, a sacred trust and deserves the generous help of public.
TB. is a veritable menace today in our country and unless there is joint endeavour in combating the disease, the outlook is indeed gloomy. I. therefore, sincerely trust this appeal will elicit from the public the generous response that it merits.
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur
Minister for Health, India.
Message from Punjab Governor.
Raj Bhawan,

Simla.
September 10 1952.
I have seen the appeal for funds issued by the Trustees of the Gulabdevi Tuberculosis Hospital, Jullundur. The Chief Minister and other Ministers of the Punjab have associated themselves with this appeal. It is a great pleasure to me to associate myself with the appeal issued by the Trustees. The cause is a most deserving one and I commend it to all our citizens, with the confident hope that they will respond generously to the appeal for funds.
Sd: C.M. Trivedi.
GOVERNOR PUNJAB (I)

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Punjab Minister's Support.
It gives us immense pleasure to be associated with the appeals for funds issued by the trustees of the Gulabdevi Tuberculosis Hospital for its rehabilitation in Jullundur. All hospitals, dedicated as they are to the cause of eradicating human sufferings, deserve universal support. But the Gulabdevi Hospital, founded by illustrious Lala Lajpat Rai, has a special claim as an uprooted institution on his grateful countrymen. The efforts of the trustees deserve the utmost of support from all parts and section of the country.
It is our fervent hope that the appeal of the trustees will meet with an enthusiastic response, from all sides and its rehabilitation will not be delayed for wants of funds.
Bhim Sain Sachar,
Chief Minister.
Lahri Singh
Minister for Irrigation
& Electricity.
Gurbachan Singh Bajwa,
Minister for Capital

Project & P.W.D.,
Partap Singh,
Minister for Develop-
ment & Revenue
Ujjal Singh,
Shri Ram Sharma,
Finance Minister.
Jagat Narain.
Minister for Education.
Health& Transport.
Minister for Local
Self Govt. & Civil
Supplies
Sunder Singh,
Minister for Labour,
Stationery & Printing

(8)
Requirements & Estimated Costs.
Our ambition is to build and equip a hundred bedded hospital and we have planned accordingly. The hospital will consist of 4 general wards, 10 private wards, 6 family wards and 4 cottages, an adminstrative block including separate units for X-ray, surgical theatre, laboratory, dispensary and office and a committee room cum library. As the medical, nursing and technical staff is expected to stay on the hospital premises, suitable accommodation has been provided in the plan for the medical superintendent, medical officers, technicians, nurses and other subordinate staff. We hope to give the patients and the staff all the amenities and comforts expected of a modern hospital.
The total cost of building and equipping the hospital is estimated at Rs. 10 lakhs, We are anxious to start the hospital as soon as we are in position to complete essential buildings. We venture to place our requiremens

before the generous public in the earnest hope that they will be promptly met in their entirety.

-: 0-

A-Building

4 general wards of 14 beds each

Rs.

66000

Cost per ward

4700

Cost per bed

8 singal bedded rooms.

Cost per bed.

1200

10 private wards,

Cost per ward.

6 Family wards.

Cost per ward.

Operation theatre.

(9)

39

Rs.

7800

16800

47000

X-ray block.

20500

Laboratory.

5600

Dispensary.

6200

Committee room and Library.

8700

Office Block.

13000

64 Rooms in main hospital block

1000

to
120 Rooms in staff quarters
1500
4 Cottages.
Cost per cottage.
11000
4 Quarters for Medical Officers.
Cost per quarter.
15500
2 blocks subordinate staff quarters
Cost per quarter.
15600
2 blocks of servants quarter.
Cost per block
Nurses hostel
Total cost of building.
15000
38000
800000
B-Equipment.
I Ward equipment
Including iron beds, lockers, stools,
spitting mugs, linen etc for 100 beds
Cost per bed
32000
320

40
(10)
II Medical equipment
(a) X-ray and Ultra-violet Department
35000
(b) Operation theatre.
25500
(c) Laboratory.
10400
(d) Dispensary fittings.

2000
78900
Total
III Office Equipment.
Furniture, iron safe, typewriter.
3500
2000
IV Nurses hostel equipment.
V General
Ambulance Car, Linen, Sterilizer,
Library, garden equipment etc.
Total cost of equipment
32200
142600
Reserve for contingencies.
57400
Total cost on buildings and equipment.
1,000,000

पा
Tuberculosis in India
Says the planning Commission Report:-
There are 5,00,000 deaths every year in India due
to tuberculosis and 2 millions persons are suffering from
tuberculosis and 2 million persons are suffering from
active tuberculous disease.
(Page 198, Para 14)
According to the present trend of thought the number
of beds required for the treatment of tuberculo-is are
calculated on the basis of at least one bed for each annual
death. The annual deaths from tuberculosis are about
500,000. The other calculation is to have one bed for
each 1000 population.
India should have about 3 lakhs beds for its
population and Punjab 12 thousand beds.
But we have for all states of India 10,134 beds and
for Punjab barely 263 beds!

Much remains to be done.

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MODEL OF
MAIN HOSPITAL UNIT
Designed By
Shri R. N. Dogra, Executive Engineer, P. W. D, Punjab
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SW0406.
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1944
LIGHT ON
LEAGUE-UNIONIST
CONFLICT
SAJJAD ZAHEER

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44
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LIGHT ON LEAGUE-UNIONIST CONFLICT

I. THE ISSUE

45

Ever since the sharpening of the Muslim League-Unionist controversy in the Punjab, patriotic opinion in the country seems to be confused over this issue. There are some Congressmen who think that it is Malik Khizr Hyat Khan and the Unionists who stand for united nationalism, for unity of the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab, while the League ignoring the interests and wishes of non-Muslims wants to break the unity of the Punjabi people which is supposed to have been achieved within the Unionist Party. Even patriots of the eminence of Mr. Rajagopalachari and Dr. Khan Saheb have given Press statements supporting this view. Congress Press, with certain notable exceptions, like the Bombay Chronicle, has followed the same line. The fact that Mr. Jinnah did not succeed in bringing the Muslim Unionist Members and Ministers of the Punjab Legislative Assembly under the discipline of the Muslim League has been characterised as "

Jinnah meets his Stalingrad." The implication seems to be that the failure of Mr. Jinnah to bring the Muslim Unionists under the discipline of the League, whose members they all profess to be-means a triumph of the forces of democracy and freedom and a defeat of something evil and arbitrary. Then there are others who, as between the League and the Unionists consider the latter to be the lesser of the two evils. "Better reactionaries who like the Unionists believe

in working unitedly with the Hindus and Sikhs, than narrow communalists like the Muslim Leaguers "-this seems to be the line of reasoning of many a Congress patriot.
There are of course many Congressmen who do not agree with the above propositions, who see the Unionist Party in its true colours, i.e.,-an organised group of British imperialism's henchmen, a screen behind which is hidden the arbitrary rule of the Punjab Governor and the bureaucracy. But the fact that there is a difference of opinion in the patriotic camp regarding the real nature of the Unionists is of serious consequence. Congressmen, in and outside the Punjab, are not
L. 1
1

able to formulate a definite and clear-cut pólicy which would inspire and lead Congress masses in the Punjab, which would help them to unite with non-Congress patriots, build a united national front, to break the deadlock, turn the tables against the bureaucracy, and to install a real all-Parties' Peoples' Ministry in that Province.
Why has the present confusion occurred at all? Ever since the formation of the Unionist Party in 1935, as far as the Congress and other anti-imperialist organisations were concerned there were no two opinions about this party. Combining as it did a handful of the most reactionary and selfish elements from among the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, it was no secret to the people of the Punjab or for that matter to the entire Indian people that the Unionist Party served not them, but itself and the imperialists. It represented the most powerful anti-national combination in the Punjab-deriving its strength not from popular support but from the bureaucracy. How is it that this fact which was a commonly accepted axiom of patriotic opinion, is now doubted and almost forgotten; and judging from the tone of certain patriotic journalists Khizr Hyat is painted as the Punjab's Patriot No. 1., and the Unionist Party as the last rampart of nationalism

in the Punjab ? Clearly, the interests which stand to gain by spreading this confusion in the patriotie ranks, are the same which want to maintain the present political deadlock in the country. They are the same which maligned the Congress, in and outside India, as a pro-Japanese organisation; they are the same which keep behind the prison bars the country's best patriots; they are the same which, as it suits their purpose, champion alternately the geographicl unity of India and the cause of minorities.

The Punjab is bureaucracy's stronghold. There alone its policy of dividing the patriots has succeeded in nullifying all the democratic aspects of the 1935 Constitution. There alone Police Raj has continued naked, unashamed and unabated for the last seven years. Civil Liberties have been suppressed, patriots and patriotic parties harassed and persecuted, the people generally exploited and oppressed. All this has been done through the agency of the Unionist Ministry. What greater satisfaction could there be for the bureaucracy than to see that a section of patriotic opinion, the same which consistently opposed the Unionists for the last seven years of their rule has suddenly begun to side with them at a time when

their hold over the Punjab is being challenged by the second biggest political party in the country-the Muslim League! No patriot can view this situation with equanimity. It is necessary to look behind the thick smoke-screen of Unionist and bureaucratic propaganda, to examine the past and present record of the Unionists and to see whether they at all deserve to have a place in the Indian patriotic camp.

II. HOW THE PLOT WAS HATCHED

The Unionist Party was founded in 1935 by the late Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. A brief review of the political career of this gentleman will throw light on its real aims and objects. He was a leading barrister and practised in Lahore. He took part in the Muslim League and Congress activities and was President of

the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee in 1918-19. However, when the war (1914-1918) ended and a new popular upsurge swept the country, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain (as he then was) like so many other Congressmen, who later came to be known as liberals, stepped aside. During the Martial Law days he left the Punjab and came back only when peace was restored in the Province.

Soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced. But the horrors of Martial Law in the Punjab had set the whole country ablaze. The Congress and the Muslims (led by the Khilafatists and the League) boycotted the new Councils. The non-co-operation and Khilafat movements started. It was precisely at this moment that the bureaucracy chose Mian Fazl-i-Hussain-together with the late Lala Harkishan Lal to become Ministers. Henceforth Mian Fazl-i-Hussain made himself indispensable to the British Government. He occupied this gadi till 1930 and was soon after raised to the post of Viceroy's Executive Councillorship. What was it which characterised his administration-during the ten years that he was a Minister? Everyone knows that it is precisely during this period that communalism-both Hindu and Muslim-reached its peak in the country and that the Punjab was one of the most communally ridden provinces in India. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was the leader of Muslim communalists. It was he and his Punjab colleagues who while they opposed the Congress on the one hand, opposed all sections of progressive Muslims on the other, i.e., the Khilafatists (led by the Ali Brothers), the

Ahrars, the Muslim Nationalists (led by Dr. M. A. Ansari), and the Muslim Leaguers (led by Mr. M. A. Jinnah)-and did their best to frustrate all attempts at Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Unionist Conspiracy

We find that in 1935, on his retirement from the Viceroy's Executive Council, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain comes back to the Punjab,

makes a volte face and forswears communalism. In a famous pamphlet which he published anonymously about this time, he called for the formation of a non-communal Party in the Punjab as the only solution of its ills. This conversion of one of the leaders and instigators of communalism surprised many people, but there was a purpose behind it. The new Constitution was about to be introduced. A much wider franchise than in the previous Constitution had been given to the people. It was clear that in the Punjab, as elsewhere in the country, the only way in which reactionaries could possibly hope to have a majority in the new Legislative Assemblies was by all of them-belonging to various communities-pooling their resources together. In the old Legislative Councils-they could depend on the official and nominated bloc, on the narrow and limited franchise, on the fact that Executive Councillors were appointed by the Governor and were not responsible to the elected members of the Council. This was not possible under the new Constitution. Moreover the Congress had decided to contest the elections. In the Punjab Ahrars (an offshoot of Muslim Congressmen) had grown quite popular among the Muslims. The workers' and peasants' movement had also grown-specially among the Sikhs and the Youth. How was this menace to be met except by uniting all the vested interests, all the anti-Congress, the anti-Kisan and Worker, the anti-Akali, anti-Ahrar, anti-Muslim League elements in one solid bloc of reaction? This is precisely what the bureaucrats also wanted. They hated the introduction of even this very limited democracy in India. All over the country Governors and their Secretariats were busy planning and plotting for the defeat of democratic popular elements in the forthcoming elections. The Delimitation Committees formed to fix the exact boundaries of each constituency were being made-in consultation with all the anti-national elements-to suit the convenience of reactionary pro-Government candidates. Thus in the Punjab, Government, in consultation with Sir Fazl-i-Hussain fixed con-

stituencies in such a way as would be helpful to the large landed-interests whom the officials hoped to keep under their thumb.

Unite all the anti-national reactionaries in one bloc, use the Government machinery (Delimitation Committee, official favour and pressure) to get them elected to the Assembly-such was the aim of the founder of the Unionist Party, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. But shrewd politician that he was, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain went a step further to achieve his aim. He also aimed at causing disruption in the progressive national camp. He hoped that if the progressive Muslims (Ahrars, Ittihad-e-Millat, Muslim Congressmen, Muslim League) are disunited amongst themselves, and that if these together are not united with Congress, then the Unionists-or what would be more correct to call them the "United Reactionary Party "-might after all win through. The success therefore depended upon four factors:

Firstly, the unity of anti-national reactionaries in the Punjab big landlords, titleholders, retired military officers, the Captains, the Majors, Lieutenants, Zaildars (village headmen), numberdars (revenue collectors), rich moneylenders-all creatures of imperialism who believe only in preserving their ill-begotten privileges, and to whom patriotism is anathema and democracy hateful.

Secondly, support of the imperialist bureaucracy. This was to be given by fixing constituencies to suit members of the Unionist Party by using the district magistrates, the police and other big and small officials to bring their influence to bear in favour of the Unionist candidates by favouring their supporters and threatening and harassing the opposite candidates.

Thirdly, the Punjab being a Muslim majority province by ensuring that Muslims are not able to unite among themselves on the basis of a progressive national programme.

Fourthly, to see that no National United Front is forged between the progressive Muslims, Congressmen and the Akalis. Such a combination would have meant the unity of overwhelm-

ing majority of the Punjab people, it would have meant the triumph of democracy and the defeat of bureaucracy and its henchmen. This, therefore, was the supreme danger to be avoided at all costs.

Such then was the plan of reaction backed by imperialism in the Punjab. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was however not destined to see it fulfilled. He died in 1936, and his erstwhile protege

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-whom Sir Fazi had successfully manoeuvred out of the Punjab as a possible rival-was hastily sent back to that Province from Bombay, where he had taken residence as Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan was a loyalist of the very first order. He and his ancestors owed their very existence as landlords to favours of the British masters while Fazl-i-Hussain had a nationalist past and was known in his own limited sphere to fight for the rights of Indian officials when discrimination was shown against them, Sikandar Hyat's loyalty to the foreign rulers was complete, his subservience to them unquestioned. He, therefore, fitted in the picture nicely and assumed the leadership of the newly formed Unionist Party.

1937 Assembly Elections

He busied himself with organising the election campaign of the Unionist Party on the success of which depended the entire future of the loyalist landlords' and toadies' plan. The effort of Mr. Jinnah to unite the progressive Muslims-the Ahrars, the Congress Muslims, the Leaguers, the Itihad-e-Millat-proved to be abortive. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain had, of course, already refused to join this combination. It should be recalled here that the Muslim League was fighting the election on the basis of a fairly progressive popular programme-its election manifesto followed the Congress in many of its aspects. Further in the Central Parliamentary Board of the League-many leading Muslim Congressmen, like Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema had alsó joined in.

And in many provinces (e.g., U.P.) there was an implicit understanding between the Congress and the League to support each other in the election campaign. Thus in his great election tour, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, advised Muslim voters to cast their votes in favour of the League candidates. Except for two or three places Congress did not put up any candidates against the Muslim League. Hence the chances of Congress-League coalition after the elections were not to be ruled out. Therefore the reactionaries could not possibly allow the Muslim League to win in the Punjab.

Not only Sir Fazl-i-Hussain himself refused to have anything to do with the League, he saw to it that the success achieved by Mr. Jinnah in uniting the Ahrars, the Ittehad-e-Millat and the League was short-lived. Unionist intrigues succeeded. The various constituents of the Muslim League Parliamentary Election Board in the Punjab fell apart shortly after its formation. The progressive camp was disrupted. The strongest Muslim Party in the Punjab at this time, the Ahrars, were the object of a virulent campaign of calumny started directly by Sir Fazl-i-Hussain. They were accused as having deserted the Muslim cause when they did not participate in the satyagraha started for the restoration of Shahidganj to the Muslims from its Sikh owners. On the election day itself forged documents alleged to have been written by one Ahrar leader to another stating their disinclination to get entangled in the Shahidganj issue-were distributed in thousands to inflame the Muslim voters against them. This forged letter was meant to be an electioneering weapon as the Zinoviev letter in England. Ahrar and Muslim progressives were defeated and out of a total of 90 Muslim members in the Punjab legislature as many as 80 joined the Unionists.

The election "campaign" of the Unionists and the formation of the Parliamentary Unionist Party is a supreme example of political opportunism. In some of the constituencies the Unionists did not give their ticket to either of the two con-

testing candidates. Both were asked to go and "fight out" the elections. Whoever won was to be taken into the Unionist Party. In some other constituencies the Unionist ticket was given to all the candidates. Thus in actual fact many of the elected candidates joined the Unionist Party subsequently. They had no serious political programme on the basis of which they were to work in the legislature, their object was to pursue their own selfish interests and to serve as tools of the imperialist bureaucracy.

After the elections and the formation of the Ministry, headed by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan the strength of the different parties in the Punjab Legislative Assembly was as follows:-

Unionists (including Christians, Harijans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians)
Hindu Nationalists
Sardar Sundar Singh Majithia's Party
Akali
Congress
Ahrars
League
Independent Muslims
60
101
9
13
10
28
2
1
3
0 0
TOTAL
167

The Unionists, Hindu Nationalists (Mahasabhites) and Sunder Singh Majithia's Party (anti-Congress, anti-Akali landlord-moneylender Sikhs), joined together to form the Minister-

ialist Coalition. Thus the Ministerialist strength in the Assembly was 122 and that of the Opposition 45. Subsequently there were a few defections from the Ministerialist group when 4 Harijans, 2 Christians and three or four Muslim Unionists joined the opposition.

Why Did Reaction win?

Why did reaction score such a big victory in the Punjab ? Every patriot was puzzled. In the United Provinces, the big landlords, a section of Cawnpore industrialists, rich money lenders, Liberals, Mahasabhites and other toady elements had banded together, exactly like the Unionists, and formed the National Agriculturist Party. The U.P. Governor and the local bureaucrats pinned their faith in them and helped them in every way. They gave battle to Congress during elections but the patriotic upsurge of the U. P. Kisans just swept them off the board. Congress emerged triumphant.

In Bombay, the National Democratic Party of the Hindu Sabhites and other reactionaries; in Madras the Justice Party similarly got a sound beating. In the N.W.F. Province even the ban on Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan could not stop the Pathans from rallying round the Congress and defeating the big landed interests. In Bengal, Congress and progressive Muslim groups won a considerable victory. In C.P., Orissa, and Behar Congress swept the polls.

Thus, barring Assam and Sindh-where it was a picture of disunity of Hindu and Muslim progressive parties, rather than a victory of reaction-nowhere in India do we see such a gloomy picture of reaction's overwhelming success as in the Punjab. What did this mean? It meant that this great fertile land of 28 million people-this land of magnificent patriotic and revolutionary traditions was to be governed, not by the true representatives of the people but by the successors of Michael O'Dwyer, by an irresponsible and autocratic bureaucracy, hiding behind the Unionist screen.

Reaction's victory in the Punjab was possible because a majority of its people-the Muslim people-could not be rescued from the grip of big landed-interests and henchmen of the bureaucracy, because they could not be united on the basis

of a progressive democratic platform as the town and village masses of the adjacent U. P. were under the banner of the Congress. Clearly, if 16 million Muslims of the Punjab out of a total population of 28 millions are not roused, organised and made conscious of their rights, politics in the Punjab would continue to be at a low level and the entire Punjabi people would be victim of political chicanery and arbitrary rule.

The key to the Punjab politics, therefore, lies in the Muslim politics of that Province, for had not the Unionists got the solid backing of 80 out of a total 90 Muslim members in the Assembly, had there been a progressive Muslim party in the Assembly, or had the Muslims rallied under the Congress banner (as in the N.W.F.P.) the picture there would have been quite different.

Congress had a solid backing among Hindus, and Congress, .Communist and Akalis combined represented the majority of the Sikhs. If, therefore, the Muslims could be rallied on a democratic national basis, we would have had a unity of the progressive Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs and rout of reaction, rather than Muslim, Hindu and Sikh reactionaries uniting and forming a Ministry of theirs.

to We have already seen that the plan of reaction was to see that progressive Muslims in the Punjab do not unite, and, further, that they do not ally themselves with other non-Muslim anti-imperialist groups. We have also seen that this plan was successful.

III. MUSLIM POLITICS OF THE PUNJAB

What were the causes of disunity among the progressive freedom-loving Muslims and why were they not able to put up a united front against the Unionists ?

In the Punjab, as elsewhere in North India, the awakening among the Muslims in modern times took the form of a movement for social reform and education. The movement of modern enlightenment started by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had its effect in the Punjab as well. The Anjuman-i-Himayat-

i-Islam (Society for the support of Islam), founded in the last decade of the last century took up the task of Muslim education. Islamia colleges and schools were founded by the Society. It was in the annual sessions of this Anjuman that IQBAL
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recited his immortal poems. Other prominent persons who participated in its activities were Mian Shah Din (who later became a Judge of the Lahore High Court) Mian (Sir) Mohammed Shafi, Mian (Sir) Fazl-i-Hussain, Maulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin Kasuri. A new middle class--educated in the Government and Islamia Colleges, and the Aligarh University was arising among the Muslims which soon began to express the growing political consciousness of the Punjabi Muslims. Thus when the Muslim League was founded, from the Punjab, Mian Mohammed Shafi, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan took prominent part in it.

Two Trends in the League

We know that the Muslim League, took rapid strides towards radicalism between 1907 and 1912. It adopted the creed of self-government in 1913 and the progressive Muslims had come to dominate its policy by this time. The out and out loyalists led by the Agha Khan and Syed Amir Ali, could no longer keep it from moving towards unity with the Congress. The effect on Indian Muslims of the imperialist aggression on Islamic countries; the Pan-Islam movement as an expression of the anti-imperialist consciousness of the Muslim nations of the Middle East; the growth of political movement in India generally; the annulment of the Bengal partition; the shooting in Cawnpore on an unarmed Muslim crowd, had deeply stirred the Indian Muslims.

A Medical Mission was sent to Turkey led by Dr. M. A. Ansari and backed and supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali and his two papers, Comrade (English) and Hamdard (Urdu). Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his weekly Al Hilal was rousing the Indian Muslims to adopt forward national

policies. From Lucknow the Urdu daily Muslim Gazette containing articles by Maulana Shibli Naumani and from Lahore, Zafar Ali Khan's Zamindar were giving a powerful impetus to this new radical trend.

At the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League, held at Agra, in 1914, there was a tussle between the new radical group inside the League, represented by Mohammad Ali, Zafar Ali Khan, Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Mahmud and Dr. Kitchlew and the loyalists who were alarmed at the rapid development of the League towards radical politics, its growing desire of unity with the Congress. The loyalist reactionary

wing was led by Mian Mohammed Shaft-who threatened to secede from the League together with a majority of the Punjab delegates. At the annual session, however, he was defeated. Thus right from the beginning of Muslim awakening in the Punjab, two trends are clearly visible. They are sometimes united in one organisation, nevertheless, the struggle between them continues all the time.

With the Khilafat and the non-co-operation movements, this loyalist wing of the Punjab Leaguers, already discredited in the All-India Muslim League receded into the background. The leaders of the Khilafat movement, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana Kasuri, Chaudhari Afzal Haq, Maulana Ataullah Shah Bukhari, became popular national leaders of the Punjab. The League and the Khilafat Committees merged into one and both united with the Congress. Punjabi people, Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, were roused to a high pitch of anti-imperialist fervour and marvels of patriotic sacrifice were performed by them. Imperialism and reaction were shaken to their very roots. It was precisely during this time that Sir Muhammed Shafi was appointed to the post of a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and Sir Fazl-i-Hussain became a Minister in the Punjab under the new

dispensation.
Let us note here what were the main points of difference between the progressive group of Muslims and the reactionaries. The progressives believed in the objective of self-Government for India-in common with the Congress, plus in the tection of the special Muslim rights. And in order to achieve this objective, they believed in the unity of the League with the Congress. The reactionaries, on the other hand, while shirking to accept the objective of self-Government even whole-heartedly, wanted to have nothing to do with the Congress. But they could not stop the unity trend growing. In 1915-after Agra Session of the League-League and Congress held their sessions at the same time at Bombay. Mr. Mazhar-ul Haq presided over the League Session. Here a resolution was moved by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to set up a Commitee to draw up a scheme of reforms for India and to negotiate with the Congress so that a joint scheme might be prepared. The Committee was duly set up and got to work.'
The Pact concluded at Lucknow in 1916 between the Congress and the League-Mr. M. A. Jinnah being the President
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of the League Session-was the culmination of this process begun already in 1912. Ever since this time till 1922-through the non-co-operation and the Khilafat days-Hindu-Muslim unity continued to grow-and the reactionary groups were thrown in the background. In the Punjab, as we have seen, Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and Sir Mohammed Shafi joined the Government. The Khilafat leaders led the Muslims in the Punjab as elsewhere. For some time, the League was merged in the Khilafat Committee.
Reactionary Forerunners
The decline of the non-co-operation and the Khilafat movements brought about disintegration in the national ranks. Congress was split into No-Changers and Swarajists, and very soon one wing of it went out and joined the Hindu Mahasabha.

In the Punjab, particularly, an important section of Hindu Congressmen led and inspired by the veteran Congressman Lala Lajpat Rai, inclined more and more towards the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Sangathan movement was started. As a result, the influence of Congress on the Muslims declined. Sir Fazl-i-Hussain took full advantage of this. Taking the issue of communal percentage in the Government services, he fixed the ratio for Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs on the basis of their population in the Punjab. This was to the detriment of the Hindu educated classes, because they, being educationally more advanced than the Muslims had occupied many of the Government jobs. A new Muslim trading class was also rising.
Sir Fazl-i-Hussain now came forward as the champion of Muslim rights-although in reality he was only championing the cause of a very small minority of the Muslim people. Communal tension grew in the country as a whole-in the Punjab more than elsewhere.
As far as the Muslims were concerned, the disintegration and confusion in their camp was far worse than in the Congress. The Congress managed to keep its organisational unity; the conflict between the No-Changers and the Swarajists was soon made up. Not so with the Khilafat Committee or the Muslim League. While the bulk of the Muslims did not join the Congress organisationally, neither the Khilafat Committee nor the revived Muslim League, nor the Congress Muslims nor the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, could claim to have a dominating influence over them in the period between 1922-1936.
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The Nationalist Muslims themselves split into two groups -the Congress Muslims and the Khilafatists-on the issue of the Nehru Report. The group which favoured the acceptance of this Report was led by Dr. M. A. Ansari and those who rejected it were led by Maulana Mohammed Ali. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was trying to re-unite all these groups in the Muslim League and formulate the Muslim demands in such a way as

would be acceptable to all the progressive Muslims and be the basis of settlement with the Congress. In 1928 these efforts seem to bear some fruit. At the Madras Congress, held under the Presidentship of Dr. M. A. Ansari, the Congress and the League again came very near each other and Committees were appointed by both the organisations to work out the details of the Hindu-Muslim settlement. Further, on the issue of the Simon Commission, Congress and League again united to organise the boycott of the Commission. The decision of the Muslim League to boycott the Simon Commission and settle with the Congress, caused a split in the Muslim League. As in 1914, Sir Mohammed Shafi, having retired from the Viceroy's Executive Council, now again led the reactionaries among the Muslims. He was backed by the Agha Khan. He broke away from the Muslim League and organised a separate League in the Punjab which favoured co-operation with the Simon Commission. It was this section of the seceding Leaguers which later developed into the Muslim Conference-opposing the Congress Muslims, the Khilafatists, and the Muslim Leaguers. The League took action against Sir Mohammed Shaft and his Punjab followers and the following resolution was passed in its Session held at Calcutta in December 1927:-

"The All-India Muslim League regrets that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League has flagrantly defied the authority of the parent body of the All-India Muslim League, and deems it essential as a matter of disciplinary principle that the Constitution and authority of the League should be maintained and upheld. In the circumstances, the only course open to the League is to disaffiliate the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and it resolves that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be disaffiliated, and further calls upon the Muslims of the Punjab to constitute a Provincial Muslim League truly representative of the Punjab."

It is significant that this resolution was moved by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, and supported, among others by Maulana

Mohammad Ali. The General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League was Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew.

Progressive Trends

Now, the Punjab, being a Muslim majority province, suffered the most from this disintegration in the Muslim patriotic camp. Here the field was left clear for the reactionary wing among the Muslims to re-assert itself. The National movement led by the Congress, in the Punjab was dominated by Hindu trader and money-lender interests. It was incapable of rousing and organising the great mass of the Muslim or the Sikh peasantry. It continued to remain essentially a town movement led and dominated by the Hindu middle-classes. It did not penetrate the countryside, as the Congress did in the United Provinces -and assume the character of a vast democratic peasant movement. Congress in the Punjab tended to lean politically on the Hindu Mahasabha-thus alienating the Muslim people still more. The Sikh peasantry, on the other hand, was roused by the Gurudwara and the Akali agitation and became more and more Congress-minded.

At the same time, a left-wing was also growing, drawing its inspiration from the Ghadar and the Communist Parties, and combining with the revolutionary left wingers of the Naojawan Bharat Sabha. But while the former extended its mass influence mainly among the Sikh peasantry, the latter was confined in the main to the town non-Muslim youth. So that, this entire leftist upsurge, beginning roughly since 1928 expressing itself through the Naojawan Bharat Sabha, the Socialist Party, the Kirti Party, the Communist Party, Kisan Sabhas and the trade unions, remained confined in the countryside to the Sikh middle peasantry, and in the towns to Hindu and Sikh lower middle classes and a small fringe of the industrial working-class. The immense bulk of the Muslim peasantry-peasant proprietors and Muzaras, small landholders and tenants and landless labourers-of the Western and Central Punjab, remained largely untouched by this entire political agitation and movement. And it is precisely this mass Muslim area which be-

came the stronghold of the Unionists.
The failure of the Punjab Congress to inspire and draw in the 16 million Muslims in the anti-imperialist democratic movement as it had done in the U.P., the weakness of the Left movement; and the disruption and disintegration among
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the progressive Muslims themselves-these were the root causes why the Muslims of the Punjab as a whole, fell a prey to the machinations of Unionist reactionaries. These were the reasons why bureaucracy's scheme of putting in its stooges in power in the Punjab was successful in 1936.

The Ahrars

Here let us take note of the Ahrar movement and why it failed singularly to organise the Muslims of the Punjab on a democratic basis. The Ahrars were an off-shoot of the Non-Co-operation and the Khilafat movements. Its leadership-Maulana Habibul Rahman of Ludhiana, the late Chaudhary Afzal Haq, Maulana Ataullah Shah Bukhari-were all of them Congressmen and Khilafatists. Their early differences with Congress arose--as with so many other Congress Muslims -over the question of separate and joint electorates. Factional differences between this group of Muslim Congressmen and the other group led by Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri were also responsible for their going out of Congress. At the Karachi Congress, they were annoyed with Congress High Command. None of the Congress Muslims of this group was taken as a member of the Congress Working Committee. According to Pandit Jawaharlal this resulted in the group going out of the Congress.
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Soon the Ahrar Party was formed and while the Second Round Table Conference was on and Mahatma Gandhi was away in London-the Ahrars launched a Civil Disobedience movement in Kashmir. This increased their general influence among the Muslims. After its collapse-we find the Ahrars

going forth as champions of orthodox Islam against the neo-Islam of the local prophet of Qadian, who they alleged, was a tool of British imperialism. They had already entered the lists to campaign against the Arya Samajist author of an Urdu book-Rangila Rasool-containing a scurrilous attack on the prophet of Islam.

They set out to correct the Shia sect of Muslims for some of their alleged un-Islamic practices. With

1 Autobiography: Dr. Mohammed Alam, subsequently Muslim Leaguer and now a Unionist and aspirant to a Government job was taken in the Working Committee instead. He belonged to a faction rival to the Ahrars.

2 He was subsequently murdered.

all this, they spoke in a strong anti-Imperialist strain; and of original Islam, of the rule of the poor, and against capitalism and landlordism. So during the period 1930-35, their influence among the lower middle-classes of the Punjab Muslims increased considerably. Even in the Muslim belt of the Western Punjab, like Multan, Muzaffargarh, Mianwali, Campbellpur, Gujrat, they built up a certain amount of influence in the rural population. But here too, the Ahrar leadership was characterised by its opportunism. It never formulated nor took up any concrete programme for the betterment of the peasantry as a whole who formed the bulk of the Muslims of the Punjab ; they rather concentrated on religious revivalism mixed with vague leftist phrases.

In 1935 Sir Fazl-i-Hussain and the Unionists considered them to be their serious rivals. The Unionists were clever enough to see the weakness of their rivals. So they manipulated a religious issue in such a way as to involve the Ahrars in it. This was the demand put up by certain Muslims for the restoration to them of the Shahidgunj Gurudwara (which was claimed to have been a mosque at some distant date). The

plan was to seize it by offering Civil Disobedience. It is said that Sir Fazl-i-Hussain was one of the secret instigators of this agitation-his object being to involve the Ahrars in it. These latter, were put in a dilemma: if they participated in the Shahidganj agitation and offered Civil Disobedience, they would be put in prison and would not be able to participate in the impending General Elections; if they did not, then their own rank and file-fed on religious agitation-would turn against them and their rivals in the election campaign would accuse them of having deserted the Muslim 'cause." The Ahrars decided to hold aloof from the Shahidganj agitation, so that they could participate in the elections. The Unionist plan succeeded and the most rabid communal agitation was let loose against the Ahrars-who lost heavily in the elections. The elections over, the Ahrars set out to make up for this debacle and regain their hold over the Muslims. They now started afresh a Civil Disobedience movement by sending jathas to capture Shahidganj. By this time the question had been decided by the decision of the Privy Council which confirmed its possession by the Sikhs. The Ahrars had the satisfaction of exposing those stooges of the Unionists, who after the elections had quietly withdrawn from the Shahidganj campaign; however, they did not realise that

in this process, they made themselves thoroughly ridiculous and exposed involuntarily, their own opportunism.

Their decline as a popular movement begins from this period. Because of their inability to organise the Punjabi Muslims on the basis of any definite democratic programme containing their positive demands; because of their use of religion as a demagogic weapon; because of the rank opportunism of some of its leaders, this Party containing some of the bravest anti-imperialist Muslim political workers of the Punjab, could not perform the task of uniting the Muslim people on a progressive basis, could not achieve the unity of the Muslim and non-Muslim Punjabis, could not withstand the

onslaught of imperialist bureaucracy and its Unionist henchmen.

The present state of Ahrar politics is tragic. Some of its leaders beginning as anti-war and pro-struggle enthusiasts have landed themselves in the lap of Unionists and are being used by them to campaign against the League. It is reliably understood that Maulana Habib-ul-Rahman, strongly disapproves of this pro-imperialist alliance of the Ahrar leaders; consequently he is not being released from jail by his Unionist jailors. There is strong discontent among the Ahrar ranks who are leaning more and more towards the League in the Punjab. In U. P. some provincial Ahrar leaders like Maulana Abdul Qaiyum of Cawnpore have already joined the League. Maulana Daud Ghaznavi-in prison-also disapproves of the present alignment of his erstwhile colleagues.

IV. A UNION OF INCOMPATIBLES

The triumph of the bureaucracy and the Unionists in the Punjab did not and could not mean that the movement for democratic freedom in the Punjab had come to a standstill or had ceased to grow. The General Elections heralded a big anti-imperialist upsurge of the entire Indian people-on the crest of which Congress ministries were installed in eight Indian provinces. Congress influence increased tremendously. Workers' and Peasants' movement spread all over the country. In the Punjab, Kisan Sabhas became well-organised and powerful. Inside the Congress, radical trends became stronger. There was talk of forging a united national front for struggle against the proposed Federation of the Government of India

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Act and for the achievement of full freedom. The expansion of Civil Liberties and weakening of bureaucracy in Congress Ministry provinces helped the growth of this popular upsurge.

Simultaneously, with this development which was taking place more or less under the general influence of Congress,

another development was taking place. This was the revival and re-organisation of the Muslim League, round which more and more Muslims were gathering. Never since the Khilafat days had such an awakening been witnessed among the Indian Muslims. In its 25th Annual Session held at Lucknow in October 1937 a new enthusiasm and a new spirit was visible among the delegates and the audience. This was shown in the change in the creed of the League which was now:

"The establishment in India of Full Independence, in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution."

This was shown in the adoption of a democratic economic programme for the people-including reduction in rent for the peasants; minimum wages and maximum working day for industrial workers and lessening of the burden of indebtedness. This was also shown when the fee for annual membership of the League was reduced to As. 2.

Two things stand out as the essence of the demands of the Indian Muslims during this period:-

Firstly, from brother majority peoples of India, led by the. Congress, the demand of equality; the demand that in the future Indian federation, all provinces, including the Muslim provinces, shall be autonomous; the demand that there shall be no domination by the majority of the minority or in other words, by the larger and more powerful national groups of the smaller and less developed Muslim peoples.

Secondly, the demand of full freedom, or complete independence from the imperialist control. It is because the Muslim League among all the other Muslim organisations-voiced these basic national sentiments most clearly that it began to draw into its ranks ever larger and larger number of Muslims.

It was in such a situation that the Unionists of the Punjab led by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, decided to join the Muslim League (Oct. 1937)-but on their own terms. They all offered to become members of the League, provided that in the Punjab Legislative Assembly the Unionist Party and the Unionist

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Ministry were to continue as before. Clearly, here was an anomaly in the situation-for Sir Sikandar was also expected to organise the Muslim League Party-consisting of the Muslim Unionists and other non-Unionist Muslim Leaguers. How this duality was to function, was not made clear. But the whole arrangement, in practice and actual fact, worked entirely to the advantage of the Unionists and to the detriment of the League. Sir Sikandar Hyat and other Unionist bosses never organised the Muslim League Party in the Assembly as they had undertaken to; they went a step further and did all they could, to hinder the growth of the Muslim League as an organisation in the province. Through their hold over the Ministry-they were able to control the Provincial Muslim League, which was never organised either on a district or even a provincial basis. Sir Sikandar was reported to have said that "in provincial matters he was a Unionist, but in all-India affairs a Muslim Leaguer."

Mohammad Iqbal's Warning

This remark of Sir Sikandar, gives us a clue to the question why the Unionists who had refused to join the League before the elections, chose to do so in October 1937. Sir Sikandar and his colleagues Sir Chhotu Ram and the bureaucracy said that the general democratic upsurge of the masses was not going to leave their stronghold-the Punjab-untouched. They needed some sort of a popular name to cover their anti-democratic regime, some method, whereby without actually yielding to democratic control they could claim to be acting on behalf of a popular organisation.

Now, the League as an organisation was practically non-existent in the Punjab in 1937. So, if the Unionists could somehow manage to sit tight on it, and not let it grow democratically; if they could somehow put on the label of Muslim Leaguers without being obliged to work as such, without either conforming to its programme or submitting to the democratic will of the Muslim people, it suited their requirements per-

fectly. This is exactly what happened.
Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, a person who earnestly desired the development of the League in the Punjab and who was, for some time, President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League saw through this game and wrote thus to Mr. Jinnah in a confidential letter November 10, 1937-i.e., soon after the Lucknow
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Session of the League:
"After having several talks with Sir Sikandar and his friends I am now definitely of the opinion that Sir Sikandar wants nothing less than the complete control of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board....He also wishes that the finances of the League should be controlled by his men. All this to my mind amounts to capturing of the League and then killing it. Knowing the opinion of the province as I do I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact has already damaged the prestige of the League in this province; and the tactics of the Unionists may damage it still further. Perhaps you know that on his return from Lucknow Sir Sikandar constituted a Zamindara League whose branches are now being made in the province " (Letter of Iqbal to Jinnah, pp. 30-31).
Pressure Politics
The question arises why did Mr. Jinnah and the leadership of the Muslim League allow this deception, or what they themselves now characterise as a "fraud" to be practised on them? It is difficult to believe that the League leadership did not know the exact state of affairs in the Punjab. No one believes the story that the real situation-that the Unionists were bogus Leaguers and were hindering the growth and development of the League on democratic lines,-suddenly became apparent to Mr. Jinnah only in March 1944. What Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, told Mr. Jinnah in November 1937, i.e., one month

after Sir Sikandar and the Unionists joined the League, was being told to him by many a Leaguer from the Punjab. Moreover, facts told their own story. The complete subservience of the Unionist Ministry to the bureaucracy, and the positive hindrances put in the way of League organisation by the Unionists were far too apparent.

The League leadership did not take steps to remedy this state of affairs in the Punjab for two reasons. Firstly, the independent base of the League in the Punjab was practically non-existent in the earlier period. True the Muslim masses, the middle-class intelligentsia, and a section of the liberal landlords were moving rapidly towards it and coming under its general influence, but there was hardly any body of political

workers and organisers who could organise and do elementary progapanda for the League. Undoubtedly if the League leadership had set itself the task of appealing to the people directly, on the basis of a democratic programme, it would have had very great response from them and a cadre would have been found to do the organisational job. This was apparent in the tumultous welcome which Mr. Jinnah got whenever he went to the Punjab during this period. At the famous "Pakistan " session of the League at Lahore in 1940, the estimated audience was one lac. But such an appeal was never made.

This brings us to the second point. The League leadership considered the political struggle for freedom to be a triangular tug-of-war betwen the League, the Congress and the Government. In this game of pressure politics it imagined that the more the Ministries controlled by the League, the better would be its bargaining power vis-a-vis the Congress and the Government. The simple democratic reality-that power does not come from Ministries but from the people-that it is a conscious and organised people which gives strength to a political organisation and increases its power and prestige-this was ignored.

The Unionist Ministry was tolerated by the Muslim League so that it might be used as a pawn on the chess-board of Indian politics. The result for the Punjab, for the Muslim League and for the country was disastrous.

Having given its label to the Unionists, the League in the public mind, was identified with them. It was not possible to distinguish the League from the Unionist Ministry. The anti-national policies of the Unionists, their total subservience to the bureaucracy, their attacks on Congress and other anti-imperialist organisations and their workers, their suppression of civil liberties, was thought of as having the sanction of the Muslim League. This was one of the reasons why relations between Congress and League were strained during the period of Ministries (1937-1940) and unity between them could not be achieved through which alone freedom of India as a whole and Pakistan was possible. Only democratic practice, democratic growth and experience brings different peoples together, and it becomes a lever for forging unity between them on the basis of equality and freedom.

But here the Muslim people of the Punjab were fettered by the Unionists; the Muslim League top, nursing the delusion

that it could utilise them and their Ministry to win equal status from Congress, and freedom from imperialism turned a deaf ear to the complaints which the democratic elements in the League itself were making against the Unionists. This policy was bound to end in a fiasco.

The actual results were exactly the opposite of what the leadership desired. League in the Punjab was weakened; the demand for the recognition of equal status from Congress which could only be won by the League leading and organising the democratic activities of the people and extending its hand of fraternal unity with Congress, could not be won; and bureaucracy, instead of yielding, continued to rule the Punjab with impunity. The Muslim people and their organisation

the League; the Punjab and the country as a whole suffered as a result of this shortsighted policy. Only imperialism and the Unionist landlords, big moneylenders and contractors and a handful of toadies benefitted.

V. REALITY BEHIND THE CONFLICT

However, there could be no stability in this situation. With the outbreak of the war in September 1939, the question of Indian freedom at once came to the forefront. Congress and Muslim League both demanded freedom before they could participate in the war-effort of British Imperialism. It was on this issue that the Congress Ministries resigned and the movement of individual Civil Disobedience began. The offer made by Lord Linlithgow in August 1940 to Congress and League of accepting position in the expanded Executive Council, was rejected by both. Now an effort was made by the bureaucrats to get the Muslim Leaguers to join the official war machine, even though the League as an organisation had rejected the Government offer. League Prime Ministers of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam and the League-Unionist Under-Secretary of the Punjab Government, were nominated to the "National Defence Council." Another Muslim Leaguer-Sir Sultan Ahmed-was taken on the Viceroy's Executive Council. The League leadership's answer to this disruptionist attack on its organisation was to ask all its members to resign forthwith from their new offices. All except Begum Shah Nawaz, and Sir Sultan Ahmed, thought it fit to comply with the instructions of the League and resigned-the two who did not were

expelled from the League. Sir Sikandar Hyat, Premier of the Punjab, was one of those who had to resign from the National Defence Council, much against his will.

Thus friction between the League and those pro-imperialist elements like the Unionists who had entered the organisation for their own selfish and reactionary ends continued to grow. The basic reason for this was the growing anti-impe-

rialist consciousness and the freedom urge of the Muslim people and the Indian people as a whole, coming into conflict with all those elements which tried to check or hinder its development. Practically at every meeting of the Muslim League Council some member or other raised the question of the League in the Punjab and how its development was being deliberately thwarted by the Unionists.

Thus it was the pressure of public opinion which made the League leadership take the step of demanding resignations of its members from the Defence Council; it was the fear of this very opinion which forced the Unionist Premier of the Punjab to bow to this demand of the League. But we can well understand what a blow this must have been to the imperialist bureaucrats. Their plans of roping in Muslim Leaguers to their chariot wheels were unsuccessful. The bureaucrats could now see that such reactionary elements in the League which had been deliberately planted there by themselves-could no longer have it their own way. The democratic will was asserting itself. Imperialism's fear and hatred for the League was now next only to that for the Congress.

Rift Sharpens

With the attack on the U.S.S.R. by the Nazis (June 1941) followed in December of the same year by Japanese aggression in the East and the direct threat to India a new perilous situation was created. Congress expressed anxiety about the situation and demanded power so that in alliance with the U.S.S.R., China, Britain and the U.S.A., India might defend herself and participate in the struggle to save the world from Fascist domination. Public opinion in Britain and America and other Allied Countries demanded settlement with India. As a result the Cripps offer was made. But mainly because disunity be--tween the Congress and the League still existed it was possible for the reactionary bureaucrats and die-hard imperialists to

deny the Indian people a Provisional National Government

which they all demanded. Henceforth it became the deliberate policy of the die-hard imperialists-of Amery-Linlithgow-Maxwell & Co., to stick to power by somehow or other maintaining the deadlock.

in prison.

In August 1942, they threw the Congress leaders

The robber hordes of Japan stood poised on Indian frontiers ready to invade ; Calcutta, Chittagong and stations in Assam were repeatedly bombed. The morale of the people was at its lowest ebb. Sabotage was rife. There was a terrible strain on communications and industrial production. To cap all this, hoarding, black-marketing, bureaucratic mismanagement, and discord among patriotic parties led to a most devastating famine in one of India's richest provinces-Bengal. Other parts of the country were also in the grip of famine. Never in her long history has our country faced a graver peril. It was inevitable that such a situation would rouse India's best patriots to action. Help was rushed to Bengal. To meet the serious food situation, united food committees, of Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Communists and other organisations began to be formed in various parts of the country. In the Punjab itself a united committee to aid Bengal was formed, presided by Raja Narendra Nath-the Hindu Mahasabha leader, Muslim Leaguers, Congressmen and Communists were on this Committee.

The realisation grew that the barest safety and existence of all demanded an all-round unity which would force the bureaucrats to yield and lead to the estalishment of a Provisional National Government. More and more Congressmen began to feel that the Muslim demand for self-determination in their homelands was a just and a democratic demand and must be conceded so that Congress and League might unite and present a united front to the incompetent imperialist rulers who were quite unable to cope with the situation, and so that unitedly India might be fed and defended. Similarly in the Muslim League too the sentiment grew that self-determination or Pakistan-was to be won only by uniting with the brother patriots of the Congress, that the League and Congress could attain their respective objectives only if they

united.
In Bengal and Bihar Muslim League leaders raised their voice for the release of Gandhiji while he was on fast. The Muslim League press, with few exceptions, also made this
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demand. Mr. Jinnah from the platform of the All-India Muslim League session held at Delhi, in April 1943 declared:
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Nobody would welcome it more than myself if Mr. Gandhi is even now really willing to come to a settlement with the Muslim League on the basis of Pakistan. Let me tell you that it will be the greatest day both for the Hindus and Mussalmans."
Thus experience of life itself was moving the Muslim people towards unity with Congress. The more the League turned towards unity; the more it worked for solving the food crisis in co-operation with other parties; the more clearly and positively it declared that self-determination or Pakistan, involved the freedom both of Muslims and Hindus-the greater was its hold over the Muslim people, the nearer it came to Congress, the greater became the possibility of breaking the deadlock and turning the table against the bureaucracy.
Deadlock-Mongers' Plan
This the bureaucracy did not like. How could the deadlock be mantained if League and Congress turned towards each other; if on the basis of accepting the right of self-determination of the Muslim people, both united and jointly demanded National Government? It could not be. And so just for the same reason Congress leaders were thrown into prison; just for the same reason that lying propaganda painting Congress and Gandhiji as pro-Japanese was done by imperialist agents; just for the same reason that Gandhiji was not allowed to meet Mr. Jinnah while in prison and is not allowed to see the Members of the Working Committee now, for the very same reason the imperialist rulers want to hit at the League.

The growing influence of the League means growth of democracy among the Muslims; it means in the Punjab the end of bureaucratic hold and the breaking of the deadlock; the unity of all progressive Muslim, Hindu and Sikh Punjabis; the end of the Police Raj and the dismal tradition of Michael O'Dwyer. So long as the League leadership acquiesced in the Governor's hold, exercised through the Unionists on the Punjab Government, the bureaucracy tolerated it. It even used its name to cover its own misdeeds.

But when with growing mass influence of the League, the

demand of the Muslim people became insistent that its Ministry must be controlled by its national organisation and not by the autocratic Governor, the conflict inherent from the very beginning between the League and Unionist Party which broke out from time to time during the regime of Sir Sikandar Hyat himself, became more frequent and more acrimonious after his death in December 1942.

At the death of Sir Sikandar the question arose as to who was to succeed him. We all remember that when Congress accepted offices, the Prime Ministers in the various legislatures were chosen by the Congress Parliamentary Board, in consultation with the Congress Assembly Party and the Provincial Congress leaders. In the Punjab, however, the League supposed to be the premier party in the Legislature, was not consulted; neither the League leadership had a say in the matter. The Governor did as he thought fit. The League was presented with a fait accompli and Malik Khizr Hyat Khan was appointed the Prime Minister of the Punjab.

Soon afterwards the question was raised once again in the meeting of the League Council held in March, 1943, of organising a properly functioning League Parliamentary Party in the Punjab Assembly. The new Prime Minister was cornered and he solemnly promised that he would do so. He did not do it until November (1943). However, this was a mere

formality. Sir Chhotu Ram, who after Sir Sikandar's death, was the real leader of the Unionists openly declared that he would have nothing to do with the League and that Unionist Party would do for the Punjab. The young and enthusiastic League Minister, Shaukat Hyat Khan (son of Sir Sikandar) was sharply pulled up by the Governor and the Cabinet for saying that the Punjab Ministry was a League Ministry.
The League was supposed to be the premier party in Assembly, it was supposed to command the allegiance of all the Muslim Unionists, i.e., of about 80 M.L.A.'s and yet the Ministry could not be called a League Coalition Ministry! Behind this conflict of names, was hidden a bigger reality. So long as the League acquiesced in whatever the Unionists chose to do in its name, the Unionists, that is to say, the Governor and his fellow bureaucrats had no objection to Unionists being also called Muslim Leaguers; but when it was a question of submitting to the democratic discipline of a rapidly growing People's Party and of carrying out its policy and acting according to its instructions, it could not possibly be tolerated by the

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bureaucracy. It is precisely this conflict long brewing-which finally came to a head in March-April 1944.
The Present Conflict
Mr. Jinnah when he visited Lahore in March, and then in April 1944 demanded from Malik Khizr Hyat and the Unionists that: (1) Every member of the Muslim League in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes allegiance to the Muslim League and not to the Unionist or any other political party (2) The present name of the Coalition, Unionist, should be given up (3) The name of the Ministerial Party should be the "Muslim League Coalition Party." It is necessary to see what lay behind this demand, and why at the instigation of the Governor it was rejected by Malik Khizr Hyat and the Unionists. Clearly if the Unionists had agreed to this they would have had to abide by the discipline and policy

of the Muslim League, which for the last six and a half years they had successfully flouted. Above all it would have meant that the Muslim Ministers were to be answerable to the Muslim people of the Punjab and their organisation, they would have had to submit to a popular control. The Governor could not have carried on in the usual autocratic manner. The possibility of a People's Ministry supported by League, Congress, Akali and Communists would have arisen. A big blow would have been dealt to the policy of deadlock. Therefore, Mr. Jinnah's request had to be turned down at all costs.

It is futile to go into the legalistic quibblings in regard to the so-called Sikandar-Jinnah Pact. What is necessary for patriots is to understand the basic reality of the situation. The policy adopted by the League leadership in 1937 in allowing Sir Sikandar to join the League on terms which allowed him and the Unionists loopholes through which they could carry on without properly submitting to the League while benefitting by its label, was a wrong policy. It was a policy which, as we have seen, led ultimately not to strengthening but weakening of the League. It was adopted because the League was weak in 1937; it had still to become the mass organisation which it became six years later. The sooner this policy was

*The Communists have a big mass influence among the Sikhs of the Punjab. There are five Communist M.L.A.'s in the Punjab all of them Sikh.

scrapped, and a more popular and democratic policy was adopted by the League the better was it to be for the League, for the Punjab and for the country as a whole. Because the League, had become much stronger in 1944 it was possible for it and its leader to demand from the Unionists that they submit to the discipline and carry out the policy of the Party to which they claimed to belong. But as was to be expected, the loyalty of the Unionists and their Premier to the Governor was greater than to the Muslim people and their national

organisation. He chose to stick to his imperialist masters, and was expelled from the League.

VI. THE REAL FACE OF THE UNIONISTS

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There are people, who are taken in by Unionist propaganda against the League, and imagine that in expelling Malik Khizr Hyat from the League an injustice has been done to him; that he is the aggrieved party; that he stands for unity of Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, whereas the League stands for CC communalism". It is also argued that if the Unionists represent the big landlords and toadies, the Muslim League represents them no less and in addition it is communal ". Some imagine that in refusing to agree to the demand of the League leader Malik Khizr Hyat acted in a patriotic manner for he dealt a blow to the Muslim League from which it will never recover. It will sober down Mr. Jinnah and the League leadership who having "lost a Ministry" in the very heart of Pakistan, would no longer be able to stand in the way of national unity.

What we have said about the origin and development of the Unionists should make it clear to every Indian that to think in this manner is to ignore the basic reality-that behind the League-Unionist controversy in the Punjab, is really hidden the essential conflict between the imperialist bureaucracy and its head the autocratic Governor on the one hand and the rising democracy of Muslim Punjab on the other.

Is it right for patriotic Indians to disapprove of the League action, because it purges from its ranks imperialist agents and bureaucracy's stooges? How do the Unionists promote the cause of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh unity in the Punjab ? Is it forgotten that this Party was founded precisely to prevent Congress, progressive Muslims and Akalis from uniting, and to prevent the growth of anti-imperialist forces, and that its suc-

cess and continued existence signifies the defeat of democratic,

progressive, anti-imperialist Punjab? Does unity mean the unity of anti-national and anti-League big Muslim landlords and reactionaries; anti-Congress and pro-Government Hindus led by Sir Chhotu Ram and Sir Manohar Lal; and of Sikhs of the group of the late Sir Sundar Singh Majithia-a name anathema to all Sikh patriots for his anti-Akali and anti-patriotic activities ? Such is the core of the Unionists-and their coalition ministry! The Unionists and their Ministry far from uniting the people, divide them; they suppress their democratic organisations and sow seeds of dissension and discord between them.

Police Raj

What has been the attitude of the Unionist Ministry towards the Congress, the Akalis, the Kisan Sabhas, the Communists and the Ahrars in the seven years of its existence ? Even during the pre-war days when civil liberties were expanding in the rest of India, in the Punjab they were suppressed more violently than in the pre-Unionist days. Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs-all groaned under an intolerable Police Raj-the like of which had ceased to exist in the rest of the Indian provinces. Even when Sir Nazimuddin, the Home Minister of the Bengal League Ministry, after meeting and coming to an agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, was releasing hundreds of ex-terrorist prisoners, the Punjab Government was adamant and would not release even those prisoners who had publicly abjured terrorism and come within the fold of the Congress.

Bhagat Singh's companions-Jaidev Kapur, Gaya Prasad and Shiv Kumar-have spent years in the Andamans; altogether they have served more than 14 years in prison; one of them is now a declared T. B. patient; if they were ordinary prisoners they would have been released-but they continue to be kept in prison. They have, of course, not only declared their opposition to terrorism years ago-they have declared their strong anti-fascist belief, their readiness to work unconditionally for the defence of the motherland against the Japanese aggresssors. But to the Unionists this does not mean anything. They do what the police bosses want them to.

Of late the Unionist press has announced with great fanfare that Congressmen are going to be released. Some have been

released, but most of these have been interned in their villages
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and mohallas. The question, however, arises why were Punjab Congressmen put in prison at all? There was no sabotage there, no disturbances; not even civil disobedience except in a handful of individual cases. Yet hundreds were thrown in prison; and are still kept in prison or in internment. Why? Why is Mian Iftikharuddin, President of Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and an M.L.A., not being released? Anti-fascist to the very core, it is well known that he believes in organising the defence of the country against the Japanese under all circumstances and in doing nothing which would weaken or hinder directly or indirectly the defence of the nation; a staunch friend of the Soviet Union, a tireless worker for Hindu-Muslim unity; one who would have thrown himself heart and soul in rousing the Punjab to help Bengal in its distress. The Unionist Ministers know all this very well. they keep him behind the prison bars.
Yet
Maulana Habib-ul-Rahman of Ludhiana, the Ahrar leader, -old and venerable of the Khilafat days, is thrown into prison for years together, his health has broken down-such were the sufferings that he had to undergo-but he is not released. The old veteran, Baba Gurmukh Singh, more than 80 years of age, a declared and well-known Communist, is not released. Hundreds of other Congressmen, Akalis, Communists and Kisan Sabha workers continue to be incarcerated by this non-communal " ministry.
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Press Gagged
The Unionists have done everything possible to suppress the liberty of the press. During the war, of course, the hand of imperialism has fallen heavily on this branch of our national life on a countrywide scale. But here is the Unionist record of pre-war days.

On 20th of November, 1939, Lala Deshbandhu Gupta, Congress M.L.A., brought forward a motion of censure against the Punjab Government for "abusing the Press Emergency Powers Act, 1931, in demanding securities from a large number of newspapers and presses." He said that the Government had demanded securities from over 300 newspapers and 67 presses, the total amount being Rs. 2,200,000. He declared that this was an attempt to throttle the press and proved that the Government was not democratic but bureaucratic. Mr. Gupta
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stated further, that in 99% of cases securities were demanded when papers filed declarations. He wanted to know how action could be taken before guilt was proved.
Before provincial autonomy was established the average amount of security demanded in a year was about Rs. 19,450 as compared with Rs. 1,11,000 per year after the inauguration of provincial autonomy (Annual Register, 1939, Vol. II, p. 188). This proves that the Unionists were excellent servants of their imperialist masters. The need for using repressive laws had increased in the 1936-39 period because there was an all-round democratic upsurge among the people and the Punjab was not an exception. A Party, whose very existence was based on the denial of democracy, could react only in the manner in which it did, i.e., to intensify its anti-democratic, activities in order to suppress the growing popular movements. This is not the only way in which free expression of opinion is sought to be suppressed. The Unionists corrupt a section of the press by giving lavish subsidies to certain Urdu newspapers -Inquilab, Shahbaz and Ehsan. These papers used to receive Rs. 13,000 per annum, not from the Unionist Party funds- which would be legitimate but from public funds. Since the present controversy between the League and the Unionists, even this sum was considered insufficient to buy the support. of these papers for the Unionists. So the amount has been raised from thirteen to twenty-four thousand rupees a year.

Even then the Editor and the Staff of one of these papers-Shahbaz preferred to follow the voice of their conscience and support the League rather than tow the line of the Unionists. Thereupon the entire editorial staff were forthwith dismissed by the rich Unionist owner of the Shahbaz.

The line of propaganda followed by these Unionist newspapers, addressing the Muslim public of the Punjab, is most revealing. It is quite different from that meant for the Congressmen which is done through the pro-Unionist Hindu Sabha press of the Punjab and in the public statements of Malik Khizr Hyat. Not a word is mentioned about the non-communal nature of the Unionists. What is emphasised is the "outsider " Mr. Jinnah and the "selfish " leaders of the Punjab League, who have broken the solidarity of the Punjab Muslims and thus thrown them at the mercy of the Hindus and Sikhs who would benefit by this disunity of the Mussalmans.

It is like Amery complaining of the "outside" interference

of Congress High Command in the working of the Congress ministries. It is like Savarkar or Bhai Parmanand bemoaning the fate of Hindus at the hands of the pro-Muslim Gandhi and the Congress! Mask of " non-communalism" for the Congress and Sikh patriots; mask of "Muslim solidarity" for the Muslim people-this is how the Unionists attempt to hoodwink both.

Hoodwinking the Kisan

The most important plank of Unionists' propaganda inside the Punjab, itself, is their claim to stand for the interests of rural Punjab. Sir Chhotu Ram is the originator of this propaganda. He is never tired of telling the Punjab zamindars that he is their protector against the depredations of the dishonest people who live in towns and who, according to him, are the natural enemies of the rural folk. There is hardly a speech which he has delivered in the last seven years of his ministry in which he has not denounced the Congress, in which he has not raised the issue of Jats and non-Jats. Led by him

the Unionists have attempted to organise the Jat Sabha and the Zemindara League as organisations with the definite purpose of opposing the Congress, the Muslim League and the Kisan Sabha. It is clear that the plan of Sir Chhotu Ram and men of his ilk is to get the support of the upper and middle-class landholders of the Punjab by giving them certain amount of relief from rapacious moneylenders. But at the same time they have delivered the vast majority of the rural population-the poor peasant and the muzara (tenant) bound hand and foot to the bigger zemindars, while nothing at all has been done for the landless labourers, the Kammin. And he raises the towns versus village issue precisely to dupe and mislead the rural population, he raises clownish issues like unity of the Jats and unity of the Rajputs so that the entire people may not unite in their respective political (Congress and. League) and class (Kisan Sabha) organisations and thus unitedly strive for political freedom and economic betterment of the Punjab as a whole.

Corruption

What methods are the Unionists using to fight the Muslim League, now that they have broken away from the League. Lately, they have issued confidential instructions to all the

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District Magistrates of the Punjab :-

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(1) To dismiss all those Government servants who are themselves or whose dependants are interested in the League.

(2) To cancel contracts of all those contractors who are in the League or who have sympathies with the League.

(3) To threaten Muslim M.L.A.s with reprisals if they dare leave the Unionist ranks and join the League; and if they do so inspite of these threats, to withdraw all privileges and concessions which they might be enjoying. This is already being done, e.g., in Sialkot and Ferozepur.

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To reward those M.L.A.s who are with them.
As far as possible not to allow the Muslim League to hold meetings. At Lahore, Amritsar, Jullunder, Gurgaon, Section 144 was promulgated prohibiting meetings, precisely for this purpose.
These are the people whom the Muslim League is out to fight and these are the methods which it wants to end. To say that landlords like Mamdot and Daultana lead the League in the Punjab, and since they too are landlords there is not much to choose between two groups, is to forget that Mamdot and Daultana and the League leadership are answerable to the Muslim people of the Punjab. not to the Governor or the small band of big landlord and Government proteges. As the League grows, as Muslim masses flock into it and it gets more and more organised, it will be they, and not the few landlords, who would control its policy. Liberal patriotic landlords have an important role to play in our country. It is these who are now, under pressure of mass awakening, flocking to the League, just as many landlords in the U.P., Bihar and Bengal have gone in the Congress. Is the Bihar Congress reactionary and pro-imperialist because landlords form a majority of its M.L.A.s and hold important offices in it? Is the Punjab Congress reactionary because its President, Mian Iftikharuddin, is a big landlord?
The task of every patriot is to welcome and help this democratic growth which at long last is now taking place among the Muslims of the Punjab. The last stronghold of imperialist bureaucracy in India is invaded by the League. Let us all help the people of the Punjab to capture it.
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Hoarders' Company Ltd.*
If there was any doubt that the economic policy of the Unionists was as fraudulent as their political policy, the food crisis of 1943 and the Bengal famine left no such doubt. It is clear to every thinking man that in an extraordinary war situa-

tion like the present, only by strict control of food-grains and their just and equitable distribution in the country can the present crisis be tided over. The All-India Muslim League, in its annual session held at Delhi in April 1943, passed a resolution demanding rationing and control. In Bengal and Bihar provincial and district Muslim Leagues not only did the same but actively worked in Joint Food Committees shoulder to shoulder with Congressmen, the Communist Party and other organisations of the people.

The Unionist Ministers, however, opposed both rationing and control, tooth and nail. They claimed it was unfair to the grain producer to deprive him of the profits of a free market. But were they speaking for the ordinary grain producer of the Punjab countryside or for the big landlords and the big grain merchants of the town? The fact is that a large majority of the peasants have to sell their surplus produce in the market, either to the big landlords or to the agents of the big grain merchants, not at a high but at a low price. Since free trade means control of the market by big dealers, they always contrive to lower the price immediately after the crop is cut and brought to the market. Only those who have a big surplus, and who do not need ready money, can afford to hold back their produce; the great majority of producers have to sell at the rate fixed by the big dealers who buy it cheap, then hoard it and by causing artificial scarcity, raise the price and sell it at exorbitant rates or force the Government to buy it at the price which they dictate. Thus by opposing price control and rationing, the Unionists were really voicing the demands of hoarders and profiteers of whom there were so many in their own party.

And this was being done at a time when Bengal was in the throes of a most deadly famine and thousands were dying weekly. Hoarding and profiteering of food grains was pro-

*For a detailed analysis of the food situation in the Punjab see Food in the Punjab by Dr. G. Adhikari, People's Publishing House, Bombay.

tected and encouraged in the Punjab by its rulers while over in the East, men women and children died for want of food. At last, even the Government of India had to move and force the Punjab Ministry to accept the principle of price control and rationing. But has the policy been put into practice honestly? On the 22nd of June, the Punjab Government announced the postponement of rationing in Lahore for the fifth time. ROMESH CHANDRA of the Central People's Food Committee, writes in the People's War of July 9, 1944:

CC Already two months are over since the new harvest came in. The stocks of the poor and the middle kisan will cease to come on the market by the end of August, latest. After that the stocks will be in the hands of the big landlords and traders. The Unionist Ministry, organised vanguard of the biggest landlords in the Punjab, fought control tooth and nail right in the open, as long as they could. Today they are still fighting control, but in a more subtle way- by fighting procurement."

This is how the kisan is being cheated of a fair price, the towns put in a precarious food situation and the deficit provinces of India deprived of the surplus food produce of the Punjab. In the same article quoted above the most astounding revelation is made that

"Last year 62 lac tons of food grains, including 2½ lac tons of wheat remained in the Punjab over and above our normal needs-remained getting spoiled in the godowns --while men and women were dying in Bengal. That old crop, weevilled and rotten, is now coming out of the godowns. Applications are being received for permits to send the diseased grain for poultry farms as it is unfit for human consumption. Who did this? The landlord and trader hoarders of the Punjab."

Think of the thirty-five lacs who died in Bengal, and then judge these Unionists who through their policy aided and abetted this hoarding. They are guilty men, with consistent anti-patriotic and anti-national record, and deserve to be thrown

out of our public life. They have no place in the patriotic camp.
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VII. THE WAY FORWARD
Every Punjabi patriot, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh, must ask himself the question: how to rid his fair homeland of this nightmarish regime?
We have seen that the basic cause of the Punjab having to undergo this ordeal of lies is the fact that the 16 million Muslims of the Punjab, were harnessed with a political leadership which was completely subservient to the bureaucracy and that there was no unity between the patriotic Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs and their political organisations.
Now at last, the general political development in the country and the war situation have led to a great upsurge among the Muslims as a whole-including the Punjabi Muslims. Organisationally this new freedom consciousness is expressing itself through the Muslim League. More and more Muslims gather round its green banner, demanding autonomy and sovereignty (Pakistan) for their homelands and for India as a whole.
The bureaucracy senses danger in this new development; just as it does in the movement led by the Congress.
Khizr on the Run
Hence the conflict in the Punjab. On the one hand Muslims refused to be bamboozled by the Unionists who appear more and more in their true colours as humble servitors of their imperialist masters. On the other hand, the bureaucracy wants to stick on desperately to its policy of maintaining the deadlock, of depriving the people-the Congress and the League -of real power. It feels that it is losing its grip over the situation.
A clear and sharp differentiation is taking place among the Muslims. The Fazl-i-Hussain, Shafi, Sikandar Hyat tradition, which delivered the Punjab Muslims and thereby the entire

Punjab, bound hand and foot to imperialists, is at last being wiped out. Khizr Hyat is on the run.

The pressure of Muslim public opinion is such that more and more Muslim M.L.A.s are leaving the Unionists and joining the Muslim League. What is more important is that the Muslim people are flocking in their thousands to the League as an organisation. New League Committees are being set up all over the Punjab. Even Ahrar and Khaksar rank-

and-filers, in spite of their opportunist leadership, are joining the League.

A big blow has thus been dealt to imperialist autocracy in the Punjab. All patriots, specially Congressmen and Akalis, must welcome it.

For Food And Defence

Above all, it is the duty of the Muslim League in the Punjab to chalk out a programme and a policy and act in such a manner as would win them the confidence not only of the Muslims but of all Punjabis. They must through their actions today prove that Pakistan means justice, prosperity and freedom for all Punjab. They must see that the Muslim people of the Punjab desire not merely a change in the label of the present ministry but a change for the better in their political, economic and cultural conditions.

The League must take up the cause of the down-trodden Muzara (tenant) who, although he cultivates the soil, has no security of tenure anywhere in the Punjab. They must take up the cause of the peasant proprietors and be the protector of their just rights. They must appeal to the patriotism of the entire village including even the big landlords-to go in for the Grow-More-Food campaign on the basis of mutual help and co-operation. They must clearly state that they stand for rationing, price control and a procurement policy based on a just price to the grain producer. They must campaign for it in co-operation with other popular organisations and serve the

people through Joint Food Committees. They must fight the hoarder and the profiteer and tolerate none in their own ranks. They must campaign unitedly with other parties for unstinted aid to stricken Bengal. They must declare that they stand foresquare behind the one million soldier-sons of the Punjab who are today fighting against the Axis and for their country's freedom in various fields of battle. They should press for the All-India Muslim League declaring itself wholly and unreservedly for the defence of the motherland against the Japanese aggressors.

They must categorically declare that they stand for ending the police raj in the Punjab; for restoring civil liberties; for the release of all anti-Fascist Congress, Communist and Akali patriots. They must, as the premier political party in the Punjab, stretch out their hand of fraternal co-operation to

Congressmen, Akalis and Communists of the Punjab who together with the League represent an overwhelming majority of the Punjabi people.

Build the League

Not the mere popularising of a slogan, howsoever correct and attractive it may be; not mere abstract resolutions, howsoever fervent they may sound; but the mobilisation today of the people, for food, for better conditions of living, for breaking of the deadlock and the installation of a People's Ministry led by the League-this is what will build the support of all patriots and turn the tables against the Unionists. No Muslim Leaguer should forget the lesson of the Khilafat and the Ahrar movements. Both of these ultimately floundered because their leaders were not able to translate the general freedom urge of the Muslim people into concrete terms, i.e., into working out a programme for the fulfilment of their immediate needs and building a stable organisation on that basis. If the League leaders commit the same mistake in the Punjab and do not go beyond the stage of abstract agitation, their reactionary oppo-

nents may well win, and the Punjab may be in for another decade of political black-out.

It is the patriotic duty of the Punjab Congressmen and patriotic Akalis to actively help such a democratic development in the Muslim League of their Province. They must realise that the destiny of the great Punjab people-the people of the valiant Maharajah Ranjit Singh, and Bhagat Singh and of the immortal Iqbal, can only be achieved in the fraternal alliance of its people, based on the recognition of the just rights of all. They must realise that the great Congress tradition of building unity by recognising the rights of Muslims is the very corner stone of our struggle for freedom.

Unite With Congress

As these lines are being written (July 10, 1944), the great news comes of Gandhiji categorically recognising the rights of Muslims to be free and sovereign in their North-Western and Eastern homelands. There is no doubt that the little differences which still remain between the Congress and the League will soon be made up. Therefore, let the Punjab Congressmen declare their solidarity with the Punjab Muslim Leaguers in

their struggle against the common enemy-the imperialist bureaucracy and their Unionist stooges. Let them work out in alliance with each other a democratic programme of immediate help and relief to the Punjab people-alike in the economic and political field. There is no doubt that they would find a ready response from the Leaguers.

Settle With the Sikhs

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What about the Sikhs ? Are the great sacrifices which the Sikh people have made for the freedom of the country; and the battles which they fought to build the great Akali movement, to end in the ignominious Sikandar-Baldev Singh Pact? Surely, if the Sikh people want national self-determination they

must extricate themselves from the mire of Unionism and convince their brother Muslim people of the Punjab that they (i.e. the Muslims) and their organisation, the League, should recognise the Sikh people's right of self-determination consistent with their own Pakistan. It is possible to do so, as the example of the U.S.S.R. clearly shows. Not by opposing the Muslim League and Pakistan, but only by forging fraternal alliance with them, can the national destiny of Sikhs in a free Punjab be realised.

Unity to End Deadlock

Today the bureaucracy rules the Punjab with the support of the Unionists. There is disunity among Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Akalis and Communists. Not its inherent power, but the disunity of our people is bureaucracy's strength. The fact that the Muslim League-the second great patriotic organisation of our people-has withdrawn its tacit support from the Unionists has staggered the bureaucrats. In order to parry this blow they are trying to rally all the reactionaries behind them. But above all they hope to maintain their hold over the Punjab people by causing confusion among the patriots themselves; by sowing seeds of discord between brother and brother. They dismiss a Minister arbitrarily because he dares to side with his national organisation; they issue instructions to the District Magistrates to bring every possible pressure on League M.L.A.s to desert the League; they threaten Muslim League workers with prosecution; they declare Section 144 to stop the League from carrying on its propaganda. Still

the League influence continues to grow, for the democratic urge of a whole people can never be suppressed by these methods. Therefore, a great and a glorious prospect opens up for the Punjab. With the Muslim base of Unionist reaction shattered, the League, Congress, Akalis and Communists have only to unite to turn the tables against their opponents. The jerry-built Unionist structure will fall, and on its ashes will arise a

People's Punjab-the free home of India's bravest fighters for freedom and her most valiant defenders.
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Read These Books
A CASE FOR CONGRESS-LEAGUE UNITY
BY SAJJAD ZAHEER
ANNAS EIGHT
The author, who is a well-known Communist leader and a brilliant Urdu writer, in a series of articles answers all the questions about the Muslim League. He traces its history from the time of its inception in the year 1906 right up to the latest phase of its growth under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah Does the League stand for Indian freedom? What is Pakistan-weapon in the hands of reactionaries to split India, or a just demand of Muslim nationalities born of their urge to be free. Do the Muslim masses desire Unity?-under this heading he surveys the Delhi Session of the Muslim League, April 1943. In November 1943, he attended the meeting of Muslim nationalists in Delhi and gives their typical reactions to a Congress-League settlement. In a brilliant report he reviews the December 1943 Karachi Session of the League and shows that democratic trends within it are striving to serve the people and help build unity. Finally, the appendices set forth the whole Pakistan resolution adopted in Lahore in 1929, the Lucknow 1937 resolution "Full Independence," the progressive Food Resolution of November 7, 1943 of the Bengal League and important extracts from Congress and Communist documents on Congress-League unity.
PAKISTAN AND NATIONAL UNITY (2nd Edition)
BY G. ADHIKARI
ANNAS TEN

"The Communists are always talking about Congress-League unity but where is the basis for this unity? This is a common question asked by all patriots. This pamphlet gives in a clear and concise form the Communist proposal which can be the basis for unity between the Congress and the League, which alone can help us to achieve national freedom. The first edition was sold out within a month of its publication.
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road,
Bombay 4.

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Wheat & Nol 33 (Speeches]
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[Reprinted from 'The Leader' dated the 4th March, 1946]
HINDI AS NATIONAL
LANGUAGE OF INDIA
A summary of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's speech
Allahabad, March 2.-At a recent gathering of members and workers of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the UniversitCalcutta, who was on a visit to Allahabad in con with University work, gave a talk on the history of the Hindi language, dealing particularly with the evolution of Urdu as a younger and a Muslim form of the language and with the present problems which are facing Hindi with the promulgation of Mahatma Gandhi's view on the biliteralism of Hindustani or Hindi in two scripts, its native Devanagari and the foreign Perso-Arabic.
Prof. Chatterji said that the present position of Hindi (using Hindi as a wide term covering the important forms of the Western Hindi speech, and including Braj-bhasha, Nagri-Hindi or High-Hindi and Musalmani-Hindi or Urdu) was not the result of any recent propaganda but was the natural final outcome of a cultural situation which had been pre-sent all through in India ever since the Aryan language was established in North India and had become the vehicle

of Indian civilization, as a composite creation in which both Aryan and non-Aryan speaking peoples (pure and mixed Aryan, and 'Dravidians' and 'Austrics') took part. The ancient Madhyadesa or the 'Midland', the tract of country roughly corresponding to the eastern Punjab and the eastern U. P. of the present day, was the heart of Aryandom, where a synthesis of

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Aryan and non-Aryan cultures under the auspices of Brahmanical Hinduism took place before the days of Budhha; and it was the speech of this tract (as of a sort of central area) which has always dominated Indian life and culture and has always been accorded precedence by the greater part of India in Indian affairs throughout the centuries, successively as classical Sanskrit, as Sauraseni Prakrit, as Pali (Pali, Dr. Chatterji explained, was really based on the early Sauraseni speech of the Midland and was not the speech of Magadha-this is the most recent and most authoritative view on the subject) as Sauraseni Aprabhransa, as Brajabhasha and finally as Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani, Khari Boli, Urdu). He then dwelt at length on the origin of Urdu as as a distinct literary form of Hindi-how the beginnings of Urdu as we know it were to be
d to the literary efforts
in the various western Hindi and Punjabi dialects which were established in the Deccan among Marathi, Telugu and Kannada speaking peoples by Muslim and Hindu soldiers and adventurers, aettlers and sojourners, in that part of India, from the 14th century onwards. In this connection he referred in eulogistic terms to the researches of Pandit Chandrabali Pande of the Nagri Parcharni Sabha of Benares, as published in a number of books in Hindi, on the origin and early development of Urdu and on the exact relationship between Hindi of the present day and Urdu. Dr. Chatterji did not agree with the view which appears to have been put forward with greater enthusiasm than accuracy recently from some quarters, that Sanskritized Hindi was a later phenomenon than Persianized and

Arabicized Urdu. The early, Muslim writers of 'Hindi' in North India and of 'Dakni' in the Deccan used a language which was singularly unlike present-day Urdu in its vocabulary and its general atmosphere-its was a genuine Indian speech, racy of the soil, and not an artificial imitation of Persian. A greater acquaintance with the early Dakni writers is necessary to enable us to see things as they were. As a 'colonial speech', Dakni became established in the courts of the Muslim ruling houses in the

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Deccan which took their rise on the ruins of the Bahmani empire, particularly at Rijapur and Golconda, and it was there in the hands of some Muslim scholars and princes (the most illustrious of whom in the literary field was Sultan Qutb Quli Shah of Golconda, a contemporary of Akbar the Great) that slowly Dakni took up an orientation towards Persian, particularly during the 17th century. The influence of Dakni reacted upon the dialect of Delhi, the language current in the exalted' court and camp of Mogul Emperors, and North Indian Urdu was born during the first half of the 18th century when the poet Wali, known as Baba-i-Rekhta or the father of. Rekhta (i.e. of Hindi with Perso-Arabic words scattred in it) came to Delhi and settled there, to become the founder of the first school of Urdu poetry in North India (after 1720
vement started when North Indian
Muslim writers discovered what may be called the 'Islamic possibilities' of their language (emulating the example of Dakni) for saturating the Indian speech with words and ideas from Persian poetry. A number of Muslim aristocrats of foreign birth or origin unfamiliar with the literary and lingustic traditions of the country took a leading part in this Persianizing movement. There were protests from even some Muslim writers of Hindi at this movement seeking to restrict the genuine Hindi tradition: witness, e. g. a poet like Nur Mohammad the author of the Anurag-Bansari (c. 1710). The Hindus, when not connected with the court or the offices of the Mogul State, remained uninterested. In this way,

Persianized Urdu was set up as a Kunstsprache, as the Germans say, as a literary and a poetic speech, in an exclusive courtly atmosphere, during the second hat of the 18th century. In Dr. Chatterji's opinion, it was wrong to say that Persianized Urdu was the joint creation of the Hindu and Muslim eople, i.e. of the masses removed from the court, or that it developed in the bazars when the Turki and Irani foreigners who invaded India were first settled in Delhi and elsewhere in the 12th century. In the 18th century, a new literary "coterie speech like Urdu into which the fragrance from the rose-garden of
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Persian Sufi poetry could be wafted through a Persian vocabulary, became a venue of escape from the actualities of life: it was a necessary spiritual and aesthetic compensation for a good many Muslims of fine sensibility and culture when political power was passing away from the hands of a small Muslim minority into those of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the British in the 18th-19th centuries. Such a speech from its very nature was not a spontaneous creation of the people-though doubtless through Islam and through the law courts and administrative departments a way
good number of Persian and Arabic words found their into the life of the people ;-and these words all have an honoured place in Hindi (high-Hindi), as these have become thoroughly naturalized and are understood by all.
position of the
Dr. Chatterji then passed on to the
Hindi language vis-a-vis Urdu and the Hindustani movement. Urdu, Dr. Chatterji said, was created in India, and Urdu literature, particularly Urdu poetry, was a fine flower in the garden of Indian poetry, and it should flourish in its own beauty and with its own perfume. But it should not be attempted to be imposed upon those to whom it does not come naturally. The Persianized vocabulary of Urdu is not understood by four-fifths

of India, outside of the Punjab and the western parts of U. P.: it is a real hardship for the vast majority of people living in the Eastern U. P., in Bihar, in Bengal, in Orissa, in Assam, in C. P., in Central India, in Rajputana, in Gujarat, and in the Maratha country, not to speak of the Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam tracts. With regard to the recent dictum of Mahatma Gandhi that it is necessary for a good Indian to learn Hindustani or Hindi in both the scripts of Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, Dr. Chatterji expressed his considered and firm dissent. He pleaded for a realistic approach to the problems of script and language. It was easy to talk as many glibly about the duty of good Indians to learn languages and alphabets as possible, but it was an exceedingly

difficult thing in actual life to induce people to learn a strange script, particularly when it has no economic or cultural use for him, and when it is in its nature à very cumbrous and compli-cated system of writing at that. The script and language problems were not the same all over India; the situation in the Punjab and the Western U. P. was quite different from that in Bengal and in Tamil Nad, for instance. In Bengal, we manage with a little smattering of what may be called Bazar Hindi and generally the Bengali intelligentsia does not feel interested in Hindi or Hindustani as an interprovincial speech. Not that we in Bengal have not been impressed or influenced by the great things of Hindi literature: Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas are honoured in Bengal as being among the greatest poets and saints of India, and the thusiastic admirers of them in Bengal who love to read them in the original. Rut there is no appeal from Hindi of the present day as a culture-language; and when the curse of Babel is mitigated by a little Bazar Hindi, when English does not work, in our inter-provincial contacts, the

average Bengali intellectual does not care to think any further. But in Bengal, we find Hindi in Devanagari characters easy to acquire; the script is so very much like the Bengali, and a good of us learn it while reading Sanskrit at school. Further, the Sanskrit vocabulary of high-Hindi is understood by us. So if the Bengal people can be won over to Hindi or Hindustani, it should be easy to do that through Hindi written in Devanagari. A larger and larger number could in this way be made to feel interested in Hindi; and actually, this has been the case. But the new movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi, will, in the speaker's opinion, jeopardize the prospects of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language in Bengal. Already those who were persuaded to read Hindi in the Devanagari script are turning back in dismay when they are told that they must learn also the Perso-Arabic script those who are connected with the teaching and spread of the rastrabhasha are meeting with this difficulty.
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Dr. Chatterji was definitely of opinion that the impostion of the two scripts simultaneously would bring no good, and it would harm rather than benefit the position of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language of India by scaring away large masses from it who would otherwise have gladly approached the speech from the angle of high Hindi in the Devanagari script.
Apart from the practical difficulties, Dr. Chatterji also thought that there was no linguistic, cultural or nationalistic justification (although a lot has been reiterated and sometimes reiterated vehemently on nationalistic and patriotic grounds) to impose / the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu upon the Indian body-politic, and all in the name of Indian unity. Dr. Chatterji made it clear that he was not hostile to the Perso-Arabic script as such. He had acquired it when he was 17 or 1o,termediate student at college, and that was some 38 years ago. He was emphatically of opinion that it should continue to be the proper script for Urdu

so long as Muslim sentiment desired it. But he was simply voicing an opinion which, he thought, was quite widespread that the learning of this script by those who were not born to its manner, so to say, would be an unnecessary imposition; leading to a harassing waste of time, energy and money and possibly also temper.

Devanagari as National Script

Dr. Chatterji's own personal preference was for the Roman script, not only as a way out of the impasse that is being created but also on the merits of the Roman script itself. He was convinced that the Roman script yould ultimately come in, and India's independence would help to sher it in. The Roman script was a matter of convenience like the European clock, fcr instance and the Roman letters, arranged in the scientific way of the Indian Devanagari alphabet, would give us an almost perfect script, as things stand. But just at the present moment sentiment is strong against the Roman script, because of its English association. Public opinion ought to be educated in this matter.

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For the present, failing the Roman as the ideal, Dr. Chatterji could think of no other script except the Devanagari as the national script for India. But he would not press the matter now, as he knew that that would be trespassing on the domain of religious and cultural sensitiveness.

Simplified Basic Hindi or Hindustani

But he was of emphatic opinion that if Hindi and Urdu were to merge into a single style or speech, there must be a single script as a sine qua non. His ideal of a national language for India was a Simplified or Basic Hindi or Hindustani, written in the Roman script, keeping all its naturalised Arabic and Persian words, accepting all new words necessary in Islamic contexts from these sources, but frapy going to Sanskrit for culture words when new words could not conveniently be built up with native Hindi elements or borrowed from English and other

European languages. We hear a great deal about BASIC ENG-
LISH in these days. It is English simplified according to a definite plan, but its vocabulary retains its British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial character. The name BASIC is made up of the initials of these English words, British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial. Dr. Chatterji suggested that the future Basic Hindi or Hindustani of India should have its ideal indicated by the following Hindi or Hindustani words the initials of which when combined will make the word BASIC for us in its Hindi (Hindustani) or Indian context: viz.-
Bhartiya or Bharti (Indian, or Pan-Indian).
Adhunik or Aj-kal-ki (Present-day)
Sanskrit-mayi or Sankrit-wali (Sankritic).
Islamik or Islami (Islamic) and
Chalu (Current) Hindi or Hindustani.
Compromise Speech'
There were questions after Dr. Chatterji's discourse.
Dr. Chatterji said in reply to a question that as a condition

precedent to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and similar other bodies cooperating with any committee, official or otherwise, set up to go into the question of evolving a common style or speech out of Hindi and Urdu, certain matters of principle must first be accepted on all sides, matters of principle that are based on scientific data; otherwise all attempts at arriving at what may be called a 'compromise speech' will fail. He further ridiculed tile idea of seeking to build up a national language for a vast and civilized country like India seeking to forge ahead in the world under modern conditions with the vocabulary of school children, and of peasants and industrial workers with a rather primitive outlook upon life, eschewing the store-house of a great lar guage like Sanskrit, with its thirty centuries of close inter-relation with
and culture of India.
THE LEADER PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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ALL INDIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION
Aims at securing
'A suitable home in healthy
environment for every
citizen of India.'
President:
Mohan Lal Saksena, M.P.
Vice-Presidents:
M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, M.P.
S. Nijalingappa, M P.
Col. B. H. Zaidi M.P.
Nawab Zainyar Jang
Dr. S. L. Hora
General
Secretaries :
T. R. Mehandru
M. G. Reddy, M.P.
Treasurer:
Hari Nath
10, Alipur Road,
DELHI

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ALL INDIA HOUSING ASSOCIATION
OBJECT & ACTIVITIES
1. To provide a common meeting ground for
organisations and individuals engaged and interested
in housing and to provide closer contact between
those working on different aspects of the problem.
2. To
collect all available data on Housing
and to act as clearing house for relevant infor-

mation.
3. To publicise and evaluate new ideas in the field of housing by means of exhibitions, films, lectures and Central and Regional conferences.
4. To promote education and research into the various aspects of the housing problem and make the results of such research readily available.
5. To create conditions favourable to greater building activity in the country to fight the existing housing shortage prevailing amongst the poor and lower middle classes :-
(i) By promoting the formation and extension of housing associations and chief con-
struction agencies throughout
country;
the
(ii) By rousing the social conscience
and
making the people realise their responsi-
bilities to these classes and by making them take greater interest in solving the housing problem;
(iii) By reducing the cost of building low cost houses.
6. To act as a liaison between non-official housing organisations and the Government.

Sure.
P. D. Tandon
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To
APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP
The General Secretary,
All-India Housing Association,
10. Alipur Road, Delhi.
I

have read the aims and objects of the Association and I desire to become Life/Ordinary/Associate member. I herewith send you the sum of Rs
as my subscription.*
I also undertake to promote the activities of the Association to the best of my ability.
Date
Name in full :
Age:
Occupation :
Address:
*Life members
Ordinary members
Associate members
Signature
Rs. 100/-
Rs. 10/- p. a.
Rs. 2/-
Organisations and Societies Rs. 25/-..

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YOU CAN HELP THE A.I.H.A.
By Collecting
and
supplying to the
A. I. H. A. all information pertaining to housing in a certain locality.
By suggesting ways and means for reducing the cost of construction.
By suggesting any possible amendment in the Bulidings bye-laws.
By educating public opinion on the housng problem.
By organising primary branches of the Association, Housing Societies, and Cheap

construction agencies.
While Life and Ordinary members shall have full rights of membership, the Associates shall be entitled to be members of the Primary, and District Housing Associations.

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"No. II
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(There is no Religion higher than Truth)
THEOSOPHICAL FREE TRACTS
21st December 1947
"THE CASE AGAINST VACCINATION
<<
It is hard for the medically and technically ignorant public to believe that the medical profession in general could defend immunization by inoculation and vaccination if it were "a grotesque superstition" or an amazing empirical stunt," as it has been called by the eminent Dr. Charles Creighton and Mr. George Bernard Shaw. The average person guesses that "scientific opinion" is more reliable than the views of a minority called "anti's," however honest and intelligent these may be.
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But vaccination and inoculation are no longer merely medical questions; they have increasing political and social significance which involves individual liberty and national health. When men of the highest mental calibre are forced, after investigation, to conclude that "the penal enforcement of vaccination is a crime" -all conscientious laymen should at least read both sides.
Vaccination-or cowpox inoculation, as it was at first called-was introduced by Edward Jenner in 1796. At that time the public of Europe were

ready to embrace any specific which promised freedom from the scourge of smallpox, and its almost equally fearsome remedy: smallpox inoculation. Jenner promised this double freedom, and the people, doctors included, eagerly accepted his promise with little or no investigation. Jenner claimed the vaccinated persons were for ever after secure from the infection of smallpox." He further asserted: Cowpox admits of being inoculated on the human frame with the most perfect ease and safety." assertions were soon belied by the bitter experience of many patients, and the deaths of not a few. Even the Royal College of Physicians
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These
admitted in 1806 that there had been "bad consequences."

It is now clear that the public were deluded into accepting the statements of Jenner that a disease of cows called cowpox (arbitrarily declared by him to be "smallpox of the cow") afforded protection against smallpox. Later Jenner admitted that ordinary cowpox offered no protection against smallpox, yet vaccination was carried on with it notwithstanding.

The hasty assumption and the glowing promises of Jenner were falsified by experience even in his life-time, but too late. Already the State and the medical profession were implicated. Jenner had made a fortune, and in 1808 he and his friends induced Parliament to vote a sum of £3,000 a year for the formation of a National Vaccine Establishment under the control of a Board appointed by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons in London.

The next few years witnessed an increasing distrust of vaccination on the part of the public, due to its many failures and the tragic evidence

that it was by no means the harmless proceeding at first claimed. Had not the profession so completely committed Parliament, the next few years might have seen it fall into utter disrepute. It was the promise of immunity after one vaccination that induced the British Government to pass the first compulsory vaccination Act. This Act of 1853 was the signal for the commencement of a popular campaign against the principle of compulsion. From this time to the appointment of the Royal Commission for investigating the whole matter, the fight for freedom from compulsory vaccination was increasingly fierce. Thousands of parents defied the law, submitting

to fine and imprisonment rather than being false to conscience and imperiling the health and life. of their children. Over 8,000 tragic cases to illustrate the terrible results of vaccination were reported to the Royal Commission.
The Royal Commission's recommendation of a Conscience Clause in the Bill was at first rejected. By 1898, however, the storm of protest was so great that, after experiencing many vicissitudes, the Conscience Clause was inserted and became law.
The public endowment and the enforcement of vaccination were manoeuvred through Parliament on the unsubstantiated theories and false assertions of leading doctors who led the profession to declare with one voice as being fact that which had never been proved in practice and which had been falsified by experience. The compulsory law of England rested on these false assertions until last November, 1946!

At the present time doctors are strongly pushing their claims to control the health of the people, and an admission that they were wrong in regard to vaccination would greatly weaken their position. This effort is being so boldly made in the U. S. A. that recently the Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, Inc., has been organized to protect individual liberty as it relates to the art of healing, and to inform the public on controversial matters. England also has its British Health Freedom Society.

England and Australia have demonstrated to the world that smallpox can be successfully controlled without mass vaccination. The statistics are available. The majority of parents of Great Britain have for many years past exempted or witheld their children from the operation.

Perhaps the most telling recent development is the admission of the Editor of The Lancet, a leading British medical journal, that vaccination has its limitations, and his courage in publishing the records of the complete failure of vaccination to protect the Allied troops in Egypt from smallpox and the failure of even recent successful vaccination to avert fatal hæmorrhagic smallpox.

But what about immunization by vaccination as a science? After more than a century of experience of the practice it is true to say that it is unscientific, useless and dangerous.

I.

HOW UNSCIENTIFIC ?

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The "germ theory of disease, on which the practice is based, science is now in the process of discarding, together with the view that germs are specific, definite and unchangeable in their nature and effects.

2. No scientific evidence exists that cowpox and smallpox are identical diseases.

3. Science has never stated what is the precise origin and nature of the virus used for vaccination; and there is no way whatever to determine the whole content of a serum injection, bacteriologically speaking.
4. Neither Jenner, nor any one since, has defined vaccination in any scientific manner; and there is no legal definition of it.
5. The English and French schools of medicine have exactly opposite theories as to why vaccination "protects." They cannot both be right!

HOW USELESS?

I. It has been proved repeatedly by experience that vaccination does not immunize against any form of smallpox; nor does it prevent epidemics.
2.
It is not determined how long a vaccination may "protect" against smallpox; nor when "protection" ceases. When smallpox is contracted after vaccination it is surmised that the lymph was "too old" "too new"-" inert" or that the operation was "not properly done" etc., etc.
3. There is no way of knowing when or if a vaccination has been properly done; there is no definition of a "properly done" vaccination.

HOW DANGEROUS?

1. Mortality amongst smallpox victims who have been vaccinated is higher than amongst the unvaccinated.
2. Today there is greater risk of illness and fatality from vaccination than from smallpox. In England and Wales in the 33 years ending Decemebr, 1937, only 118 children under five died

of smallpox, but 291 died of vaccination. In 1942 twelve people were killed by vaccination and none died from smallpox. In Scotland, smallpox killed eight and vaccination ten persons; another fifteen developed post-vaccinal encephalitis, the dreaded sleeping-sickness.

3. Efforts are still being made to "improve" vaccine and vaccination and make them, "more safe. This proves that the medical profession admits their dangers. Yet governments issue vaccine for use on the people-in some cases even making vaccination compulsory !

4. Other diseases follow in the train of vaccination, some more fearsome and fatal than smallpox. Some of these are: Post-vaccinal myelitis (infantile paralysis), post-vaccinal encephalitis, post-vaccinal jaundice, tetanus and syphilis.

5. The cause of cancer is still unknown and some authorities are stating that it may be caused by a filterable virus, and the fecundation of normal cells by a foreign protein is not impossible. The increase of cancer has been synchronous with the increase of vaccination. This is a solemn thought. Diabetes, infantile paralysis and sleeping sickness have also become real menaces only since the rage for inoculation began.

But why should a practice proved so uncertain be advocated at all by the medical profession which includes many noble men and women whose desire is to devote their lives to the service of humanity? Why is it supported; why is it not exposed?

The training for doctors is begun in youth and the doctrines of the older professionals are firmly implanted in student days. Anti-vaccination books are excluded from orthodox medical college libraries and curriculums. Young people become 'qualified" only to find their professional status

bound up with the belief in vaccination. They cannot break away from it without jeopardizing their careers. Is it any wonder, then, that a small minority only have the perception and the courage to oppose it?

While many physicians-undoubtedly ignorant of the facts are sincere in their belief in vaccination, it is significant that agitation for compulsory vaccination emanates chiefly from those

who administer or manufacture vaccine. Actually, however, the medical profession has two opinions on the subject, not one. Most "anti's were once in favour of, and turned against vaccination after some tragic experience in the practice which led them to study both sides of the question. Also, many doctors in favour of vaccination are not in favour of compulsory vaccination, which is the great danger of the present moment.

It is as illogical as it is wrong for those who believe in vaccination to try to make it compulsory for those who do not. Consider: The vaccinated, being "protected," should have no fear of the "unprotected"! And, on the other hand, the less it protects the more infamous is compulsion! Against the great gains to be obtained by the disestablishment and disendowment of the practice there is only a business loss to count. The people's health, the pocket-book of the tax-payer, individual integrity and liberty, the principles of democratic government and scientific freedom, will all gain.

Now must be considered some ominous facts and trends which have come to the fore during the past twelve months:-

1. Many attempts were made to persuade

the B. B. C. to permit both sides of controversial matters, such as vaccination, to be discussed; but without success.
2. The World Health Organization, which replaces the Health Organization of the League of Nations, will be composed of representatives of the pro-vaccinist Government Health Departments of every country. This seriously endangers what should be the inviolable right of each individual of any nation to decide how his own body (and the bodies of his children) should be treated; especially since medicine is admittedly so far from being in any sense an exact science.
3. Errors in the League of Nations Health Organization Hand-Book which misrepresent the facts in regard to vaccination have been pointed out to the authorities, but alteration has not yet been made.
4. The difficulties for travellers are increasing enormously. The day seems to be approach-

ing when every traveller by air or sea will be required to have a vaccination-and several inoculation-certificates before embarking. To quote from a section in The Vaccination Inquirer, July-August, 1947, discussing a possible requirement of international vaccination certificates for travellers: "That something is on foot is certain, and the League's (The National Anti-Vaccination League's) Council has warned some hundreds of our supporters of the impending danger."
5. Misrepresentation of entrance requirements of countries is being given to travellers by travel agencies, steamship and air-line companies and government officials at embarkation points to induce travellers to be vaccinated and inoculated. "To save trouble and possible quarantine on

arrival at destination"-is one argument used, whether justifiably or not.

6. The Bhore Health Survey and Development Committee Report was very disappointing. Instead of emphasizing constructive plans along modern lines, which have already been so successful in several Western countries, to raise the health of the Indian people to higher levels by extensive sanitation measures, education in hygiene and a more nourishing and plentiful food supply, it stresses more the supplying of vaccines and medicines. Is it so difficult to realize that "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure"
"?

In contrast to the above six points the following facts will be seen to make more evident than ever the tyranny and illogicality of the threat of compulsory vaccination and inoculation:

I. Under the National Medical Service Bill passed by Parliament November 6, 1946, the English Vaccination Acts have been entirely repealed. This Bill goes into force in July, 1948.

2. In the British Army and Navy vaccination and inoculation are voluntary. Soldiers and sailors may refuse (and many have done so) both vaccination and inoculation-although civilian clients of many transportation companies cannot so refuse! But in this connection it appears from recent newspaper correspondence protesting vehemently against compulsory vaccination for travellers that the P. & O. and the British India

Steam Navigation Co. lines do not require their passengers to have vaccination and inoculation certificates.

3. Vaccination and inoculation are entirely voluntary for the R. A. F.; and British ciy

servants throughout the U. K. also have the right to refuse the operation.

On September 8, 1947, the Indian Government lodged two protests with the World Health Organization Interim Commission against the restrictions imposed on travellers from India to British Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong and Iraq. The sinister significance of the fact that Eastern countries are now beginning to require vaccination and inoculation certificates as conditions of entry should be recognized. Vast quantities of vaccines and serums are manufactured and stored, and fortunes are at stake if they are not sold somewhere. More and more the most advanced Western countries are successfully controlling smallpox and other filth diseases and epidemics through sanitation. The Western market for vaccines has, therefore, lessened drastically in the last fifteen years. Costly advertising campaigns are required to sustain it at all. But most Eastern countries are backward in sanitation and education. This makes them a cheap and easy market for the vaccine and serum manufacturers. There is no good reason, however, why this conscienceless exploitation of thousands of ignorant, trusting human victims should go on. Knowledge and statistics are available to the educated who lead and govern the masses, and whose duty it is to protect them also.

It has been found that the presence or absence of classical or virulent smallpox has no relation whatever to the vaccination laws in any country, but that it does bear a direct relationship to the progress of the various countries in regard to 3antation and general living conditions. Smallpox is endemic in India and should be banished by extensive sanitary measures which will be a permanent asset and protection to the nation. Mexico, Italy and the Philippines have all had dis-

astrous epidemics of smallpox, notwithstanding the stringent laws for vaccination and re-vaccination of their whole populations. The following vividly illustrates what has just been stated:-

In England from 1931-1940 only 36 per cent. of infants were vaccinated; in Australia and New Zealand less than I per cent. Yet smallpox is practically extinct in both countries and they dave no vaccination entrance requirements. Only ten States in the U. S. A. require vaccination of infants, yet smallpox has been virtually wiped. out in the country. On the other hand, in Mexico, backward in education and sanitation, vaccination is compulsory for all, but the fatalities from smallpox over a ten-year period (1921-1930) were 3200 per cent. greater in Mexico than in the U. S. A. !

International Sanitary Conventions have lately been agreed upon by a number of countries, among them India. And although these conventions provide the alternative of quarantine in place of vaccination and inoculation, few countries since the war seem willing to arrange for this. Besides, this provision does not solve the practical everyday problems that keep cropping up. For instance: When you want your children admitted in a school or college; when you seek employment in a government department or even in some private firms; when you want to visit a place of pilgrimage or to go to a district where an epidemic is said to be raging-you are faced with the problem: Vaccination.

Obviously this state of things will continue as long as Allopathy dominates as the State system of medicine. Yet what could be more absurd and unreasonable than having such an alien system

imposed by the Government of free India on the Indian people, millions of whom are naturally and traditionally opposed to it! Consider: All Hindus must abhor vaccines and serums for the cruelty to animals involved in their production and their pollution of the human body when injected into it; lovers and protectors of cows also, e the manufacturing process particularly involves torture to cows and calves; admirers of Gandhiji and the principle of non-violence must be repelled by them for the same reasons; and forcing them on the people must be disapproved by all who are politically opposed to State compulsion and unwarrantable interference with individual rights. Added to these are the citizens who

adhere to other systems of medicine such as Nature-Cure, Homoeopathy, Ayurveda, Unani, etc.

The following quotations and considerations on Sanitation have also particular and important significance for India. The first is from the Report on Sanitary Measures in India, 1879-80:-

Smallpox in India is related to season and also to epidemic prevalence : it is not a disease, therefore, that can be controlled by vaccination in the sense that vaccination is a specific against it. As an endemic and epidemic disease, it must be dealt with by sanitary measures, and if these are neglected smallpox is certain to increase in epidemic times.

Report of the Army Commission of the Punjab for 1879:-

...the whole Indian experience points in one direction, and this is that the severity of a smallpox epidemic is more closely connected with sanitary defects, which intensify the activity of other epidemic diseases more than is usually imagined, and that to the general sanitary improvement of towns and villages must we look for the mitigation of smallpox as of cholera and

fevers.
Report for 1884-85 on Sanitary Measures of the North-West Provinces and Oudh :- Notwithstanding the existence of an active vaccination service, smallpox swept over the Province just as if there had been none.... If sanitary work be neglected no more dependence against smallpox epidemics can be placed on vaccination than can be placed on quarantines against invasions of cholera.
In recent years no such frank admissions of the failure of vaccination to control smallpox epidemics can be found in Indian Reports, although it was stated in the Indian Public Health Commissioner's "Annual Report for 1936 that vaccines, serums, drugs, etc.-" are no substitute for sanitary dwellings, fresh air, pure water and abundant and wholesome food. These are the foundations on which alone the superstructure of individual and communal health can be built.
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Everything on the subject points to the fact that it is. Sanitation which is the solution to a great portion of India's grave health problem. And it is to be earnestly hoped that at this opportune moment the administrators of the Government of free India will inform themselves fully and without prejudice in regard to the subject-matter of this memorandum. Those who

have undertaken the responsibility of serving the people should not fall prey to the advertising propaganda of those who profit by the sale of vaccines and serums, thus sacrificing the health, and a fair portion of the wealth, of a great country, to these modern Molochs.
Reform could well begin with the repeal of

the Bombay Vaccination Act, 1877, which imposes compulsory vaccination on the children of Bombay in spite of unquestionable statistics to prove that vaccination is specially dangerous to children! To quote an authority, "There are official records of over 6,900, cases (of smallpox) and 1,100 deaths in fully vaccinated children under ten."
"
Finally, some of the most recently received English and American publications cite the following grim facts and opinions: The News Letter (June-August, 1947) of the Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, Inc., exposes and opposes the U.S. A. Public Health Service's. "assumption that persons visiting Europe have been exposed to smallpox and their requirement accordingly that such persons "be vaccinated even though there is not a case of smallpox present in any of the countries or ports visited." This is called a trick to compel vaccination and adherence to a particular medical practice; not an effort to protect individuals or society but an "indirect method of compelling by Federal regulation a large number of persons to be vaccinated."
In England the Ministry of Health gives "Guidance" to local health authorities that they may bring heavy pressure to bear on parents to have their children vaccinated. Some areas will employ loud-speakers to frighten the public" and try to force vaccination on the people after

the present compulsory law ceases to have effect (July, 1947).
Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, Inc., Bulletin No. 417 is headed" A Rising Tide of Opposition Against Repeated Attempts to Scare the Public to Submit to Vaccination.". The

opposition is to the compulsory measures instituted as a result of the "fear campaigns" urging mass vaccination, "only made possible by withholding vital information from the public at the time such fear campaigns are being staged."

In common justice, the public is entitled to full information on the current situation and about the possible harmful effects of inoculation and vaccination; also about the added danger when vaccination fails to prevent smallpox.

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The New York Herald Tribune (June 12, 1947) reports that the latest New York "vaccination drive left 33 cases of encephalitis...(inflammation of the brain) the most serious complication of vaccination.... six died." In an article by Dr. E. M. Josephson in The Aryan Path (December, 1947) other aspects and results of this latest "fear campaign are dealt with. Dr. Josephson also explains, with supporting statistics, the close relationship between adequate nourishment and immunity to disease as well as the ill results of vaccination. He warns that vaccination of the under-nourished is found to be much more risky than vaccination of the well nourished. This information should be widely circulated for the public welfare, and given immediate and serious consideration in under-nourished India at the present time, along with the problem of sanitation.

The principles of Theosophy stand against dirt, against vaccination and inoculation and against compulsion.

The above may be reprinted fully or in part, but it is requested that the source beacknowledged and a cutting sent.

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HINDI AS NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF INDIA

A summary of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatter' peech

Allahabad, March 2.-0At a recent gathering of members and workers of the Hird Sahitya Sammelan, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the University of Calcutta, who was on a visit to Allahabad in connection with University work, gave a talk on the history of the Hindi language, dealing particularly with the evolution of Urdu as a younger and a Muslim form of the language and with the present problems which are facing Hindi with the promulgation of Mahatma Gandhi's view on the biliteralism of Hindustani or Hindi in two scripts, its native Devanagari and the foreign Perso-Arabic.

Prof. Chatterji said that the present position of Hindi (using Hindi as a wide term covering the important forms of the Western Hindi speech, and including Braj-bhasha, Nagri-Hindi or High-Hindi and Musalmani-Hindi or Urdu) was not the result of any recent propaganda but was the natural final outcome of a cultural situation which had been present all through in India ever since the Aryan language was established in North India and had become the vehicle of Indian civilization, as a composite creation in which both Aryan and non-Aryan speaking peoples (pure and mixed Aryan, and 'Dravidians' and 'Austries') took part. The ancient Madhyadesa or the 'Midland', the tract of country roughly corresponding to the eastern Punjab and the eastern U. P. of the present day, was the heart of Aryandom, where a synthesis of

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Aryan and non-Aryan cultures under the auspices of Brahmanical

Hinduism took place before the days of Budhha; and it was the speech of this tract (as of a sort of central area) which has always dominated Indian life and culture and has always been accorded precedence by the greater part of India in Indian affairs throughout the centuries, successively as classical Sanskrit, as Sauraseni Prakrit, as
as Pali (Pali, Dr. Chatterji explained, was really
based on the early Sauraseni speech of the Midland and was not the speech of Magadha-this is the most recent and most authoritative view on the subject) as Sauraseni Aprabhransa, as Brajabhasha and finally as Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani,
Khari Boli, Urdu). He then dwelt at th on the origin of
Urdu as as a distinct literary form of Hindi-how the beginnings of Urdu as we know it were to be traced to the literary efforts in the various western Hindi and Punjabi dialects which were established in the Deccan among Marathi, Telugu and Kannada speaking peoples by Muslim and Hindu soldiers and adventurers, aettlers and sojourners, in that part of India, from the 14th century onwards. In this connection he referred in eulogistic terms to the researches of Pandit Chandrabali Pande of the Nagri Parcharni Sabha of Benares, as published in a number of books in Hindi, on the origin and early development of
Urdu and on the exact relationship between Hindi of the present day and Urdu. Dr. Chatterji did not agree with the view which appears to have been put forward with greater enthusiasm than accuracy recently from some quarters, that Sanskritized Hindi was a later phenomenon than Persianized and Arabicized Urdu. The early Muslim writers of 'Hindi' in North India and of 'Dakni' in the Deccan used a language which was singularly unlike present-day Urdu in its vocabulary and its general atmosphere-its was a genuine Indian speech, racy of the soil, and not an artificial imitation of Persian. A greater acquaintance with the early Dakni writers is necessary to enable us to see things as they were. As a 'colonial speech', Dakni became established in the courts of the Muslim ruling houses in the

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Deccan which took their rise on the ruins of the Bahmani empire, particularly at Rijapur and Golconda, and it was there in the hands of some Muslim scholars and princes (the most illustrious of whom in the literary field was Sultan Qutb Quli Shah of Golconda, a contemporary of Akbar the Great) that slowly Dakni took up an orbentation towards Persian, particularly during the 17th century. The influence of Dakni reacted upon the dialect of Delhi, the language current in the exalted court and camp of Mogul Emperors, and North Indian Urdu was born during the first half of the 18th century when the poet Wali, known as Baba-i-Rekhta or the father of Rekhta (i.e. of Hindi with Perso-Arabic words scattred in it) came to Delhi and settled there, to become the founder of the first school of Urdu poetry in North India (after 1720). A movement started when North Indian Muslim writers discovered what may be called the 'Islamic possi-bilities' of their language (emulating the example of Dakni) for saturating the Indian speech with words and ideas from Persian poetry. A number of Muslim aristocrats of foreign birth or origin unfamiliar with the literary and lingustic traditions of the country took a leading part in this Persianizing movement.
There were
protests from even some Muslim writers of Hindi at this move-ment seeking to restrict the genuine Hindi tradition: witness, e. g. a poet like Nur Mohammad the author of the Anurag-Bansari (c. 1710). The Hindus, when not connected with the court or the offices of the Mogul State, remained uninterested. In this way, Persianized Urdu was set up as a Kunstsprache, as the Germans say, as a literary and a poetic speech, in an exclusive courtly atmosphere, during the second half of the 18th century. In Dr. Chatterji's opinion, it was wrong to say that Persianized Urdu was the joint creation of the Hindu and Muslim jeople, i.e. of the masses removed from the court, or that it developed in the bazars when the Turki and Irani foreigners who invaded India were first settled in Delhi and elsewhere in the 12th century. In the 18th century, a new literary "coterie speech like Urdu into which the fragrance from the rose-garden of

Persian Sufi poetry could be wafted through a Persian vocabulary, became a venue of escape from the actualities of life: it was a necessary spiritual and aesthetic compensation for a good many Muslims of fine sensibility and culture when political power was passing away from the hands of a small Muslim minority into those of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the British in the 18th-19th centuries. Such a speech from its very nature was not a spontaneous creation of the people-though doubtless through Islam and through the law courts and administrative departments a good number of Persian and Arabic words found their way into the life of the people ;-and these words all have an honoured place in Hindi (high-Hindi), as these have become thoroughly naturalized and are understood by all.

Dr. Chatterji then passed on to the present position of the Hindi language vis-a-vis Urdu and the Hindustani" movement. Urdu, Dr. Chatterji said, was created in India, and Urdu literature, particularly Urdu poetry, was a fine flower in the garden of Indian poetry, and it should flourish in its own beauty and with its own perfume. But it should not be attempted to be imposed upon those to whom it does not come naturally. The Persianized vocabulary of Urdu is not understood by four-fifths of India, outside of the Punjab and the western parts of U. P.: it is a real hardship for the vast majority of people living in the Eastern U. P., in Bihar, in Bengal, in Orissa, in Assam, in C. P., in Central India, in Rajputana, in Gujarat, and in the Maratha country, not to speak of the Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam tracts. With regard to the fecent dictum of Mahatma Gandhi that it is necessary for a good Indian to learn Hindustani or Hindi in both the scripts of Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, Dr. Chatterji expressed his considered and firm dissent. He pleaded for a realistic approach to the problems of script and language. It was easy to talk glibly about the duty of good Indians to learn as many languages and alphabets as possible, but it was an exceedingly

difficult thing in actual life to induce people to learn a strange script, particularly when it has no economic or cultural use for him, and when it is in its nature a very cumbrous and complicated system of writing at that. The script and language problems were not the same all over India; the situation in the Punjab and the Western U. P. was quite different from that in Bengal and in Tamil Nad, for instance. In Bengal, we manage with a little smattering of what may be called Bazar Hindi and generally the Bengali intelligentsia does not feel interested in c Hindi or Hindustani as an interprovincial speech Not that we in Bengal have not been impressed or influenced by the great things of Hindi literature: Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas are honoured in Bengal as being among the greatest poets and saints of India, and there are enthusiastic admirers of them in Bengal who love to read them in the original. Rut there is no appeal from Hindi of the present day as a culture-language; and when the curse of Babel is mitigated by a little Bazar Hindi, when English does not work, in our inter-provincial contacts, the average Bengali intellectual does not care to think any further. But in Bengal, we find Hindi in Devanagari characters easy to acquire; the script is so very much like the Bengali, and a good many of us learn it while reading Sanskrit at school. Further, the Sanskrit vocabulary of high-Hindi is understood by us. So if the Bengal people can be won over to Hindi or Hindustani, it should be easy to do that through Hindi written in Devanagari. A larger and larger number could in this way be made to feel interested in Hindi; and actually, this has been the case. But the new movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi, will, in the speaker's opinion, jeopardize the prospects of Hindi Hindustani as the national language in Bengal. Already those who were persuaded to read Hindi in the Devanagari script are turning back in dismay when they are told that they must learn also the Perso-Arabic script those who are connected with the

teaching and spread of the rastrabhasha are meeting with this difficulty.
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Dr. Chatterji was definitely of opinion that the impostion of the two scripts simultaneously would bring no good, and it would harm rather than benefit the position of Hindi or Hindustani as the national language of India by scaring away large masses from it who would otherwise have gladly approached the speech from the angle of high Hindi in the Devanagari script. 0
Apart from the practical difficulties, Dr. Chatterji also thought that there was no linguistic, cultural or nationalistic justification (although a lot has been reiterated and sometimes reiterated vehemently on nationalistic and patriotic grounds) to impose the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu upon the Indian body-politic, and all in the name of Indian unity. Di Shatterji made it clear that he was not hostile to the Perso-Arabic script as such. He had acquired it when he was 17 or 18, as an intermediate student at college, and that 'was some 38 years ago. He was emphatically of opinion that it should continue to be the proper script for Urdu so long as Muslim sentiment desired it. But he was simply voicing an opinion which, he thought, was quite widespread that the learning of this script by those who were not born to its manner, so to say, would be an unnecessary imposition; leading to a harassing waste of time, energy and money and possibly also temper.
Devanagari as National Script
Dr. Chatterji's own personal preference was for the Roman script, not only as a way out of the impasse that is being created but also on the merits of the Roman script itself. He was convinced that the Roman script would ultimately come in, and India's independence would help to usher it in. The Roman script was a matter of convenience like the European clock, for instance: and the Roman letters, arranged in the scientific way of the Indian

Devanagari alphabet, would give us an almost perfect script, as things stand. But just at the present moment sentiment is strong against the Roman script, because of its English association. Public opinion ought to be educated in this matter,

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For the present, failing the Roman as the ideal, Dr. Chatterji could think of no other script except the Devanagari as the national script for India. But he would not press the matter now, as he knew that that would be trespassing on the domain of religious and cultural sensitiveness.

Simplified Basic Hindi or Hindustani

But he was of emphatic opinion that if Hindi and Urdu were to merge into a single style or speech, there must be a single script as a sine qua non. His ideal of a national language for India was a Simplified or Basic Hindi or Hindustani, written in the Roman script, keeping all its naturalised Arabic and Persian words, accepting aHew words necessary in Islamic contexts from these sources, but rankly going to Sanskrit for culture words when new words could not conveniently be built up with native Hindi elements or borrowed from English and other European languages. We hear a great deal about BASIC ENGLISH in these days. It is English simplified according to a definite plan, but its vocabulary retains its British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial character. The name BASIC is made up of the initials of these English words, British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial. Dr. Chatterji suggested that the future Basic Hindi or Hindustani of India should have. its ideal indicated by the following Hindi or Hindustani words the initials of which when combined will make the word BASIC for us in its Hindi (Hindustani) or Indian context: viz.--

Bhartiya or Bharti (Indian, or Pan-Indian).
Adhunik or Aj-kal-ki (Present-day)
Sanskrit-mayi or Sankrit-wali (Sankritic).
Islamik or Islami (Islamic) and

Chalu (Current) Hindi or Hindustani.
'Compromise Speech'
There were questions after Dr. Chatterji's discourse.
Dr. Chatterji said in reply to a question that as a condition
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THE LEADER PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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[Reprinted from 'The Leader' date the 4th March, 1946]
HINDI AS NATIONAL
LANGUAGE OF INDIA
A summary of Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's speech
Allahabad, March 2.-At a recent gathering of members and workers of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji of the Univ of Calcutta, who was on a visit to

Allahabad in connection with University work, gave a talk on the history of the Hindi language, dealing particularly with the evolution of Urdu as a younger and a Muslim form of the language and with the present problems which are facing Hindi with the promulgation of Mahatma Gandhi's view on the biliteralism of Hindustani or Hindi in two scripts, its native Devanagari and the foreign Perso Arabic.
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Prof. Chatterji said that the present position of Hindi (using Hindi as a wide term covering the important forms of the Western Hindi speech, and including Braj-bhasha, Nagri-Hindi or High-Hindi and Musalmani-Hindi or Urdu) was not the result of any recent propaganda but was the natural final outcome of a cultural situation, which had been present all through in India ever since the Avan language was established in North India and ad become the vehicle of Indian civilization, as a composite creation in which both Aryan and non-Aryan speaking peoples (pure and mixed Aryan, and 'Dravidians' and 'Austrics') took part. The ancient Madhyadesa or the 'Midland', the tract of country roughly corresponding to the eastern Punjab and the eastern UP. of the present day, was the heart of Aryandom, where a synthesis of

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Aryan and non-Aryan cultures under the auspices of Brahmanical Hinduism took place before the days of Budhha; and it was the speech of this tract (as of a sort of central area) which has always dominated Indian life and culture and has always been accorded precedence by the greater part of India in Indian affairs throughout the centuries, successively as classical Sanskrit, as Sauraseni Prakrit, as Pali (Pi, Dr. Chatterji explained, was really based on the early Sauraseni speech of the Midland and was not the speech of Magadha-this is the most recent and most authoritative view on the subject) as Sauraseni Aprabhransa, as Braja-bhasha and finally as Hindi (Hindusthani or Hindustani, Khari Boli, Urdu). He then dwelt at length on the origin of

Urdu as as a distinct literary form of Hiri-how the beginnings of Urdu as we know it were to be to the literary efforts in the various western Hindi and Punjabi dialects which were established in the Deccan among Marathi, Telugu and Kannada, speaking peoples by Muslim and Hindu soldiers and adventurers, aettlers and sojourners, in that part of India, from the 14th century onwards. In this connection he referred in eulogistic terms to the researches of Pandit Chandrabali Pande of the Nagri Parcharni Sabha of Benares, as published in a number of books in Hindi, on the origin and early development of Urdu and on the exact relationship between Hindi of the present day and Urdu. Dr. Chatterji did not agree with the view which appears to have been put forward with greater enthusiasm than accuracy recently from some quarters, that Sanskritized Hindi was a later phenomenon than Persianized and Arabicized Urd The early Muslim writers of 'Hindi' in North India and of Dakni' in te Deccan used a language which was singularly unlike present-day Urdu in its vocabulary and its general atmosphere-its was a genuine Indian speech, racy of the soil, and not an artificial imitation of Persian. A greater acquaint-ance with the early Dakni writers is necessary to enable us to see things as they were. As a 'colonial speech', Dakni became established in the courts of the Muslim ruling houses in the

Deccan which took their rise on the ruins of the Bahmani empire, particularly at Rijapur and Golconda, and it was there in the hands of some Muslim scholars and princes (the most illustrious of whom in the literary field was Sultan Qutb Quli Shah of Golconda, a contemporary of Akbar the Great) that slowly Dakni took up an orientation towards Persian, particularly during the 17th century. The influence of Dakni acted upon the dialect of Delhi, the language current in the exalted court and camp of Mogul Emperors, and North Indian Urdu was born during the first half of the 18th century when the poet Wali, known as Baba-i-Rekhta or the father of Rekhta (i.e. of Hindi with Perso-

Arabic words scattred in it) came to Delhi and settled there, to become the founder of the first school of Urdu poetry in North India (after 1720). Avement started when North Indian Muslim writers discovered what may be called the 'Islamic possibilities' of their language (emulating the example of Dakni) for saturating the Indian speech with words and ideas from Persian poetry. A number of Muslim aristocrats of foreign birth or origin unfamiliar with the literary and lingustic traditions of the country took a leading part in this Persianizing movement. There were protests from even some Muslim writers of Hindi at this movement seeking to restrict the genuine Hindi tradition: witness, e. g. a poet like Nur Mohammad the author of the Anurag-Bansari (c. 1710). The Hindus, when not connected with the court or the offices of the Mogul State, remained uninterested. In this way, Persianized Urdu was set up as a Kunstsprache, as the Germans say, as a literary and a poetic speech, in an exclusive courtly atmosphere, during the second half of the 8th century. In Dr. Chatterji's opinion, it was wron to say at Persianized Urdu was the joint creation of the Hindu and Muslim jeople, i.e. of the masses removed from the court, or that it developed in the bazars when the Turki and Irani foreigners who invaded India were first settled in Delhi and elsewhere in the 12th century. In the 18th century, a new literary "coterie speech like Urdu into which the fragrance from the rose-garden of

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Persian Sufi poetry could be wafted through a Persian vocabulary, became a venue of escape from the actualities of life: it was a necessary spiritual and aesthetic compensation for a good many Muslims of fine sensibility and culture when political power was passing away from the hands of a small Muslim minority into those of the Marathas, the Sikhs and the British in the 18th-19th centuries. Such a speech from its very nature was not a spontaneous creation of the people-though doubtless through Islam and through the law courts and administrative departments a good number of Persian and Arabic words found their way into

the life of the people ;-and these, words all have an honoured place in Hindi (high-Hindi), as these have become thoroughly naturalized and are understood by all.

Dr. Chatterji then passed on to the present position of the Hindi language vis-a-vis Urdu and the Hindustani movement. Urdu, Dr. Chatterji said, was created in India, and Urdu literature, particularly Urdu poetry, was a fine flower in the garden of Indian poetry, and it should flourish in its own beauty and with its own perfume. But it should not be attempted to be imposed upon those to whom it does not come naturally. The Persianized vocabulary of Urdu is not understood by four-fifths of India, outside of the Punjab and the western parts of U. P.: it is a real hardship for the vast majority of people living in the Eastern U. P., in Bihar, in Bengal, in Orissa, in Assam, in C. P., in Central India, in Rajputana, in Gujarat, and in the Maratha country, not to speak of the Telugu, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam tra.cs. With regard to the recent dictum of Mahatma Gandhi that fit is necessary for a good Indian to learn Hindustani or indi in both the scripts of Devanagari and Perso-Arabic, Dr. Chatterji expressed his considered and firm dissent. He pleaded for a realistic approach to the problems of script and language. It was easy to talk glibly about the duty of good Indians to learn languages and alphabets as possible, but it was an exceedingly as many

difficult thing in actual life to induce people to learn a strange script, particularly when it has no economic or cultural use for him, and when it is in its nature a very cumbrous and complicated system of writing at that. The script and language problems were not the same all over India; the situation in the Punjab and the Western U. P. was quite different from that in Bengal and in Tamil Nad, for instance. Bengal, we manage with a little smattering of what may be called Bazar Hindi and generally the Bengali intelligentsia does not feel interested in

Hindi or Hindustani as an interprovincial speech. Not that
we in Bengal have not been impressed or influenced by the great
things of Hindi literature: Kabir, Surdas and Tulsidas are
honoured in Bengal as being among the greatest poets and saints
of India, and there a athusiastic admirers of them in Bengal
who love to read them in the original. Rut there is no appeal
from Hindi of the present day as a culture-language; and when
the curse of Babel is mitigated by a little Bazar Hindi, when
English does not work, in our inter-provincial contacts, the
average Bengali intellectual does not care to think any further.
But in Bengal, we find Hindi in Devanagari characters easy to
acquire; the script is so very much like the Bengali, and a good
many of us learn it while reading Sanskrit at school. Further,
the Sanskrit vocabulary of high-Hindi is understood by us.
if the Bengal people can be won over to Hindi or Hindustani,
it should be easy to do that through Hindi written in Devanagari.
A larger and larger number could in this way be made to feel
But
interested in Hindi; and actually, this has been the case.
the new movement, started by Mahatma Gandhi, will, in the
speaker's opinion, jeopardize the prospects of Hindi
Hindustani as the national language in Bengal. Already those
who were persuaded to read Hindi in the Devanagari script are
turning back in dismay when they are told that they must learn
also the Perso-Arabic script those who are connected with the
teaching and spread of the rastrabhasha are meeting with this
difficulty.
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Dr. Chatterji was definitely of opinion that the impostion of
the two scripts simultaneously would bring no good, and it would
harm rather than benefit the position of Hindi or Hindustani as
the national language of India by scaring away large masses from
it who would otherwise have gladly approached the speech from the

angle of high Hindi in the Devanagari script.

Apart from the practical difficulties, Dr. Chatterji also thought that there was no linguistic, cultural or nationalistic justification (although a lot has been reiterated and sometimes reiterated vehemently on nationalistic and patriotic grounds) to impose the Perso-Arabic script of Urdu upon the Indian body-politic, and all in the name of Indian unity. Dr. Chatterji made it clear that he was not hostile to the Perso-Arabic script as such. He had acquired it when he was 17 or 18, an intermediate student at college, and that was some 38 years ago. He was emphatically of opinion that it should continue to be the proper script for Urdu so long as Muslim sentiment desired it. But he was simply voicing an opinion which, he thought, was quite widespread that the learning of this script by those who were not born to its manner, so to say, would be an unnecessary imposition; leading to a harassing waste of time, energy and money and possibly also temper.

Devanagari as National Script

Dr. Chatterji's own personal preference was for the Roman script, not only as a way out of the impasse that is being created but also on the merits of the Roman script itself. He was convinced that the Roman script would ultimately come in, and India's independence would help to usher it in. The Roman script was a matter of convenience pike the European clock, fcr instance: and the Roman letters, arranged in the scientific way of the Indian Devanagari alphabet, would give us an almost perfect script, as things stand. But just at the present moment sentiment is strong against the Roman script, because of its English association. Public opinion ought to be educated in this matter.

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For the present, failing the Roman as the ideal, Dr. Chatterji O could think of no other script except the Devanagari as the national script for India. But he would not press the matter now, as he knew that that would be trespassing on the domain of religious and cultural sensitiveness.

Simplified Basic Hindi or Kindustani

But he was of emphatic opinion that if Hindi and Urdu were to merge into a single style or speech, there must be a single script as a sine qua non. His ideal of a national language for India was a Simplified or Basic Hindi or Hindustani, written in the Roman script, keeping all its naturalised Arabic and Persian words, accepting all new words necessary in Islamic contexts from these sources, but fly going to Sanskrit for culture words when new words could not conveniently be built up with native Hindi elements or borrowed from English and other European languages. We hear a great deal about BASIC ENG-LISH in these days. It is English simplified according to a definite plan, but its vocabulary retains its British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial character. The name BASIC is made up of the initials of these English words, British, American, Scientific, Industrial and Commercial. Dr. Chatterji suggested that the future Basic Hindi or Hindustani of India should have its ideal indicated by the following Hindi or Hindustani words the initials of which when combined will make the word BASIC for us in its Hindi (Hindustani) or Indian context: viz.--

Bhartiya or Bharti (Indian, or Pan-Indian).
Adhunik or Aj-kal-ki (Present-day)
Sanskrit-mayi or Sankrit-wali (San, ritic).
Islamik or Islami (Islamic) and
Chalu (Current) Hindi or Hindustani.

'Compromise Speech'

There were questions after Dr. Chatterji's discourse. Dr. Chatterji said in reply to a question that as a condition

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Oprecedent to the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and similar other bodies cooperating with any committee, official or otherwise, set up to go into the question of evolving a common style or speech out of Hindi and Urdu, certain matters of prin-ciple must first be accepted on all sides, matters of principle that are based on scientific data; otherwise all attempts at arriv-

ing at what may be called a 'compromise speech' will fail. He further ridiculed the idea of seeking to build up a national- language for a vast and civilized country like India seeking to forge ahead in the world under modern conditions with the vocabulary of school children, and of peasants and industrial workers with a rather primitive outlook upon life, eschewing the store-house of a great language like Sanskrit, with its thirty centuries of close inter-relation with life and culture of India.
THE LEADER PRESS, ALLAHABAD,

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UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW.
MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COURT.
No. 1.
Saturday, September 29, 1945, at 2-30 P.M.
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PRESENT:
Bahadur, Vice-
Lt. Col. Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai
Chancellor (in the Chair), Dr. B. Sahni, Prof. N. K. Sidhanta, Rai Bahadur Pt. Sukhdeo Behari Misra, Mr. R. S. Rastogi, Dr. W. Burridge, Rai Bahadur Dr. Raghunandan Lal, Dr. C. P. Misra, Mr. Ajit Prasada, Dr. V. S. Mangalik, Dr. Rama Dhar Misra, Dr. B. B. Bhatia, Dr. T. Nath, Dr. Satyapal Gupta, Dr. R. C. Shukla, Dr. R. N. Misra, Dr. S. S. Misra, Dr. Athar Rasheed, Mr. K. A. S. Iyer, Syed Masud Hasan Rizavi, Dr. T. Prasad, Dr. H. G. D. Mathur, Dr. (Miss) Mary Thomas, Dr. S. N. Mathur, Dr. P. D. Mukerji, Rai Bahadur Capt. K. S. Nigam, Dr. S. Bose, Pt. Brijnath Sharga, Pt. Gaya Prasad Shukla, Mr. B. K. Dhaon, Mr. B. K. Mathur, Mr. Gyanendra Nath Srivastava, Mr. Tribhuwan Nath Varma, Mr. B. K. Gurtoo, Mrs. H. S. Gupta, Mrs. Raj Kumari T. Prasad, Mr. M. L. Agarwala, Mr. Pushkar Nath Bhatt, Dr. Vidya Dat Ram, Dr. H. A. Hanson, Miss K. D. Khanna, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. G. Walford, Mr. Rajendra Nath, Mr. Gyanendra Narain, Mr. K. M. Shameem, Mr. N. K. Halwasiya, Mr. S. K. Narain, Pt. A. D. Thakur, Dr. K. C. Pandey, Mr. V. K. N.

Menon, Dr. A. V. Rao, Mr. H. P. Chowdhury, Dr. Ram Ballabh, Dr. P. D. Shukla, Mr. V. N. Shukla, Dr. Abdul Aleem, Prof. Kali Prasad, Mr. Gaya Prasad Dikshit, Mr. C. D. Chatterji, Dr. Rama Shanker Tripathi, Mr. B. N. Chatterji, Dr. V. S. Ram, Dr. A. M. Khan, Mr. R. R. Sreshta, Dr. A. N. Singh, Prof. B. N. Srivastava, Mr. B. N. Das Gupta, Dr. S. K. Banerji, Mr. Saligram Chaturvedi, Kr. Surath Bahadur Shah, Rai Bahadur Kr. Guru Narain, Mr. N. C. Chaturvedi, Rai Bahadur Pt. Prithvi Nath Bhargava, Mr. S. B. L. Mathur, Mr. C. B. Gupta, Khan Bahadur Dr. Mohd. Abdul Hameed, Dr. S. Husain Zaheer, Mr. Raj Kumar Srivastava and Dr. Qutubuddin Ahmad.

Mr. C. B. Gupta, seconded by Mr. B. K. Dhaon, moved the following resolution :-

"This meeting of the Court of the Lucknow University condemns the action of the U. P. Government in trying to get the Lucknow University Act amended

so far as it relates to the Medical Faculty by a Governor's Act. In the opinion of this Court, the amending bill as published in the Gazette being of a controversial nature and prejudicial to the best interests of the University and the Province should not be proceeded with and more particularly at a time when there is likelihood of popular Governments responsible to the Legislature coming back in office soon."

The resolution was passed unanimously.

BISHESHWAR DAYAL SETH,
VICE-CHANCELLOR,
Chairman.

SHEO SHANKER,
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR,

Secretary.

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UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW.
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.
No. 4.
Friday, September 14, 1945, at 6 P. M.
PRESENT:
Lt. Col. Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor (in the Chair), Rai Bahadur Dr. B. N. Vyàs, Major-General A. V. Hammond, Rai Bahadur Capt. K. S. Nigam, Mr. B. N. Das Gupta, Prof. N. K. Sidhanta, Prof. B. N. Srivastava, Prof. Kali Prasad, Dr. K. N. Bahl, Dr. A. C. Chatterji, Dr. W. Burridge, Dr. A. N. Singh, Raja Sri Ram Seth, Rai Bahadur Kr. Guru Narain, Dr. B. Sahni, Mr. Mohd. Wasim and Mr. N. C. Chaturvedi.

1. The minutes of the meeting of the Executive Council dated August 28, 1945, were confirmed.

2. The statement of formal matters was approved (vide Appendix).

3. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of two temporary Lecturers in Zoology was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. B. B. Sinha, D.Sc., and Mr. P. D. Gupta, M.Sc., as temporary Lecturers in Zoology each on Rs. 200/- p.m. in the leave vacancy of Dr. M. B. Lal and Dr. S. M. Das respectively.

4. The Council considered the question of granting benefits of Provident Fund to Mr. A. K. Gupta, Lecturer in English, for the temporary period of his service followed by confirmation. It was resolved that benefits of Provident Fund be allowed to him from August 16, 1943.

5. (a) The Council considered applications from the following for the grant of benefits of Provident Fund and leave for the period of their temporary service followed by confirmation:-

(1) Mr. Nurul Hasan, Lecturer in History.
(2) Mr. R. C. Misra, Lecturer in Geology.
(3) Mr. S. D. Sharma, Lecturer in Law.
(4) Mr. K. K. Trivedi, Lecturer in Law.
It was resolved that the applications be granted.

(b) It was further resolved that the note under regulation 2 at page 812 of the Calendar for 1944-46 and the subsequent para be renumbered as regulations 3 and 4 respectively, the following be added as regulation 5 and the remaining regulations be renumbered accordingly-
"Persons holding temporary appointments, if confirmed on a permanent basis, will be entitled to benefits of Provident Fund for the period of their continuous temporary service followed by confirmation."
6. The Council considered an application of Mr. Bhagirath Mishra, Lecturer in Hindi, requesting that the period of his probation may be allowed to terminate on 1st February, 1945, for purposes of permanent service and promotion.
The Council decided February 1, 1945, as the date of termination of his period of probation for purposes of permanent service and promotion.
7. The Council considered a request from Mr. S. C. Varma, Assistant Warden, Meston Hostel, for the construction of two additional rooms in his bungalow..
It was resolved that only one additional room be added to his bungalow on condition that he will pay the additional rent to be determined by the Hony. Treasurer on the basis of the cost of construction of the room (Hony. Treasurer dissenting).
8. On the recommendation of the Academic Council, the Executive Council appointed examiners for the examinations of 1946 in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Medicine, Law and Commerce, for the Diploma examinations in Teaching, Arabic, Persian

and Sanskrit and for Proficiency examinations in French and German.

9. On the recommendation of the Academic Council, the Executive Council under Statute 22 decided to confer degrees, diplomas and other academic distinctions at the next Convocation on the persons included in the list of successful candidates based on the results of the examinations published in 1945.

10. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of Lecturer Grade B (Senior Demonstrator) in Surgery, was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. Mahendra Kumar, M.B.,B.S., as Lecturer Grade B (Senior Demonstrator) in Surgery, on Rs. 200 p.m. upto July 31, 1946, or till the return of Dr. Rameash Nigam, whichever is earlier.

11. On the recommendation of the Dean, Faculty of Science, the Council resolved under Statute 17 (1) (vi) to nominate Mr. 1). N. Wadia, F.G.S., Mineral Advisor to Government of India, Department of Planning, New Delhi, to be a member of the Selec-

tion Committee for appointments to Professorships and Readerships in the Faculty of Science for the purpose of selecting a candidate for Readership in Geology.

12. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Lecturer in Commerce was considered.

The Council appointed Mr. P. D. Saksena, M.A., B.Com., as Lecturer in Commerce on Rs. 200 p.m. upto April 30, 1946.

13. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Lecturer in Political Science vice Dr. P. S. Muhar was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. P. N. Masaldan, M.A., Ph.D., as Lecturer in Political Science on his present pay of Rs. 210 p.m. in the grade of Rs. 200-10-310-15-400. The Council further resolved that the period of probation in his case be dispensed with as he has already worked as Lecturer for over two years.

14. The recommendation of the Selection Committee con-

cerned for the appointment of a temporary whole-time Lecturer in Law was considered.

The Council appointed Mr. S. N. Shukla, B.A., LL.M., as temporary whole-time Lecturer in Law on Rs. 200 p.m. in the leave vacancy of Mr. S. S. Nigam, Reader in Law, upto August 21, 1947, or till his return to duty whichever is earlier. The Council further decided that if Dr. R. U. Singh, Professor of Law (on Leave), returns to duty during the leave of Mr. S. S. Nigam, then the services of Mr. S. N. Shukla will terminate.

15. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Reader in Anatomy was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. P. D. Mukerji, L.M.S., as Reader in Anatomy in the grade of Rs. 600-30-900. The Council further decided that the period of probation in his case be dispensed with due to his long service in the University.

16. The recommendation of the Selection Committee concerned for the appointment of a Reader in Physiology was considered.

The Council appointed Dr. R. C. Shukla, M.D., as Reader in Physiology in the grade of Rs. 600-30-900.

17. The Council considered a request from Dr. A. C. Chatterji, Warden, Hewett Hostel, for sanitary fittings in his house.

It was resolved that the request be accepted on condition that Dr. A. C. Chatterji pays additional rent to be calculated and determined by the Hony. Treasurer on the basis of actual expenditure incurred for providing the sanitary fittings.

18. The Council considered the demands of furniture from the Hony. Librarian and the Warden, Hewett Hostel, for Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 2,000 respectively.

It was resolved to accord administrative sanction to these demands and to refer them to the Finance Committee for provision of funds.

19. The Council considered an application of Shanker, Mechanic, Department of Botany and Geology, for the revision of his

grade.
It was resolved that he be placed in the grade of Rs. 75-5-100.
20. The Council considered an application from Mr. Har Charan Sharma, Section Cutter, Geology Department, for revision of his grade.
It was resolved that he be placed in the grade of Rs. 75-5-100.
21. The Council elected Dr. A. N. Singh, Professor of Mathematics, as a member of the Finance Committee upto December 13, 1946.
22. The Council considered an application of Dr. H. S. Andleigh for the credit of examination fees paid by him for the M.D. examination in 1944 to the same examination in 1946.
It was resolved that the application be granted as a special case.
23. The Council considered an application of Dr. H. G. D. Mathur, Part-time Professor of State Medicine, for increasing his allowance from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 p. m.
It was resolved to refer the request to the Academic Council.
24. The Council considered an application of Mr. Ramesh Mohan, Assistant Warden, Habibullah Hostel, for the grant of an allowance of Rs. 50 from May 2, 1945, as he has not been provided with a bungalow.
It was resolved that so long as the Assistant Warden's bungalow be not available to Mr. Ramesh Mohan, he be paid with effect from May 2, 1945, an allowance of Rs. 25 p. m. plus an additional sum of Rs. 10 p. m. for the present on account of rise in prices due to war.
25. The Council considered an application of Mr. H. Gargory, Director of Physical Instruction, for placing him in a suitable scale of pay.
It was resolved that he be placed in the grade of Rs. 200-10-300 after provision of funds by the Finance Committee.
26. The Council considered the recommendation of the Medical Officer, C. C. Dispensary, to pay Rs. 200 each to the doctors who have carried out the medical examination of the students of the University.
It was resolved to postpone consideration of the recommendation pending receipt of (i). a further detailed report from the Medical Officer, C. C. Dispensary, as regards the number of Doctors who assisted the Medical Officer in the medical examination of

students, total number of days for which they worked and the number of students examined and (ii) the opinion of the Proctor about their remuneration in the light of this information.

27. The Council (i) noted that the Vice-Chancellor had granted leave on full average salary on medical certificate for two months to Dr. D. Pant, Reader in Commerce, from July 16, 1945, and (ii) sanctioned the officiating appointment of Mr. K. C. Sarkar as Reader in Commerce during the leave of Dr. D. Pant.

28. The Council considered a demand from the Dean, Faculty of Law, for the appointment of a clerk in the grade of Rs. 40-4-60 p. m.

It was resolved to sanction the demand.

29. The Council considered a request from the Superintendent of Works, Canning College Division, for the purchase of ceiling fans at an estimated cost of Rs. 1,000 by re-appropriation from "Cost of Electric Current, Canning College Division, 1945-46."

It was resolved to sanction (i) the purchase of ceiling fans at an estimated cost not exceeding Rs. 1,000 and (ii) the proposed re-appropriation of funds.

30. The Council considered the question of the application of the decision of the Executive Council, contained in Resolution No. 10, dated April 13, 1945, with regard to the adjustment of the leave account of the inferior staff.

It was resolved that the leave account of the inferior staff be credited on April 13, 1945, with leave earned under the old rules commuted into leave on full pay, subject to a maximum of one. month.

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31. The Council considered the question of paying T. A. to members of various University bodies and committees appointed by the University authorities from their place of residence outside United Provinces.

It was resolved that (i) the following words be inserted in Regulation No. 1 printed at page 817 of the Calendar for 1944-46, between the words "papers" and "who" in line 5 after deleting the

word "and" in line 4:-
"and committees appointed by the University authorities
or the Vice-Chancellor."
and (ii) the following be added at the end of proviso to Regulation
No. 1 printed at page 817 of the Calendar:-
"But in special cases the Vice-Chancellor may allow travell-
ing allowance to a member of any of the above bodies
residing outside United Provinces from and to his
permanent place of residence."

A It was further decided that the case of Mr. S. K. Roy be
disposed off in accordance with the revised regulation.
32. The Council considered an application from Dr. S. H.
Zaheer, Reader in Chemistry, for the grant of two years leave
without pay from October 29, 1945, in continuation of the Dasehra
recess, to accept an appointment as Principal of City Science
College, offered to him by the Hyderabad State.
It was resolved that:-
(i) Dr. Zaheer be permitted to accept the post of Principal
of City Science College offered to him by the
Hyderabad State, (ii) leave without pay be granted
to him for two years from October 29, 1945, (iii)
his lien be retained on the post in the University
during the leave, (iv) he be allowed to continue to
contribute to the Provident Fund both on behalf
of himself and the University during the leave, (v)
the leave earned by him in the past be allowed to
remain to his credit, (vi) he be permitted to rejoin
the University at any time before the expiry of the
leave subject to three months' notice before rejoin-
ing and (vii) the post of Reader in Chemistry be
advertised immediately.
33. The Council considered the report of the Head of the

Department of Physics about the work of Dr. Pritam Sen, temporary Lecturer in Physics.
It was resolved that the Vice-Chancellor be authorised to deal with the matter.
34. The Council noted that in accordance with the letter No. TRC(1)/194 dated August 8, 1945, from the Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Labour, Professor E. Ahmad Shah has intimated that he would rejoin the University on November 10, 1945.
It was resolved that (i) Mr. E. Ahmad Shah be permitted to rejoin the University on November 10, 1945, (ii) Mr. Kali Prasad, Dr. Athar Rasheed and Mr. S. K. Narain be informed that their temporary appointment as Professor of Philosophy and Warden, Butler Hostel, Reader in Philosophy and Assistant Warden, Butler Hostel, respectively will cease from the date Mr. E. Ahmad Shah rejoins the University and (iii) Mr. S. K. Narain be asked to vacate the bungalow occupied by him as Assistant Warden in time.
35. The Council elected Rai Bahadur Kr. Guru Narain as a member of the Selection Committee for teaching posts other than Professorships and Readerships in the Faculty of Commerce upto March 26, 1946.

36. The Council considered an application from Mr. S. B. L. Mathur, Lecturer in Physics, requesting that his salary may be fixed at Rs. 210 p.m. from April 1, 1944.
It was resolved that the application be granted.
37. The Council considered an application from certain Lecturers for the grant of a uniform increment of Rs. 50 p. m.
It was resolved that a statement be prepared in respect of all Lecturers showing their grades, length of service and special increments.
38. The Council considered the question as to the date from which the allowance mentioned in Resolution No. 10 dated April 10, 1944, be paid to the Executive Engineer, Lucknow Provincial

Division, for working as Adviser in technical matters of the Works Department of the University.

It was resolved that the allowance be paid to him from the date the Superintendent of Works, C. C. Division, started consulting him viz. from May 19, 1944, if the Government have no objection to the payment from that date.

39. The Council considered the report of the Head of the Department of Physics about the work of charging of storage batteries.

It was resolved that the Head of the Department be authorised to appoint a suitable person for the proposed work on Rs. 50 p. m. and failing this to pay an allowance of Rs. 25 p. m. to M. Yaqub, Fitter of the Physics Department, to take up the proposed extra work. It was further resolved that the additional expenditure on this account be met from the allotment of the Physics Department under "Storage Batteries."

40. The Council considered the suggestion of the Head of the Department of Urdu and Persian with the recommendation of the Dean, Faculty of Arts, that the Readership in Urdu be not advertised for the present but the appointment of a Lecturer in Persian be sanctioned instead.

The Council decided that (i) the post of Reader in Urdu be advertised and (ii) that under Statute 17 (1) (vi) the Vice-Chancellor be authorised to nominate a person possessing expert knowledge in Urdu as a member of the Selection Committee for appointments to Professorships and Readerships in the Faculty of Arts for the purpose of selecting a candidate for Readership in Urdu.

BISHESHWAR DAYAL SETH,
VICE-CHANCELLOR,
Chairman.
SHEO SHANKER,
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR,
Secretary.

APPENDIX.

1.

Statement of formal matters.

The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Suraj Baksh as Chowkidar in the Botany Department from August 4, 1945, vice Ram Padarath Singh, left.

Reported.

2.

The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Ram Lakhan as Chowkidar, Butler Hostel, from July 18, 1945, vice Sant Baksh.

Reported.

3. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Ajodhya Prasad as peon on Rs. 12 p. m. from July 1, 1945, in the University Tagore Library, vice Mahipal Singh, left.

Reported.

4. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Mr. Sheo Shanker as clerk of the Dean, Faculty of Commerce, on Rs. 40 p. m. in the grade of Rs. 40-4-60, from July 26, 1945, vice Mr. Chandra Shekhar Misra, resigned.

Reported.

5. The Vice-Chancellor granted leave without pay for one year from September 1, 1945, to Mr. Narendra Singh Bisht, Artist, Botany Department, and granted him permission to accept a temporary post of Artist on Rs. 150 p. m. plus war allowance etc. in the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, with permission to retain his lien on his post in the University.

Reported.

6. The Dean, Faculty of Medicine, granted extension of leave on medical certificate for 15 days from July 29, 1945, to Mr. Sankta Prasad, Laboratory Assistant, Pathology Department.

Reported.

7. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Mr. Ram Das as Junior Laboratory Assistant on Rs. 30 p. m. in the grade of Rs. 30-2-50 on probation for six months in the Chemistry Department, vice Mr. Sheo Shanker.

Reported,

8. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Nanhey

as Chowkidar, Meston Hostel, vice Lachman, left.
Reported.
9. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Babu Lal as Sweeper, Habibullah Hostel, from July 1, 1945, vice Ghafoor, dismissed.
Reported.
10. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned an advance of Rs. 2,246-8 to Mr. Shitla Prasad Saksena, Lecturer in Economies (on leave) from the Provident Fund, less the previous outstanding loan of Rs. 745-15-9 for the purchase of a house.
Reported.

11. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned refund of the amount standing to the credit of the following in the Provident Fund :-
(1) Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Professor of History.
(2) Mr. Ahmad Ali, Lecturer in English.
(3) Mr. M. Daud, Library Clerk, Faculty of Law."
(4) Miss K. C. Mary, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(5) Miss S. Thomas, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(6) Miss M. S. Singh, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(7) Miss A. Buttress, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
(8) Miss M. Mathews, Nurse, K. G. Hospital.
Reported.
12. The Vice-Chancellor approved the appointment of Pearay as additional chowkidar in the University Tagore Library from August 1, 1945, on a fixed salary of Rs. 10 p. m. vice Saddan, dismissed.
Reported.
13. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of a bill amounting to Rs. 4/8/- on account of advertisement charges from the Pioneer Ltd., Lucknow, in respect of an advertisement from the University Tagore Library, under Rule 25 of the Account Code.
Reported.
14.
The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned advances from the Pro-

vident Fund to the following:-
(1) Mr. B. K. Malaviya, Pharmaceutical Chemist, Pharmacology Department, Rs. 200 for the marriage of his sister.
(2) Mr. O. P. Gupta, Lecturer in Commerce, Rs. 5,000 for house building purposes.
Reported.
15. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of a bill amounting to Rs. 27 from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal being the cost of journals supplied to the University Tagore Library, under Rule 25 of the Account Code.
Reported.
16. The Vice-Chancellor approved the following officiating arrangements during the period of suspension of Mr. Fazal Elahi, Assistant Librarian, from the date noted against each:-
(1) Mr. Tara Singh, Cataloguer, to officiate as Assistant Librarian in place of Mr. Fazal Elahi, from July 3, 1945.
(2) Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, Issue Clerk, to officiate for Mr. Tara Singh, from July 3, 1945.
(3) Mr. M. L. Khare, Library Assistant, to officiate for Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, from July 3, 1945.
(4) Mr. Iqbal Krishna Srivastava, Junior Assistant, to officiate for Mr. M. L. Khare, from July 3, 1945.

(5) Ram Chandra to officiate as Junior Assistant in place of Mr. Iqbal Krishna Srivastava from July 3, 1945.
(6) Manik Chand appointed as temporary peon vice Ram Chandra on Rs. 12 p. m. from July 24, 1945.
Reported,
17. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned the continuance of the temporary appointment of Mr. S. P. Misra as Lecturer in English in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Ahmad Ali pending consideration of the matter by the Executive Council.

Reported.
18. The Dean, Faculty of Medicine, granted leave on full pay from July 23, 1945, to July 26, 1945, to Mr. Ram Gopal Singh, Third Clerk of his office.
Reported.
19.
The Dean, Faculty of Medicine, granted leave to Durga Din, Jamadar, for two months and 10 ten days from April 1, 1945. The Vice-Chancellor approved the following officiating arrangements during the leave:-
(1) Mohammad Ishaq to work in place of Durga Din.
(2) Ram Swarup to work in place of Mohammad Ishaq without any allowance.
(3) Cheda appointed as farrash on Rs. 10 p. m. vice Ram Swarup from April 1 to May 28, 1945.
(4) Sarju Prasad appointed temporary farrash from June 5, 1945.
Reported.
20. The Superintendent of Works, C. C. Division, granted leave from January 2 to January 31, 1945, to Mr. Hari Shanker, clerk of the office of the Electrical Engineer, on medical certificate. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of an allowance at the rate of Rs. 8 p. m. to Mr. Shambhu Nath, clerk of the office of the Civil Engineer, for doing the work of Mr. Hari Shanker in addition to his own duties.
Reported.
•
21. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned payment of a bill of Messrs. Mahadeo Prasad and Sons amounting to Rs. 245 being the cost of furniture supplied to the K. G. Hospital, under Rule 25 (a) of the Account Code.
Reported.
22. The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned a re-appropriation of Rs. 188 from the anticipated savings under the head "Cost of Electric Current-Canning College" 1944-45 for alterations in the loud speakers of the Benett Hall.
Reported.
23. The Registrar granted leave on full pay to Mr. A. Miller, Record Keeper, University office, from July 12, to August 4, 1945.

The Vice-Chancellor sanctioned the following consequential arrangements:-
(1) Mr. Hanuman Prasad to work in place of Mr. Miller from July 12, 1945.

(2) Mr. Kedar Nath to work in place of Mr. Hanoman Prasad from July 19, 1945.
(3) Mahatma Prasad, Record Boy, to work in place of Mr. Kedar Nath from July 19, 1945.
(4) Moid Hasan, Daftri, to work in place of Mahatma Prasad from July 19, 1945.
(5) Jalaluddin appointed temporary Daftri from July 19,
Reported.
1945.
24. With the previous approval of the Vice-Chancellor, the Honorary Treasurer invested Rs. 91,000 on account of Provident Fund Cash balance in Fixed Deposit with the Hindustan Commercial Bank Ltd. for a period of two months.
Reported.
25. The Government sanctioned payment of a grant of Rs. 4,69,400 for the maintenance of the King George's and the Queen Mary's Hospitals and the T. B. Clinic Hospital during the current financial year.
Reported.
26. The Government sanctioned payment of a grant of Rs. 8,65,000 to the University during the current financial year.
Reported.
27. The Government of India sanctioned payment of a grant of Rs. 18,129 to the University towards the construction of the I. A. T. C. Building.
Reported.
SHEO SHANKER,
for Registrar.

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UNIVERSITY OF LUCKNOW
MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.
No. 3
Thursday, February 14, 1946, at 5-30 P. M.
PRESENT:
Dr. W. Burridge, Dean, Faculty of Medicine (in the Chair), Rai Bahadur Dr. D. D. Pandya, Rai Bahadur Dr. B. N. Vyas, Dr. P. D. Mukerji, Rai Bahadur Dr. Hargovind Sahai, Dr. K. N. Sinha, Dr. A. Wahid, Rai Bahadur Capt. K. S. Nigam, Dr. T. Prasad, Dr. Miss G. H. Marchant, Dr. S. P. Gupta, Dr. Miss A. D. Engineer, Dr. H. G. D. Mathur, Khan Bahadur Dr. Mohd. Abdul Hameed, Rai Bahadur Dr. Raghunandan Lal, Dr. C. Chatterji, Dr. S. N. Mathur, Dr. V. S. Mangalik, Dr. C. P. Misra, Dr. S. S. Misra, Dr. R. C. Shukla, Dr. N. Subhie, Dr. R. N. Misra, Major A. M. Sheridan, and Dr. Shanti Prakash Gupta.
1. The minutes of the meeting of the Faculty of Medicine dated November 12, 1945, were confirmed.
2. The Faculty elected Dr. C. P. Misra, Professor of Ophthalmology, as Dean, Faculty of Medicine, from May 1, 1946, in place of Dr. W. Burridge, who is due to retire on April 30, 1946.
3. The Faculty re-elected the following as members of the Committee of Courses and Studies from the dates noted against each:-
First M.B., B.S.
Dr. B. B. Bhatia
6009
D. M. R. E.
The Lecturer in Radiology
The Dean, Faculty of Medicine
D. L. O.
September 30, 1946.
0086
}
February 9, 1946..
Dr. R. N. Misra

6000
boos
February 9, 1946.
Dr. A. Rahman
D. G. O.
0000
Boes
The Head of the Department of Anatomy
The Head of the Department of Physiology
February 9, 1946.

4. The Faculty nominated Dr. S. S. Misra as a representative of the Faculty on the Committee for the appintment of examiners for the examinations of 1947.
5. The Faculty recorded the following resolution of the Court dated April 30, 1945, referred by the Academic Council:-
"That in the opinion of the Court University authorities should take proper steps to allot a certain percentage of marks to the students for physical culture and games and that the same should be taken into account in awarding the division to the student in the result".
6. The Faculty recorded the suggestion of the Government of India together with the replies received from other Universities re: concession to students of other Universities on account of "War services" referred by the Academic Council.
7. A report from the Head of the Department of Pathology about the increase of work in his department necessitating the appointment of an extra Lecturer grade B was considered.
It was resolved to recommend that an additional post of Lecturer Grade B in Pathology be created.
8. On the motion of Khan Bahadur Dr. M. A. Hameed, "the Faculty resolved to recommend that a Diploma in Clinical Pathology

which will be open to graduates of Medicine of this and other approved Universities be instituted in the University of Lucknow without any financial commitment to the University.

9. The Faculty considered a note (vide Appendix A) on the Revision of Medical Curriculum" by Col. Sir J. N. Duggan, Lt.-Col. A. S. Erulkar and Lt.-Col. D. G. Vad, forwarded by the Secretary, Medical Council of India (vide his letter No. F. 12-F 45/126 dated April 24, 1945) together with a copy of the Dean's letter No. 736/1363 dated January 19, 1946, and its enclosures. It was resolved to postpone consideration of the matter till the report of the Bhore Committee is received by the University.

10. The Faculty recorded letter No. F. 29-A-F-45/1365 dated December 18, 1945, from the Secretary, Medical Council of India, to the Director-General, Indian Medical Servies, re: facilities for admission of the holders of L. S. M. F. or similar diplomas to the M. B., B. S. degree during the War (vide Appendix B).

11. On the motion of Dr. R. C. Shukla, the Faculty resolved to recommend to the Academic Council that this Faculty urges on the University the desirability of giving proper publicity to the fact that the latest and unexpected discoveries made in Cambridge in 1936 relating to cerebral nerve cell activities had been predicted from Lucknow in 1934,

12. The Faculty recorded the following resolution passed at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board held at Hyderadad-Deccan on the 11th and 13th December, 1943:-

"Resolved that the Inter-University Board emphasises the need for adequate facilities for students in maternity and gynaecological work in every medical college attached to a University."

13. The Faculty recorded the following resolution passed at the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Inter-University Board held at Patna on 2nd and 3rd December, 1944:-

"Candidates who have appeared at examinations and failed in certain subjects, be permitted to appear in the

subjects in which they have failed and be declared as having passed the examination if they obtain pass marks in those subjects."

W. BURRIDGE,
SHEO SHANKER,
DEAN, FACULTY OF MEDICINE,
Chairman.
ASSISTANT REGISTRAR,
Secretary.

APPENDIX A.

Revision of Medical Curriculum-A note by Col. Sir Jamshedji. N. Duggan, Lt.-Col. A. S. Erulkar, and Lt. Col. B. G. Vad.

The need for revision of medical curriculum is felt all the world over and discussions are held and decisions are already being taken in various countries. While profiting by the knowledge and experience of various medical authorities in taking our decisions and submitting these suggestions, we have kept in view the prime needs of our country and the best interests of medical education and medical relief. The main purpose of our undergraduate medical education must be to turn out an efficient and practical general medical practitioner trained and equipped with modern scientific methods. The urgency and medical relief and Indian conditions demand a shortening of the period taken between Matriculation and Final M.B., B S. examination. Our suggestions would meet this demand without sacrificing any efficiency or cutting down the essential period of training during hospital practice.

We suggest after Matriculation students should be selected for medical education. As the present pass standard of Matric is rather low, particularly in English, only those students should be selected by merit who have secured 50 per cent or more marks in total and

also in English which must continue to remain at least for some years to come, the medium of instruction and examination for

medical studies. In many countries in making selections of students for medical course special attention is paid not only to his examination marks, but to his character, aptitude and health.

Medical Course:-(1) Matriculation-50% or more marks in English and total.

(2) Pre-Medical Course-One year. Training in the subjects of Physics, Chemistry and Biology roughly to the standard of the present B. Group of Inter. Science. There should be classes in general English but no examination. At the end of the year, there should be an examination both written and practical in Physics, Chemistry and Biology.

The passing standard being the same as at present. These subjects shou d be taught with a view to prepare the students for the medical studies.

(3) Pre-Clinical Course-18 months. The curriculum should roughly approximate the present standard of training and examination in the subjects of Anatomy, Physiology and Pharmacology. There should be a University examination at the end of 18 months and after passing the examination the student should be allowed to proceed to his Clinical Course.

These subjects should be taught not with a view to prepare experts in these subjects but with a view to give a broad vision and general knowledge so far as it has some definite relation to further medical studies. Intricate details should be avoided. During this period contact should be established between the student and the patient to give the student a general idea of his future work and make him understand the importance of his subjects as applied to clinical work.

(4) Clinical Course-Three years. At the end of two years there should be a University Examination in Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology and a year after passing the examination, the final examination in Pathology, Bacteriology, Jurisprudence and Hygiene.

(a) The first two years should be devoted mainly to the study of Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology and partly to the study of Pathology, Bacteriology, Jurisprudence and Hygiene.

9 months for Medicine-including Children's diseases, Psychiatry, etc.

About 9 months for Surgery.
6 Months for Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology.
During this period about 3-4 hours every morning should be devoted for clinical studies and about 3 hours every afternoon for non-

clinical subjects. The time of study for clinical] and nonclinical subjects must vary according to the convenience and needs of each institution.
Practice at Rural Centre (about 6 months).
(b) Those have passed the examination in Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery, Gynaecology and Ophthalmology should be sent out for practice in villages and rural areas for a period of about six months. If, however, this period be thought to be too long, it can be reduced but in any case it should not be less than 3 months. The students would be able to treat ordinary cases but where he finds that he cannot treat on his own or feels that it needs more elaborate treatment than can be given at his place, he should communicate with the Medical Officer at the Taluka or District Headquarters for necessary help and action in the matter. The student must keep detailed notes and proper record of his cases which if found satisfactory would allow him to proceed with his studies at the Medical College.
This innovation would serve a double purpose. It would provide a constant and continuous supply of trained persons for medical relief in Rural Areas which today are without any medical aid and are in dire need of the same. This seems to be the only way to solve this problem which has been neglected both by the Government and the Indian Medical Profession. This scheme would benefit the student also by bringing him in contact with the conditions under which he will have to carry on his life's mission, as these conditions are in marked contrast to those he is accustomed to at his fully equipped modern hospital and college. He will gain confidence and realize in what respects he ought to improve his work, and get his difficulties met with in actual practice, solved when he returns to his College.

This scheme of rural practice, however, needs careful planning and full co-ordination and co-operation between Government Educational and Local Authorities and that must take some time before it can be successfully put in operation. In the interim period, therefore, the students at this stage should be distributed to the various wards in the city and detailed for work at free and poor charitable dispensaries. Students should be sent out to the homes of the seriously ill, destitute and poor patients, whom they can examine and treat or report for removal to a hospital as necessary. Though this will not help to solve the problem of rural medical relief, it will undoubtedly provide for the medical students the much desired and necessary training to supplement his hospital and college education.

(c) After his return from the rural practice, (or at present his city practice as above mentioned) the student should spend about 6 to 9 months in his hospital and college, giving finishing

touches to his clinical work and studying for his examination in Pathology, Bacteriology, Jurisprudence and Hygiene at the end of that period. The present courses and standard of examination should be maintained.

Conclusion: At the Medical College more attention should be paid to preventive medicine, tropical and local diseases and practical training.

There must not be any falling off in the standard of medical education and examination. The present curriculum and courses of study need only a new orientation. We have deliberately avoided laying down details as we believe that it is best to give freedom to the institutions to work out their details to suit local conditions within the specified framework. This scheme of Rural Medical Practice would serve a great national and humanitarian cause by providing medical help to the needy rural areas and instilling in the future medical men the spirit of initiative, service and

sacrifice which have always been the guiding principles of the medical profession.

APPENDIX B.

Copy of letter No. F-29-A-F-45/1365, dated December 18, 1945, from the Secretary, Medical Council of India, New Delhi, to the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, Simla.

Subject: Facilities for admission of the holders of L.S.M.F. or similar diplomas to the M.B., B.S. degree during the War.

With reference to your letter No. 5-3/45-P-II, dated the 25th August, 1945, on the subject cited above, I am directed to forward the following recommendations of Executive Committee adopted by the Medical Council of India at its meeting held on the 23rd October, 1945:-

The Executive Committee recommends to the Council that the resolution of the Council dated the 23rd October, 1943, as published in Volume IX of the Minutes (page 10) regarding admission of L.S.M.F. candidates to the degree course be interpreted as follows:-

That instruction in Anatomy and Physiology as contemplated in para (b) of the resolution may be given concurrently with instruction in clinical subjects mentioned in para (c) of the same resolution.

As such the periods of study required of the Licentiates who desire to proceed for the M.B. examination should be as follows:-

Category.	Clinical subjects.
1. Ordinary Licentiates.	
2, Licentiate commissioned officers of I.A.M.C. who have not undergone 3 months intensive course at A. M.T.C.	

3. Licentiate officers who have undergone
2 months intensive course at A. M.T.C.
4. Licentiate officers with D.M.S. and other
similar qualifications which involved
medical studies for 5 years and have not
undergone 3 months intensive course at
A. M.T.C.
5. Licentiate
commissioned officers of
I.A.M.C. with D.M.S. and other similar
qualifications which involve medical stu-
dies for 5 years and have undergone
8 months intensive course at A. M.T.C.
2 years.
2 years.
18 months.
18 months.
12 months.

That such a practitioner will be permitted to appear for the Final M.B., B. S. Examination of any University recognised by the Medical Council of India, in the following subjects:- Pathology, Bacteriology, Hygiene and Public Health, Medical Jurisprudence, Medicine including Therapeutics, Surgery including Ophthalmology, Otology, Laryngology, as well as Rhinology, Midwifery and Diseases of Women including Infant Hygiene, it being understood that Final Examinations will include questions on Applied Anatomy, Applied Physiology and Applied Pharmacology.

No. F-29-A-F-45/1366, dated 18th December 1945.

Copy forwarded for information and necessary action to all the British Indian Universities having a medical faculty.

Sd. K. A. RAHMAN,
SECRETARY,
Medical Council of India.

3
CONE COMMON LANGUAGE, ONE COMMON SCRIPT

[From The Leader, dated 25th May, 1945.1

Sj. Tandon on Fusion of Urdu and Hindi

Allahabad, May 24. Some Urdu newspapers and Muslim leaders have described Shri Purushottam-das Tandon as an opponent of Urdu. A special correspondent of the Bharat' approached Tandonji to ascertain his views. His attention was particularly drawn to the fact that he had been criticised on his speech at Poona in which he was reported to have said that the Urdu language was imposed upon this country by the Muslim rulers. Clarifying his position Tandonji said: I delivered. the speech at Poona in Hindi and spoke for over an hour. In a part of the speech I said that, from the national point of view, we should use one of our own languages in inter-provincial matters and that that language could only be Hindi and that the use of the English language was harmful. It should be, understood that whenever I refer to Hindi in connection with inter-provincial affairs, Urdu is always included in it since Urdu is a form of Hindi. I said that English was not the language of the people and when Our country I gave the instance of the Persian language and said that during the

Mughal period, Persian was the
court language and although, after
the fall of that Empire, it re-
mained so for some time under
British rule, yet it had to be aban-
doned because its roots were not
in the soil and it had been imposed
upon the people. I also stated
in my speech that the admixture
of Persian, Turkish and Arabic
words in the Hindi language which
was current amongst the people
created a language which was called
Urdu. The reporter in English
made the mistake of attributing
to Urdu what was said about Per-
sian. Whatever linguistic know-
ledge I possess could not have
permitted me to make the mistake
of saying that Urdu was imported
from outside. That was
about Persian.
One Script
said
Referring to Hindi and Urdu
I said, that Hindi had originated.
from the soil of this land and that
by a process of mixture of foreign
words in Hindi, Urdu had been
becomes free, the English lan- evolved out of the need of the
guage could not retain its position.. times and it came into use in
The English lauguage was asso-
ciated only with the present ad-
ministration. It was not a product
of this country but had been
imposed upon us. In my speech
and near about Darbars and in
the administration. Hindus and
Muslims both had a hand

in developing both the indigenous Hindi style and the mixed Urdu
23.24

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(4)
style. On the one hand there were produced Musalman poets in the Mughal times who chose the old indigeuous form as the medium of expression for their poetic genius and on the other there were Musalman poets on whom the influence of Persian was strong and who gave the Urdu, born in the market place, a beautiful shape and used it for poetic compositions of a high order. But this language had a foreign outlook and it largely drew its inspiration from Iran and Arab. In this way while the old current of Hindi continued to progress and its evolution was shaped directly by the touch of the soil, the current of Urdu also moved onward but the influence of Hindi which was the source of its birth, continued to diminish and the foreign influence on it went on increasing, I said in my speech that, from a national point of view, it was desirable that Hindi and Urdu should come closer to each other and merge into one to form a common language. Sanskrit and Persian are Aryan languages. Both have a common origin and can coalesce beautifully in evolving one common

national language in our country. I had stated this in 1920 at the Agra session of the Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at a time when Hindus and Muslims were more united than today and had repeated the same view in my written address as the president of the Hindi Sahitya Sammellan in 1923. I hold the same view today. My dream is that by the side of provincial languages there will be one national language and one national script. I am in favour of scientifically analysing the different alphabetical systems and scripts current in this country and evolving one alphabet and script
2)
out of them. For the fulfilment. of this task, representatives of Hindi and Urdu writers should meet and bring about an acceptable fusion of Hindi and Urdu and for evolving a common alphabet and script, experts who have made a special study of the subject should also be consulted. But this can be done only if we refuse to be slaves to tradition and look at these problems from a national point of view.

Wardha Decisions

Mahatma Gandhi recently held a Hindustani conference at Wardha in which two decisions were taken. I am in entire agreement with Mahatmaji about the first decision, namely, that Hindi and Urdu

should be fused into one common language. This is the view which, as I have said, I have held for years. But I do not agree with the second decision which requires that every citizen of our country should learn both Hindi and Urdu and their separate scripts. Despite my earnest wish to agree with Mahatma Gandhi, my intellect does not accept that this suggestion is practicable. I do not think that. those who speak Marathi, Gujrati, Bengali, Uria and other languages in different provinces will agree to learn both Hindi and Urdu and their two alphabets. I think that the national demand should only be that those who are acquainted with the Nagri alphabet should learn Hindi through that medium and those who know the Persiant script should learn Urdu through it. At the same time both should try to have knowledge of common words which are peculiar to the other style. Only this can be the ordinary rule. It is certainly desirable that both amongst Hindu and Muslims

there should be educated persons who can fluently use both the styles and scripts but this cannot be a rule applicable to all.

No Antagonism

I have repeatedly said that the

best thing would be to have one national language and one national alphabet but so long as political reasons or social traditions do not make that possible it is necessary that where both Hindi and Urdu are current there should be no opposition created between them and both should be given equal facilities. Every citizen should have the fullest freedom to educate his children either through Hindi or through Urdu according to his choice, and do his civic work either in Hindi or Urdu. The Government should make it possible for official work to be carried on in both the forms. This will involve some expenditure but that should be regarded as essential. If this principle is carried out honestly, there would be no question of any antagonism between Hindi and Urdu. Particularly in all those departments of the Government which have to deal with the public, the use of both the forms is essential. The Indian Government has done an injustice to Hindi by not giving it a proper place in the Radio Department. Exponents of both Hindi and Urdu should protest against this injustice. At the recent Allahabad session of the Provincial Sahitya Sammelan I said, and repeat it, that if any injustice were done to Urdu, it would be my duty to oppose it. From the national point of view and taking all as-

pects into consideration it seems to me proper under the present circumstances that the exponents of both Hindi and Urdu should see that no injustice is done to those who use any of the two forms. The encroachments of the English language on our education and other departments of life can be resisted only by the united purpose of the exponents of both Hindi and Urdu.

Hindustani

'To secure a place for Hindi and Urdu as against English, in the Congress constitution, I started my efforts at the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress in 1919. In the yea 1925, at Cawnpore, after much opposition on the part of those who attached importance to English, the resolution moved by me in regard to the use of Hindi and Urdu was accepted. In my resolution I used the word "Hindustani" for both the forms.. "Hindustani" meant "Hindi and/or Urdu. The word "Hindustani" was used in the same sense in which it was and is being used by the Hindustani Academy. The Hindustani Academy has not planned to evolve any new language, but has recognised Hindi and Urdu styles separately. In the same way the word "Hindustani" in my resolution amending the Congress constitution, simply meant that both Hindi and Urdu forms were per-

missible. The organ of Anjuman-Tarakki-e-Urdu, "Hamari Zaban" in its issue of March 16 has made a confusion in its interpretation of the word "Hindustani" in the Congress constitution. It seems to imagine that the Congress, at my instance, gave a definition of the word "Hindustani" and that according to that definition "Hindustani" is
is that language
which is spoken in the villages of northern India by Hindus and Muslims. As matter of fact the

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Congress gave no definition of "Hindustani". It only decided to carry on its work in "Hindustani" which meant Hindi and/or Urdu. Fusion of Hindi and Urdu.
Thus while in the circumstances prevailing today I am clear that Hindi and Urdu should both be given full liberty to develop on their own lines and none of them should suffer from any limitations, my innermost desire is that we may have the wisdom to rise above traditional communalism and with good-will be able to solve the question of the fusion of Hindi and Urdu into- one language, using one common alphabet and script."

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Allahabad.
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Bengal Provincial Students'
Conference SNO 4
8th SESSION
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
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1945
Swami Sahajananda Saraswati
MYMENSINGH
1st JUNE, '45

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BENGAL PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' FEDERATION
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STUDENT COMRADES,
While thanking you for the honour you have very kindly done me in asking me to inaugurate your conference, I am really at a loss to understand why of all persons I should have been entrusted with this task-a task that may well be performed only by the intellectual giants and big brains fully entitled to tender you the most appropriate and opportune advice leading to the path of freedom, peace and progress inscribed on your banner. If you needed some sound political guidance and inspiration during these trying hours in our fight for the liberation of our beloved Motherland, you could better approach the political stalwarts in the country who have staked their all for the purpose and whose life is a living emblem of sacrifice inspiring us all. But the choice having fallen rightly or wrongly on me, I am here to bow to your dictates and per-

form my job to the best of my capacity.
The slavery our blot.
The most galling and dishonouring badge of slavery was fastened forcibly on us some two hundred years back. Our brilliant battle to tear it to tatters and thus banish root and branch this blot of thraldom from our fair land continues since then. It has no doubt, assumed serious proportions at times and, in particular, during the last quarter of a century. During the historic non-co-operation days in 1921, the unexpected happened. The whole country rose to a man at the stirring call of the national Congress to give a determined and sustained battle to British imperialism which considered itself most secure in the country after the most anxious days of 1857 and the partition of Bengal, with its well-equipped paraphernalia of repression and suppression to be let loose at a moment's notice. The result was that it was literally shaken to its foundations, and the then Governor-General, Lord Reading had to admit publicly that he was puzzled and purplexed at what had happened. It is for the first time that both the people and their

enslavers were made to realise the immense forces latent in the masses that might work wonders of properly roused. It was that glorious fight that created in us self-confidence to achieve our liberation. Since then the nation has undoubtedly fought many a pitched battle to that end. But my head hangs in utter shame when I have to confess that that blot yet remains intact. Rather our chains are being tightened in disguise. I am afraid that unless we, as a nation resolve, without much loss of time, to make collectively and determinedly our Herculean endeavours to render this blot of bondage entirely a thing of the past by the time the war closes, nothing but sore disappointment is in store for us. And the students can do a lot in that direction only if they will.
Ardent Nationalism our Remedy
But this is the toughest of the jobs expected of us all.
Prior to the planning of any definite line of action on that

score we must not for a moment lose sight of the objective conditions. The war in Europe has ended in unparallelled victory of the Allied Powers. In the Far East too it is to close similarly soon, I am inclined to believe. In the circumstances there is no power on the earth which can easily challenge the might of England in any armed combat or physical clash. It is simply a futile idea and mere day dream even to think of such a clash on our part in the face of the hard fact that we are unarmed and lying, as it were, prostrate as a result of what happened unluckily during the post-August days of 1942 and later on.

We have it seems lost all initiatives for the present at least and a sort of paralysis has overtaken the entire nation. Otherwise how can one explaisn our inaction on a national scale in canalising the seething discontent and burning unrest caused by the universal scarcity of cloth and other necessaries, stirring violently to its depth the whole of the country from end to end and leaving no single individual untouched and unmoved? If we could utilise to the full the Jallianwalla tragedy to rouse the entire nation to throw a mighty challenge to our rulers, despite the fact that with the tragedy the rest of the country was only subjectively concerned, how is it that this cloth tragedy, inspite of its being objectively realised by one

and all in the country, is not taken advantage of to create a mighty mass upsurge that may bend the White Hall to its knees and end the foreign domination? Let there be a serious heart searching on our part to find out the answer and thus chasten ourselves in future. But my simple answer is that in addition to the aforesaid mass paralysis and wide spread demoralisation there is in us as a people an acute want, excuse me, of that uncompromisingly burning nationalism which totally unmindful of the heaviest odds in our way, knows no halt and defeat, and understands and speaks no language but that of tireless action and relentless fire directed against the enemies

till he yiels. Ardent nationalism may end, but does not bend. Every fibre of our being must rebel against this subjugation and remain restive to burn it to ashes and bury it fathoms deep. The very idea of this bondage must make our blood boil if we are such nationalists. But unless the 400 million people inhabiting this vast and ancient land, or at least the majority of them, are brought within the fold of that nationalism we can not hope to reach our goal. The sooner it is done the better, and if the students make up their minds singly and collectively, to fulfil this uphill task, they can easily accomplish it as there is hardly any village or hamlet which is free from them and their contacts.

All-in national unity.

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The idea is repeated ad neuseam that national salvation is impossible of achievement in the absence of the broadest possible national unity embracing all the creeds and communities in the country. Our masters declare it ever and anon and we echo th same, and yet accuse them that it is their mere excuse to withhold power. Let me confess openly I am unable to understand this paradoxical situation. If it is a mere excuse of our British rulers why should we ourselves then worry over it so much? Nay, more, the more we are after this unity, the more it recedes into back-ground. Yet we do not realise the utter futility of our attempts in that direction. But instead of crying hoarse and betraying our impatience for the same, if we just try to forget it for a time and devote our every ounce of energy and skill in rousing, creating and disseminating that

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fire of ardent nationalism which is yet wanting awfully in the people in general, I am confident, that unity must follow it automatically as the day follows the night. And by so doing we shall be laying the surest foundation and basis for the lasting national unity. The national unity without the burning

nationalism in all is a contradiction in terms.

The appeal-in-action

Besides our earnest attempts and ceaseless work to spread ardent nationalism among the people there is another practical way to secure that unity and avoid frictions between various communal groups. Before the Lahore Congress in the end of 1929 there was much tension between the Hindus and the Muslims, and yet the civil disobedience movements conducted by the Congress in 1930 and 1932 were remarkably free from any communal clash and riot, and thus demonstrated the actual popular solidarity behind themselves, despite the declarations of the enemies of Indian's freedom to the contrary. Likewise there seemed considerably much more tensions and imminent out-breaks of civil strifes between the two major communities in the country just on the eve of the fateful days of August 1942. But with the inception of that movement the tension subsides entirely and no trace of them was found as long as the move-ment lasted. It is an unchallengable fact within our memory. From this and the previous instances it can easily be deducted that a sustained struggle initiated and run ceaselessly and tirelessly for national salvation by the conscious and determined people, even if they are a minority, is the truly successful appeal-in-action to the people to forget their petty differences and unite and ardently wish for the success of that struggle and it is this sort of appeal that reaches the heart of the people and succeeds. Therefore unless and until we are ready sooner or later for such practical appeals we cannot hope, I fear, to achieve the all round national unity as a pre-requisite to regain our freedom. It is that appeal alone that makes the masses ignore their sectional leaders and their advices, and show unmistakably that solidarity behind the fight of the national congress, symbol-ising the national revolt against thraldom and foreign domination.

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Yes, the National Congress surely symbolises our collective revolt against bondage, and our resolve and determination to fight it out and become free. It is the only concretised form of the Indian will to be our own masters, to capture the political power in the country. Let me also be frank here that the power thus captured and seized in the first instance is bound to pass into the hands of only the Indian bourgeoisie, and surely not of the toiling millions in the fields, factories and elsewhere. That stage may come later on. British Raj can not possibly be replaced directly by the Kisan Mazdur Raj. No, it is simply impossible. Complete independence or Swaraj must be the intervening stage between the two. This is the lesson of the history of the fights for freedom all the world over, and India can not be an exception to this rule. Hence no serious student of history and politics can dare deny the fact that the National Congress, as constituted today, stands and must stand for the full political power being handed over to the Indian bourgeoisie, and considering the stage of the Indian revolution it is the only possible and logical interpretation of the freedom's fight now being waged so relentlessly by the National Congress. Even the Soviet in Russia could not escape this factual interpretation of their fight which resulted in installing the Russians bourgeoisie at the Gadi vacated by the Tsar Nicholas II, albeit only for a short period of about 8 months. So there must be no misgivings on this score, and let all concerned bear in mind that we of the Kisan Sabha, who stand for the Panchyati or Kisan Mazdur Raj, pledge our whole-hearted support to the Congress and its fight for freedom with our eyes wide open. After full and mature considerations we have come to the irresistible and irrevocable conclusion that only the Congress can achieve the Swaraj or Indian independence and thus pave and smooth the way to the Kisan Mazdur Raj. Therefore, it is the supreme duty of all of us to make Indian nationalism and its mouthpiece the Congress an irresistible force in the country. And those that try to compromise and drag down this Indian nationalism from its pre-dominating position are the enemies of our freedom.

Position of the Kisan Sabha

I maintain that the Kisan Sabha, like other class organisation must remain a completely independent class organ of the Indian peasantry, fighting for their rights and interests mainly on the Trade Union lines. I stand for a free Kishan Sabha and this freedom includes freedom from the domination of any political group or party or parties. It is inter alia because of the persistent efforts by the Communist Party to dominate the Kisan Sabha that we parted company with them, and that break is final. I cannot be a party to the idea and plan for the Kisan Sabha being organised as or made a mere wing or department of the Congress, with all its primary members having been enrolled of necessity as members of the Congress. Of course we will welcome if all our members get themselves enrolled, of their own free will, as the members of the Congress. We may even encourage it. But surely we cannot make it a rule for our members to do so. This can not but result in stunting the full growth of the Kisan Sabha if we make such a rule. This is our experience during the last two decades or so. We must maintain cur independent entity and existence and remain unhampered in any way in our fight for the social, economic and political rights of the Kisans and ultimately the Kisan Mazdur Raj. Our hands must remain unfattered to fight against any tyranny, combination or regime, and thus to see the Kisans stand erect.

Why independent Kisan Sabha

By its very nature of being national and non-sectional the Congress cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be expected to represent and fight fully and effectively as a rule for the sectional interests in particular, or it will lose its national character. Hence the need the justification for the sectional or class organisation. It is why there are organisations like the Chamber of Commerce and Landholders' Association, representing and fighting for the sectional interest of the capitalists and landholders, despite the Congress and despire the undeniable fact that they can easily influence it to act just how they desire. Still they

never confide in it. So are the factory workers too, organised
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in their Trade Union Congress. And if there is no serious attempt on the part of the Congress to persuade the capitalists and landlords as also the workers to wind up their independent class organisations, why should there be any attempt to supersede the independent class organ of the Kisan? From a recent statement of Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda its Secretary, regarding the aims and functions of the Hindusthan Mazdur Sevak Sangha, started it is alleged, with the blessings and consent of Mahatma Gandhi, it is clear that he admits the independent entity of the Trade Union Congress, and does not desire to stand in its way or start a rival body. The Kisan Sabha too is entitled to at least that much consideration, if not more. The fact too can not be gainsaid that the sectional interests are more appealing to the common people concerned than the higher and national ones, and it is why they are naturally anxious and inclined to join such organisations and strengthen them as serve and fight specifically for their sectarian and class interests. It is therefore, all the more desirable that the Kisans should be advised and left free to join their independent Kisan Sabha on the basis of its fight to safeguard their class interests, and through that Sabha made conscious to join actively the Congress and its fight. It is, therefore, the easiest and surest way to consolidate the Congress.

For the Kisan Mazdur Raj

Yet, there is a section of Congressmen who are against an independent Kisan Sabha. They argue that the Congress is pledged to establish Kisan Mazdur Raj in India as is evident from the resolution of the A.I.C.C. at Bombay on the 8th August, 1942, which lays down inter alia that the power in the national Government "shall vest in the workers in factories, fields and elsewhere". So they stop here and see no needs for precautionary measures and adequate preparations on the part of the Kisan and Mazdur in the forms of their independent

Sabhas to create and build sanctions and guarantees for the same. But the world history of the fights for freedom and independence furnishes hundred of instances of the Kisan and Mazdurs, building fond hopes in such promises and declarations of the organisations fighting for liberty, and their leaders,
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were hoodwinked and defrauded just in the critical time, and had awakened to the naked realities when it was too late. And there is no single example where such high sounding promises could be fulfilled for the mere asking, and in the absence of full preparedness on the part of the masses who had failed to adopt precautionary measures beforehand. The strong and well-knot Kisan Sabha is the only measure that can guarantee and force the fulfilment of such promises and that too after a sustained fight and certainly not before that. So here there can be no mistake on the part of the Kisan if they are to achieve their ultimate aim of seizing political power.

But if our critics still think that the masses must capture full political power as a direct result of their very fight for independence, they are sure to be disillusioned when they fail to find out even a solitary case of that power having been seized determinedly and definitely by the masses during the first stage of revolution our country is passing through. If eve? in this stage that power is captured at all by the exploited and ex-propriated masses, it is never retained by them and it passes ultimately over to the national bourgeoisie enthroned as a result of the successful democratic revolution, and for that fight to succeed the Kisans and Mazdurs must have from now their independent class organisations formed on a firm footing and solid basis. And suppose, the Congress ministries are formed again in the provinces. The landlords and capitalists with their firm and well-knit organisations supported by the press and money bags of their own are bound to influence those ministries in their favour as formerly while the workers and the peasants must suffer in default in the absence of their independently

organised voice like that of their class enemies. Hence the paramount need for their independent class organisations. It they are mere wings and departments of the Congress, they must ever remain subject to the Congress discipline, with the result that they can not raise their firm and determined voice which may compel the attention of all concerned.

What Nehru Says

In May 1937, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the President of the National Congress, issued a lengthy statement with

regard to this very issue. He says inter alia "But in spite of all this, the Congress remains and has to remain a national organisation, and it cannot always represent the functional or class interests of the workers and peasants. It cannot function as a Trade Union or Kisan Sabha. Having laid so much stress on the importance of bringing the workers and peasants directly into the Congress, let us now consider the desirability of having separate working class organisations. There can be no doubt that both the industrial workers and peasants have or ought to have, the inherent right to organise themselves. That is the nature of a fundamental right which Congress has repeatedly recognised. There is no room for argument about it. The Congress has gone a step further and encouraged, in history at least, the formation of such Unions". "Congressmen in their individual capacities, can and should be members or friends of such Unions, and as such will of course give them their advice. But a Congress Committee as such should not try to control a Trade Union". "We cannot say that there should be no peasant organisations. That would be contrary to the declared Congress policy. It would be wrong in principle and it would come into conflict with that living movement and ferment that we see all around us. Nor can we say that a Kisan Sabha should be just a wing of the Congress, each member of the Sabha being also a primary member of the Congress. That would be an absurdity, for under those conditions it is hardly necessary to

have a Kisan Sabha. It seems to me also out of the question to place peasant organisation in the same category as the All Indian Spinners Association or the Village Industries Association: Such restrictions will not stop the growth of separate peasant organisations: they will only result in putting them outside the pale of the Congress and make them look upon it as a partly hostile body".

The Congress and Kisan Sabha

I stand for the collaboration between the Congress and the Kisan Sabha to achieve Indian independence. In any case the Sabha must not go against the Congress fight for freedom. It is sanctioned by the 2nd and 3rd articles of the constitution of the All India Kisan Sabha which read thus, "The object of the

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Sabha is to secure for the Kisans complete freedom from economics and political exploitation and in conjunction with other classes and democratic organisations, particularly with the movement for national freedom, to establish in India a Democratic State in which all economic and political power shall vest in the masses. "For the achievement of its object the Sabha shall organise the Kisan to carry on their day to day struggle on the basis of their immediate demands and shall work in conjunction with other forces for the furtherence of the freedom movement." The more the class organisations like the Kisan Sabha become firm and effective, dragging with in their folds tens of millions of the Kisans and masses who stick to them lieh-like and take them as their own, the Congres becomes strong and consolidated as a result of this collaboration, provided that the leadership of the Sabha is inspired by an ardently living nationalism. Here the class conscious and truly awakened Kisans collaborate with the other suci classes and sections of the nation most impatient to establish national freedom and this is the only way to the country's salvation and

the Kisans liberation.

The role of Students

Having taken so much of your time in discussing the topics which do not concern directly the students as such, I must say a few words concerning their rule in our battle for independence. Even a cursory glance at the history of such fights in Russia, China, Egypt, Turkey and elsewhere furnishes us with the most brilliant records of the marvellous part played by the student communities of their respective countries. It was really they whose monumental sacrifices, silent or otherwise, enabled Lenin, Trotsky, Chiang, Jaghlul, Kemal and other heroes and builder of nations to lay the surest and the most secure foundations for their future architecture. They faced in their thousands the bullets and privations and braved hardships with smiles on their lips and grim determination in their hearts to die in order simply that their people might live. It was the students of Russia who had travelled abroad in search of learning that brought out the first revolutionary farment there and were

instrumental in the first revolts in the Tsarist arms in 1825. There in Russia even the words 'Student' and 'Strike' were synonyms. The great upsurge in China that established the power of Kuo-min-Tang in 1925 and 1926 was due in the main to heroic deeds of the Chinese students which we all recollect fully. Such as the case elsewhere too. Even here in India the great non-co-operation movement that made history and shook the Government violently owed much to the untold of sufferings and heavy sacrifices on the part of our students who emptied colleges and schools at the call of the nation and buried themselves among the Kisans and the poor in the villages and slums in the towns and cities. And it was they who unsettled the settled partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. In fact they have never been found wanting whenever the country's call has gone forth. Any country may be well proud of the long records of sacrifices undergone by our students for the national honour to

be maintained and raised high. Is it, then too much to expect further sacrifices on their part to wipe out the remaining blot of bondage on our face and to raise our banner to fly aloft? They make the India of to-morrow. Hence it is they who must lead here to victory and reap and enjoy its fruits. The responsibility in the main is theirs and I am sanguine they will rise equal to it, as in the past.

Forces Lying Dormant

There are incalculable revolutionary forces lying dormant and chained in the masses and they are unleashed and set free by the bloody warfares like the present ones. The more extensive, devastating and havoc creating these wars, the more formidable these forces are freed by them and the sooner they engulf the world rendering it completely free from exploitations, afflictions and miseries. Last time these forces devoured the Kings, Emperor and Sultans in Russia, Germany, Turkey and elsewhere and liberated the peoples to the smaller or greater extent in proportion as they could be made proper and timely use of by those peoples and as they were awakened and prepared for the new life and responsibilities. Now is India's turn, and let us prepare ourselves from now to welcome those forces

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if and when they are freed. We must be ready to march in their company and make full use thereof, and it is the bounden duty of the students to prepare the country for the same. There is no time to lose, hurry, therefore, up please.

Ourselves and Communists.

Before I finish I may add a few words with regard to the communist plot in the Kisan Sabha to wreck it from within. As the students are well aware of such plots aimed at torpedoing their own beloved organisation, it may interest them too. It is here in this district at Netrokona that the Communist Party held very recently their session of the rebel All India Kisan Sabha, which may better be called the Communist Kisan Sabha, as all its strategic positions and posts from top to bottom are

now held exclusively by the Communists. They levelled many baseless accusations against me in accordance with their code of behaviour. I do not want to waste your precious time in refuting these unflunded charges. But I intend only to narrate in brief the main bone of contention and basic differences between me and then which resulted in my final break with them and their departure from the Sabha.

There are three basic principles of the Kisan Sabha as I have understood them so far and on which we fundamentally differ. They are: firstly, the Sabha stands uncompromisingly for the abolition of landlordism which was recommended even by the Floud Commission in Bengal and the recent official committee to report on the administration in Bengal has reminded all concerned of it and pressed for the same consequently we must agitate and work ceaselessly to that end. But they (the Communist Party of India) have entered, it seems, into a sort of alliance or truce with the landlords, perhaps in order to grow more food and hence have given up that idea, for how long, I can't say. Did they utter that slogan at Netrokona or pass any resolution to that effect? I am told, they did not, and you know it for certain.

Secondly, our aim is, as stated above, to vest all political and economic power in the masses, and therefore we must adddress ourselves mainly to that task. But accordingly to them

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he main task of the Kisan Sabha during this people's war eriod, as they call it, is only to grow more food for the people nd for the front and they want it to force on the Sabha, as is he case with regard to the first basic point.

Thirdly, to succeed in these two basic principles the Sabha must be consolidated and for that purpose all the political groups and parties who accept the fundamentals of the Sabha must be allowed the utmost freedom in actual practice to work reely in this Kisan Sabha and thus to strengthen it. It follows from the above that Sabha cannot be run on the principle of

homogeneity as a rigid political party. But they on the contrary are bent upon consolidating only themselves everywhere at the cost of all else. Therefore naturally they want to turn even the Kisan Sabha into a mere pocket bureau of themselves (Community Party) and hence to make it homogeneous. They are very particular in it and want to inflict it on the Kisan Sabha, come what may. And yet they have the harihood to proclaim that I desire to introduce my dictatorship while they abide by the democratic disciplines.

Thus being diametrically opposed to them on all these basic principles I could pull on any how with them only so long as I could not detect and ascertain fully the differences. But the moment I became convinced of all this I made up my mind to break with them while they too sensing this, prepared to flout openly the rules and decision in force of the Sabha, so much so that even without waiting for my formal secesion from the Sabha they rebelled and thus forced me to reconsider the whole situation and expel them their Sabhas and sympathisers from the All India Kisan Sabha instead of resigning myself.

This is the position in nutshell and I leave it to the people to judge and pass judgment. I may add here this much that their revolt has not only purified the Kisan Sabha but has also strengthened it. We have become stronger for this purging. Since they departed I am daily receiving most encouraging communications from the veteran Kisan leaders, organisers and the Kishan Sabhas from almost all the provinces to get themselves soon interlinked into the most solid All India Kisan Sabha. Therefore let the enemies and the wreckes of the Kishan Sabha not rejoice in the least.

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Conclusion

I have donc, I have taken much of your valuable time by dragging unnecessarily the controversal matters here, and I am painfully aware of it. But the life itself being nothing but a series of struggles which in their turn are caused by contro-

versies and contentions, I could not help it if I was to deal with our national life in all its aspects. Moreover, you yourself are to blame for it, as it is you who committed the mistake of choosing for the job a man whose life is dedicated to the cause of the Kisan and the poor and for the country, and who therefore is accustomed to sing the same song everywhere. Nevertheless I beg to be excused for inflicting such a tasteless and unwanted sermon on you.

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A MOVE FOR THE FORMATION OF AN
ALL INDIA ORGANISATION FOR THE KISANS.

With the release of the political leaders by the end of April last, there was a move to organise an All India Kisan Sabha. Babu Purshottam Das Tandon, Acharya Narendra Deva, Shri Sampurnanandji, Swami Sahajanand and others took leading part in this direction

ou On the 7th of August, 1945, a meeting was called by Babu Furshottam Das Tandon at Allahabad in which a dozen leading Kisan workers participated. This Meeting decided that a more representative Conference of Kisan workers be invited by B. Purshottam Das Tandon on the occasion of the next meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Consequently a representative Conference of Kisan workers was held in Bombay on the 24th of September, 1945. This Conference decided that a Committee of the following be formed

1. To find out the basic and fundamental principles, on which an All India organisation for Kisans could be formed
2. To organise provincial Kisan Organisations on these principles.
3. To bring an union amongst all such provincial organisations and finally to call a Conference of Kisan representatives when time was ripe at a suitable place with a view to form an All India Kisan Sabha. The members of the committee were Babu P. D. Tandon, Acharya Nerendra Deva, Shri Sampurnanand, Thakur Phool Singh, V. Raghvaiyah, R. V. Swaminathan, Abdul Rahman, K. G. Shiva Swami, Indulal Yagnik, Dhanraj Sharma, V. D. Tripathi, Swami Sahjanand, Avadheshwar Prasad Sinha with myself as Convenor.
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19 This committee met at the residence of Acharya Narendra Deva in Kashi Vidyapith to frame the basic and fundamental

principles on the 23rd, and 24th of January, 1946 The Committee took into consideration various answers to the questionaire which were issued to the members for the purposes of finding out their views on these principles. As a result of the discussions the attached basic and fundamental principles have been evolved.
The meeting passed a condolence resolution on the sad desmise of Mr. Abdul Rahman Saheb, one of its most important members.
I he following have been co-opted on the committee, (1) Mr. Umar Faruqi, N. W. F. P., (2) Shri Shishir Roy, (3) Saroj Chakravarti & Virendra Bhattacharya, from Bengal. The committee further decided to call a Conference of Kisan workers on the occasion of the next session of the Indian National Conggress in May when an All India organisation for Kisans will be brought into being, Shri P. D. Tandon, Achary a Narendra Deva, Sampurnanand, Swami Sahjanand Sarswati, Avadheshwar Pd and Algu Rai participated in the meeting at Benares.
31-1-46
ALGU RAI,

Convener
All India Kisan Organisation
Readers will please find other relevant matters in
the pages that follow,
Committee
Annexure I.
The Basic and fundamental principles for the formation of
ALL-INDIA KISAN ORGANISATION.
Main object of Kisan Sabha.
The main object of the Kisan Sabha should be the economic uplift of the kisans, the removal of their economic and social grievances and a thorough overhauling of the land tenure systems prevailing in the Provinces in the interest of the peasantry. Such political work as is immediately concerned with the economic life of the peasantry will come within the scope of this object. The Sabha stands for complete independence of the country wherein power shall be vested in the producing masses-the workers in fields and

factories. The larger political objective of the country's independence and of the steps and methods for achieving it will not be the direct concern of the Sabha The members of the Sabha will generally up to the Indian National Congress for a lead in the struggle for independence.
look
Fundamental demands of Kisan Sabha.
The fundmental demands of the Sabha should be the nationa-lisation of land and waterways and all sources of energy and wealth connected with land and water. A consequence of such nationalisation should be the devolution upon the State of the duty of providing every kisan with the means of decent living Such nationalisation must also result in a planned system embracing not only agriculture and the land but also industries and social services.
Immediate demands.
The immediate demand should be the abolition of the zamin-dari system and the removal of all intermediaries between the State

and the tiller of the soil, the introduction of a system of cooperative and where possible, collective farming; an examination of all agrarian debts with a view to scaling them down or cance ling them in deserving cases; provision of cheap credit facilities; introduction of scientific methods of agriculture; improvement of villages by a programme of building moderately comfortable cottages and roads; abolition of uneconomic holdings; security of tenure for all tenants; fixing a living wage for land labourers reclamation of land where possible and settling landless labourers thereon; acquisition of land by paying equitable compensation from those who possess vast domains; distributing them on reasonable basis among landless labourers or holders of very small plots; arrangement of clean; open spaces for playground and pasture; reduction of canal dues; speedy increase of education both among adults and boys and girls of school-going ages; introduction of a system of marketing agricultural commodities with a view to getting fair prices for them; introduction of consumers' cooperatives; provision for supply of cheap

fuel, power, manure and seeds; application of scientific methods for the improvement of live-stock; prevention of wastage of cattle encouragement for raising fodder crop; provision for cheap irrigation facilities and similar other progressive steps which may lead to immediate betterment of rural condition. These immediate demands should be taken up both in executive and legislative action by the new governments that are soon to come into existence. Immediate demands for a general improvement of the rural condition will naturally vary with the provinces.

Who is a Kisan ?

In framing the constitution of the Kisan Sabha the term "Kisan" will include landless labourers also for the purposes of membership

Membership of the Sabha.

Membership shall be open to those also who are not themselves kisans but are interested in, and willing to work for, the

uplift of kisans.
Membership of the proposed Kisan Sabha shall not be open to the members of the Communist Party and the Radical Democratic Party because of their anti-national policies. With the above exception all those who subscribe to the aims and objects and accept the constitution may be admitted unless there is something individually against any of them.
The Kisan Sabha should work as an organisation on the unitary principle with provincial organisations forming part of it and working under it.
Flag of the Sabha.
The Kisan Sabha should have two flags which should be flown together, viz. (1) the tricoloured National Flag and (2) a flag coloured red with a white plough in the middle of it. These two flags together will form a kind of coordinated flags of the Sabha. But provincial and local organisations subordinate to the Kisan Sabha will be free to use both or any of them: It is, however, desirable that even subordinate bodies should fly both the flags together.

(5) (65)

Annexure II.a od) to bite old of bluoda dil
QUESTIONAIRE:-
(01)
(1) Kindly state what should be the objects of the proposed All-India Kisan Sabha whether they should relate purely to the economic needs of the kisans and the Laws of Tenancy and other Conditions which effect their daily economic life or whether they should go further and concern themselves with political work and political emancipation of the country.
(2) What should, in your opinion, be the the economic aim of the Kisan Sabha ? Kindly state what should be the basic and fundamental demands of the Sabha and what should be its immediate demands and programme of work.
(3) If you hold the opinion that the Kisan Sabha should not confine its activities to the economic needs of the peasantry but

should have political objective also then kindly state what it should be and also give in general terms a programme to implement that objective.
(4) What class would you include under the term kisan ?
Do you agree that the term Kisan should include mere land labourers also?
(5) Having regard to the present condition of the peasants and land labourers, do you think the membership of the Sabha should be open to other classes also interested in Kisan welfare?
ed dow
(6) Should we exclude from the membership of Kisan Sabha such of the groups as have given the slogan of the 'People War' and have been opposed to the National Movement of 1942 ?
(7) Should the Kisan Sabha be a federation of Provincial Kisan Organisations or should it work on the unitary principles with Provincial organisation forming part of it and working under it?
mest
(8) Should the Kisan Sabha have a separate flag ?

(9) What should be the attitude of the Sabha towords the Red flag with a hammer and sickle ?
(10) If you have some suggestions to make on other points they will be welcomed.
de
Annexure IIJ.
PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALLAHABAD-MEETING.
"As previously announced a small meeting was held today on the invitation of Swami Sahjanand in the Satyanarain Kutir to consider the question of the formation of a peasant organisation on an All-India basis. The following were present :-
Swami Sahjanand Saraswati, Shri Jamuna Karjee and Shri Jadunandan Sharma from Behar, Shri Umar Faruq from the N. W: Frontier Province, Shri Sisir Roy from Bengal and Shri Acharya Narendra Deva, Shri Sampurnanand, Shri Algurai Shastri, Shri Phool Singh, Shri Harshdeo Malviya, Shri Satya Deva Shastri and

myself from the U. P.
It was unanimously accepted that the organization to be formed should function as an independent organization.
Having regard to the likelihood of the All-India Congress Committee meeting at a not distant date, it was resolved that a more representative gathering of those interested in Kisan work, be invited from the different provinces a day or two before or after the All-India Congress Committee meeting at the place where the A. I. C. C; meets. The responsibility of issuing invitations was entrusted to me.
повнова
It was also resolved that, in the meantime, the workers in the cause of the peasantry should take up the work of organising provincial Kisan Sabhas in the various provinces. Since a good number of workers are now out of jails, I trust, it will be possible

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(7)
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for them to take up Kishan work and to organise provincial Kisan Sabhas I hope that by the time the All-India Congress Committee meets it will be possible to form an All-India organisation not only on the basis of the old Kisan organisations that were functioning till 1942 and have become more or less quiescent because of the workers having been thrown into prison but also on the strength of the contacts that may be now established.
I shall be thankful if information of the organisations already functioning in different provinces and those that may be newly formed, is given to me
7th August, 1945.
Purushottamdas Tandon,"
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168.
(8)
२४ सतिम्बर १९४५ को

बम्बई की मीटगि में स्वीकृत हुआ प्रस्ताव
d
-::-:०:
chede da ord nd calm and posing ofni nyo
यह सभा इस बात पर प्रसन्नता प्रकट करती है कि सभी प्रान्तों में कसिान कार्यकर्ताओं में कसिान सभा के संगठन का भाव उठ रहा है परन्तु इस सभा की राय में कसिी अखलि भारतीय संगठन को स्थापति करना तत्काल संभव नही है । साथही सभा यह भी अनुभव करती है कि इन वभिनि प्रान्तीय प्रयत्नों को यथा सम्भव एक साथ ले चलना आवश्यक है जसिसे वह कसिानों का अधकितम हति कर सके और शोषण से उनकी रक्षा कर सके । इस उद्देश्य को सामने रख कर यह सभा नम्निलखिति सदस्यों की एक कमेटी नयिुक्त करती है और उनको नम्निलखिति काम सौंपती है ।
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१-उन मौलकि श्राधारों को नश्चिति करना जनि पर कसिान संगठन होना चाहएि।
१-इन आधारों के अनुसार प्रान्तों में कसिानों के संगठन में सहायता देना ।
३-वभिन्नि प्रान्तों के कसिान कार्य कर्त्ताथों और कसिान सभाओं में सम्बन्ध स्थापति करना ।
४-यह सभा कमेटी को यह भी आदेश देती है कि वह प्रान्तीय संगठनों के ठीक हो जाने पर समुचति स्थान और समय पर अखलि भारतीय कसिान सम्मेलन का श्रायोजन करें-
यह कमेटी अपने में सात सदस्य और बढ़ा सकती है । इस प्रकार कुल संख्या इस कमेटी की २१ तक हो सकती है ।
* सदस्यों के नाम पहले पृष्ट पर अन्यत्र दयि जा चुके हैं।
PRABHAT PRINTING GOTTAGE. AZAMGARH.

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The
Conciliation Committee
QUESTIONNAIRE
ADOPTED AT THE MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE, AT DELHI,
ON 29TH, 30TH AND 31ST DECEMBER 1944
PART I
1. What are the fundamental
rights which should be incorporated
in any future constitution of India?
What machinery would you suggest
for the enforcement of such of those

rights as are not justiciable (enforceable by a court of law)?

2. (a) What steps are, in your opinion, necessary to secure an adequate share and equal opportunities in legislatures, executive governments and the services for Hindus, Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Indian Christians, Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Parsis and other important sections of the population?

(b) Would you recommend in the case of minorities the establishment of (i) minorities' standing committees of legislatures, or (ii) independent minorities' commissions to deal with those rights which are not enforceable by a court of law? If so, indicate their composition, powers and procedure and their relations to the legislatures and executive governments.

3. Have you any suggestions to make for the adequate and early advancement of the Scheduled Castes, aboriginal tribes and those who are classified as backward classes in the Government of India Act, 1935, with a view to enabling them to enjoy equal opportunities in the social, educational and economic
national life?
spheres
PART II
of

1. (a) What are your views regarding the claim of the Muslim League, as expounded by Mr Jinnah in his letter to Mahatma Gandhi dated September 25, 1944, for the establish-

ment of an independent Pakistan state "composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, subject to territorial adjustments that may be agreed upon, as indicated in the Lahore Resolution "?

(b) If you are agreeable to the establishment of such an independent state, (i) on what principles should its territorial adjustments and boundaries be determined and (ii) what machinery would you suggest for such determination?

(c) Do you consider that a plebiscite should be taken to decide whether an independent state of Pakistan should be established, and if so (i) should it be taken in the provinces mentioned above as they exist at present or after territorial adjustments? (ii) What should be the electorate, method and machinery of such a plebisicite?

2. In case there are to be two independent states in India, do you consider it necessary to make arrangements and devise machinery for the administration of defence, foreign affairs and like matters of common interest, and if so, indicate the nature of the requisite arrangements and machinery.

3. In case you do not agree to the Muslim League claim for Pakistan, what alternative scheme would you suggest?

PART III
1. What are your views on the question of the inclusion of Indian States in an all-India union?
2. If you
PART IV
favour the establish-
ment of a single union for all India,
(a) on what lines should the functions of Government be divided between

the centre and the units? (b) Should the residuary powers vest in the centre or in the units?
2. (a) Should a province of British India or an Indian State be given, as contemplated in the Cripps' offer, the liberty of not acceding to the new constitution of an all-India union?
(b) Should the exercise of this
liberty be subject to the result of a
that
plebiscite, and in
case, what
should be the electorate, method and machinery for the plebiscite? .
(c) If your answer to (a) is in the affirmative, at what stage and under what conditions should this liberty be allowed to be exercised?
3. After an all-India union is established, should the units of the union be given the right of secession from it and, if so, on what condi-
tions?
4. Would you favour the realign-
ment of the boundaries of the units

in order to ensure, as far as possible, self-expression and cultural autonomy to different communities?

PART V

1. (a) What should be the nature and type of the provincial and central executives? Should it be parliamentary or non-parliamentary, removable or irremovable?

(b) Do you think it necessary to secure representation of different communities in the provincial and the central executives, and, if so, how would you achieve this end?

re-

2. What provisions would you suggest in relation to the composition of the central and provincial legislatures which would provide adequate presentation for different communities and interests? Indicate your views regarding (a) franchize, (b) electorates, (c) constituencies, (d) method of election (direct or indirect), and (e) allocation of seats.

3. What provisions would you suggest for making amendments in the future constitution?

7, Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi,
4-1-1945.

PART VI.

1. What constituent machinery (with details of composition, powers and procedure) would you suggest for (a) framing and enacting the new constitution; and for (b) the

transfer of power to the authorities established under the new constitution?

PART VII

1. Until such time as the new constitution comes into force, what changes would you suggest in the character, composition and working of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, either by suitable legislation or by the adoption, wherever necessary, of suitable conventions? (In this connection, attention is drawn to clause (e) of the Cripps proposals, reproduced below.)

PART VIII

1. In the event of failure to agree on the part of different communities, would you suggest that His Majesty's Government should frame and enact a constitution for India, or what other course would you suggest?

THE FOLLOWING IS CL. E OF THE CRIPPS PROPOSALS

"(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world-war effort but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of Government of India with the cooperation of the peoples of India. His

Majesty's Government desire and
invite the immediate and effective
participation of the leaders of the
of the
principal sections
Indian
people in the counsels of their coun-
try, of the Commonwealth and of the
United Nations. Thus they will be
enabled to give their active and
constructive help in the discharge of
a task which is vital and essential
for the future freedom of India."
K. SANTHANAM,
Joint Secretary.

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116-390
"Servants of Islam Society" Publication No. 3.
171
SHIA-SUNNI DISPUTE
ITS CAUSES AND CURE
A critical analysis of the
Presidential Address of Sir Sultan Ahmed.
BY
ZAFARULMULK
SECRETARY
MADHE SAHABA COMMITTEE
LUCKNOW
(TRANSLATED FROM URDU)

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172
بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم
17 0:

Thus Said the Holy Prophet, the recipient of
Divine Revelation, through whom the Lord conveyed
His orders as to what was enjoined upon the faithful
and what was forbidden to them:-
Next to the Great Prophets, the sun never shone
upon any one superior to Abu-Bakr.
Omar gave Islam the strength to come out in the
open and adorned the world like a garden in spring.
Next to these two came Usman, chaste and firm
of faith.
The fourth of them was Ali, the husband of
Fatima. The Prophet has unstinted praise for his
virtues. (Firdausi)[1]

In his presidential address at the Shia All Parties Conference held on April 14, 1940, Sir Sultan Ahmad put forward the following three demands on behalf of the Shia Community :-

1. The Shias should have full liberty to perform ceremonies relating to the celebration of the martyrdom of Imam Husain.
2. Shia representation in the provincial and Central Legislatures and in local bodies should be fixed in accordance with some convention.

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3. Madhe Sahaba assemblages, processions and other demonstrations, calculated to wound the feelings of the Shias, should be banned.

It would not be out of place to venture a few observations on these demands, as this will enable the other side of the

1. Translated from Shahnama Vol I Page 5 (Tehran edition)

boold

picture also to see the light of the day and will help outsiders to view the matter in its true perspective.

We will take up the demands serially.

I. LIBERTY TO MOURN.

As far as we know the Government have given full liberty to the Shias in the matter. Nor have the Sunnis ever demanded the suppression of these ceremonies; or have ever interfered with the Shias in these matters.

Sir Sultan Ahmad has contented himself with putting forward the demand and emphasising the traditional importance of the ceremonies but has nowhere taken pains to mention a single instance of interference or obstruction either by the Government or the Sunnis. As far as Lucknow, at least, is concerned I am definite that it is impossible for him to quote even a single instance.

The Sunni doctrine undoubtedly forbids these ceremonies to them and their theologians are unanimous in prohibiting them and view Taziadari and the like practices as being extremely deleterious to the temporal and spiritual well being of the Muslims. Right down from Ghausul Azam Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani, Imam Ibne Taimia and Hazrat Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani to the present theologians of Firangi Mahal, Deoband, Bareilly, Delhi, Bhopal and Hyderabad, in short of all schools of Islamic learning and culture, all theologians without a single exception have been issuing fatwas branding Azadari (mourning and lamentatoin) as one of the practices which are repugnant to the Islamic teachings. All those who have been trying to keep alive the true spirit of Islam by teaching the illiterate and ignorant Sunnis to do what is in accordance with the divine law and to refrain from doing what is forbidden have been unsparing in their efforts to save them from the sin of Taziadari. Efforts to prevent the virus of Tazia dari from entering into the blood of the Sunnis are of this type and they are solely

directed towards the Sunni masses. The Shias are certainly not addressed, nor can they be expected to listen to the preaching or the fatwas of the Sunni theologians in preference to their own Mujtahids, although it is apparent even from the writings

of some Shia Ulemas that they too hold some of the prevailing practices of Taziadari to be anti-Islamic and hence sinful.
To quote an instance, the following fatwa from Shaikh Mohammad Naqi, an Irani Shia Mujtahid appeared in Chehra-Numa, which is an organ of the Shias of Egypt. The issue to which I refer is dated 15th Ziqad 1347 A. H. corresponding to April 25, 1929.
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'Regarding the matter of tying the hands, beating the breasts, beating the body with chains and putting nails into it and scarring the head with swords, the reply is that these barbaric practices are absolutely against the Islamic Law, the Quran, the tradition and the approved practices. It was mainly to keep Islam alive that Hazrat Husain ibne Ali refused to swear allegiance to Yazid and thereby attained martyrdom. It can well be imagined that he would never be pleased with these relics of barbarism which are indulged in, in the name of the so called mourning. If we turn to the Quran we find that it does not even permit the beating of the breasts, not to mention the striking of the body with chains and locks. The Lord God has said in the Holy Quran- "Do not jeopardize thine lives by thine own actions." It is laid down in the sayings of the Imams and in the traditions that it is forbidden to mourn even for the nearest relative or to permit even a scratch on the face and if one scratches himself ever so little he commits a sin and is guilty of a practice that is forbidden to a Muslim. Even the best of the martyrs, (Hazrat Husain) himself when he was taking the last leave of his family spoke thus to Hazrat Zainab :-"Dear sister! Whosoever is a live being, either on this earth or on the sky, must die. No one will live eternally but God. See that you do not slap your face or scratch it on hearing of my death." Can anyone say in the face of these

instructions (of the Imam to his sister) that these savage rites are in accordance with Islam. The explicit words of the Imam were that whosoever indulged in these rites after him would be guilty

of a sin and shall have to answer for it. Those who perform these rites out of ignorance, grievously wound Islam. Foreigners take pictures of these pastimes of the ignorant and they are exhibited in European cinemas and earn derision and ridicule for Islam."

Then there are the following fatwas from Maulana Ali Al Hairi of Lahore:-

"Question-Is it proper or is it a sin to take part in such mourning majlisses in which there are observed certain practices which are against the Islamic law e. g. in which false and fictitious incidents are narrated, dirges are sung and drums are beaten.

"Question-Speakers in majlisses recount the tale of the marriage of Hazrat Qasim son of Hassan (peace be on him). Some of the true believers hold that this is not a fact and quote you as their authority. hope that to satisfy us and to guide our practices you would oblige us by giving a fatwa on the question.

We such To

Answer-The pratices mentioned are definitely against Islam. The mourning majlisses should be free from anti-Islamic practices. participate in those majlisses in which such practices are observed is certainly a sin."

(Al Hafiz Vol II. No. 5 for Muharram 1345 A. H.)

Answer-The marriage
of Hazrat Qasim is not borne
out by any authentic tradition.
I therefore consider it wrong
to narrate it. The story is
absolutely groundless and is
merely a calumny. It is a
sin to narrate and to listen to
this false tale." (Ibid).
What however clinches the issue is the following on page
60 of the well known book, La Yahzarahul Faqih printed in
Matbai Jafari, Lucknow. This book is regarded as one of the
four pillars of Shia theology.

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him)
Amirul Mominin (Hazrat Ali-Peace be on
said: Whosoever resuscitates a grave or
makes a replica of it definitely places him-
self beyond the pale of Islam.''
We do not care a bit however if the Shias pay any heed or
not to the fatwas of their own mujtahids or act in a spirit
which is contrary to their own religious precepts; "Lakum
Dinukum waleyadin" (every one to his own religion) as the
Holy Quran puts it. It is however interesting to note that
Sir Sultan and all the other Shias are one in regarding the tazia
as a replica of the tomb of Hazrat Imam Husain.
It does not lie in the mouth of those persons who wish that
the ignorant masses of the Sunnis should be allowed to remain
steeped in the sin of Taziadari and who want that no effort
should be made to wean them from these anti-Islamic and
highly deleterious practices, to have any say in these matters.
In his apologia for Taziadari Sir Sultan Ahmad has elevated
many an Old Wives tales to the level of sober facts of history.
He ought to know that the practices of Tamerlane and Humayun

or of Zebunnisa and Bahadur Shah do not set a standard for Islamic rectitude. The right and the wrong, and the repugnance or otherwise of all actions is to be judged only at the bar of the Islamic law. By Islamic Law we of course mean the Quran, the traditions and the rules that follow from them as a corollary. Instead of trotting out fictitious tales of Zebunnisa's Tazia dari and holding them up as an example, Sir Sultan should have faced the bitterness of truth by referring to the famous and voluminous work on Islamic Law "The Fatawa Alamgiri," compiled under orders from Alamgir, the illustrious father of Zebunnisa, and to learn therein what Islamic law has to say about Tazia dari.

To tell the truth, the Shias have to thank their own actions, perpetrated now and then in the perverseness of anger and fanaticism, for any restrictions that the Government might have had to impose on their wanton practices of Taziadari.

To take a recent example, first of all they abstained for a considerable time from most of their mourning practices by way of protest and then perpetrated the provocative Tabarra agitation which disturbed the peace. The imposition of the Curfew Order, the promulgation of Sec. 144 and the posting of the Punitive Police naturally followed. When later on the Shias awoke to their senses and showed their willingness to perform their abandoned practices, the administation had no way out but to arrange for heavy police safeguards. These belated processions tamely went their way in the city, the crowds of sightseers which add to the aplendour of the processions being conspicuous by their absence, preferring the safety of their homes to the risk of going abroad in the disturbed condition of the streets.

The Shia ceremonies also suffered from the fact that Shia obstinacy and perverseness alienated the sympathy of the Sunni masses. The Sunnis got such persistent stabs to their sentiment that they had no vestige of feeling left for the Shias. There

was bound to be a reaction to the thousand and one threats of blood baths and actual riots and murders by the Shias during the last few years.

The Sunnis were convinced that the Shias were determined to stand in the way of their legitimate religious and civil liberty and they naturally had no sympathy and interest left for the Shia ceremonies and celebrations. If a sect wants to coerce another and to put viclent obstacles in the way of its legitimate activities, it must know that it thereby plainly furnishes an object lesson to the opressed sect, which the latter would not be long to learn. Those Shias who are labouring under the delusion that by fighting whith the Sunnis and by intimidating the administration by threats of disturbances they can accomplish the end of stopping the assemblages and the processions of the Sunnis are as a matter of fact inviting the peace-loving Sunnis to adopt the same tactics for the preservation of their own rights.

It is really a matter for extreme regret that the atmosphere of Lucknow which had been vitiated by the Shias should have

reacted even on a legal luminary and experienced leader of the calibre of Sir Sultan Ahmad and that even he should have been led astray in having recourse to intimidation by holding out the threadbare threat of blood flooing into the streets of the city. If the Shias continue to consider violence as the most effective instrument for bullying the Sunnis and the Government and attempt to put this instrument to practical use the necessary result will be that their ceremonies will be still more drastically and adversely affected.

I wish the Shias had enough sense to realise that the blame for all this discord between them and the Sunnis lies totally at the door of their own fanaticism and violence and particularly at the door of their Tabarra. So long as the Iranis were steeped in the vice of Tabarra they never succeeded in establishing happy relations with the Islamic world. Sultan Nasiruddin Qachar had the sense to realise it and strove to stop the

nefarious practice.
Mirza Syed Mehdi son of Mirza Md. Isfahani known as Eitimadus Saltanat, one of the ministers of Sultan Nasiruddin Qachar, has the following to say on page 131 Chapter VIII of his book Kitabul Maasir Wal Asar, published in Tehran:-
The King of Iran, the Defender of the faith, has put a total stop to these barbaric practices in his domains and gave me strict orders to keep a vigilant eye on all books and publications and to take drastic action against any person who might have indulged in any sort of imprecations or abuses against the venerable Companions of the holy Prophet and to proscribe all such books and publications.
is now years since the celebration of the Id commemorate the memory of the murderers of Khalifa Omar, known as Omar Kusha (or Bazm-i-Firozi) has
abolished throughout
fictitious tale of Baba Shuja has
Iran, the
been
fictitious
It

been consigned to oblivion and all the books nave been purged of calumnies and abuses. !!
And every body knows that during the present regime of His Majesty Raza Shah Pehlavi the offence of Tabarra is punishable with death.
1 presume Sir Sultan concedes even to the slavery-ridden Sunnis of India the right to be classed as human beings. If he does, we would ask Sir Sultan just to imagine what acute anguish he would feel if some sect or individual were to make it a point to indulge in calumny and abuse even towards his

temporal leaders, not to mention the religious leaders. Did Sir Sultan and other claimants to Islam never feel any revulsion of feeling when some Aryas or Christian priests indulged in filthy abuses and calumnies against the holy Prophet and His wives? Is Sir Sultan labouring under the delusion of assessing the Sunnis to be so mean-spirited and shameless and to be so far removed from Islam that they have not even as much respect for the illustrious Caliphs as the Shias themselves have for their Imams or even for their temporal leaders.

Sir Sultan must have read in history that when Shah Jehan was apprised of the fact that during the reign of Qutub Shah, the King of Golcunda, Tabarra was recited in public places, he sent an ultimatum to Golcunda asking Qutub Shah to stop the indecency or to suffer for the consequences and at the same time ordered him to pay tribute. This affair as all readers of history know ended in the downfall of Golcunda and in its annexation to the Mughal domains during the reign of Alamgir.

The practices indulged in the name of mourning in Iran have been consigned to oblivion. It remained the unenviable distinction of Lucknow alone, the late capital of the effeminate Wajid Ali Shah, that for 2 months and 10 days continuously and on every Friday night, as well as on all first Thursdays of the lunar month, mourning ceremonies were at first performed here. The present day Shias have gone one better by

performing such ceremonies on all the first Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays of the lunar month also, thus devoting almost 5 months each year to these observances. At this rate it is not difficult to foresee a day when all the 365 days of the year will be spent in mourning. The Muslims and the followers of other sects have of course nothing to do with this. The Shias are masters of their own time and they can pass it in any manner they choose. It is however impossible that the din and tumult generated in these observances and the unseemly

conduct indulged in at times on these occasions should not be a nuisance to the Sunnis, nor should the Shias expect that the Muslims and the people of other communities would give up for the sake of the Shias the performance of their own religious and civil duties.

2. SHIA REPRESENTATION.

Sir Sultan Ahmad wants that Shia representation in Provincial and Central Legislatures and Local bodies should be determined by way of convention. I think the Muslims should concede this demand with the utmost readiness, because at present the Shias manoeuvre to secure such a number of seats for themselves as is out of all proportion to their numerical strength. In this very Shia All Parties Conference Raja Ghazanfar Ali, a Punjab M. L. A., had to admit in his speech that the Shias have secured a very large number of seats in the Punjab. Besides their representation, the rights of the Sunnis are being ruthlessly trampled by the over-representation of the Shias in the services. Equity itself demands that the representation of the Shias in the services too should be determined. These things cannot however be based on convention; they can be determined only when the Shias are treated as a separate and distinct minority, just as the Sikhs are separated from the Hindus and treated as a separate minority.

Sir Sultan lays the blame on the Sunnis that all their electioneering is based on a majority versus minority basis, but

here too he has contented himself with an unsubstantiated charge without adducing any proofs in support. If Sir Sultan could summon enough patience and judiciousness to listen to facts, he would find that the aggrieved party are really the Sunnis, and not the Shias, because it is the latter who are usurping the rights of the Muslims by over-representation both in the Legislatures and in other bodies, as well as in the services. In the light of statistics his blame on the Muslims is absolutely and definitely wrong and baseless. To take the most chari-

table view possible, Sir Sultan has been grievously misled by the Shia propagandists into rating the Shia population to be something between 2 to 3 crores. To disillusion him we appened below the figures for Shia population taken from the census report for the year 1921.

Provinces
Shia
population
Reference
Assam
434
Vol
III Part I page 53
Baluchistan
3739
IV
48
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19
" 17
Bihar and Orissa
17000
I
120
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99
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Bengal
2580
V
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Bombay and
144427
VIII

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Sindh
(Appendix A)
C. P. and Berar
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XI
II
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91
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Frontier
80200
XIV
I
84 87
99
19
19
Province
Madras
54114
XIII
59
99
99
99 99
Punjab and Delhi 259351
Rajputana and 20291
Ajmer-Merwara
17
XV
XXIV
176
99
2.9

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100
19
U. P.
Total
173523
(Vide the foot-note)
767299
*For some unknown reason or
omission the Shia population of U. P. was not
shown separately in the census report of 1921. The figures have therefore been taken
from the statistics for the year 1911, which has fortunately given details for each district.

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11
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This does not include some figures of miscellaneous population viz: of those residing in the cantonments of the Native States or in tribal districts and ceded estates which are under British administration. Taking these figures at a fairly liberal estimate and allowing for increase in their population during the period of 1921 to 1940, the Shia population can in no way exceed 10 lakhs, all told.

Among the people classed as Muslims, the Shias and the Ahmadis are the two sects which have basic differences with Muslims and are a constant source of internecine trouble and discord on account of their extreme fanaticism. It would be a real gain to the health of the body politic of Islam if these two sects were lopped off and treated as separate minorities and were apportioned their shares in elective bodies and services in just proportion to their actual numerical strength.

The last fault that can be laid at the door of the Muslims is that they can ever tolerate even the idea of usurping: the rights of the minorities. Our experience in Lucknow has been that for the long stretch of 30 years in which mixed electorates were in vogue, the Shias always manoeuvred with the Hindu

majority to keep off the Muslims and during all this time only two Muslims could secure seats in the Municipality. When separate electorate was however introduced in 1916, three seats out of eleven were set apart for the Shias as a matter of convention, though, the Shias as a matter of fact constituted only 20 p. c. of the Muslim population of Lucknow. The Shia leaders really want to have it both ways. On the one hand they appropriate all the advantages that they can, by claiming to be a part and parcel of the Muslim population, and, on the other hand, and in the same breath, they claim that their sect should be treated as a separate entity.

It is really amazing that even Sir Wazir Hasan, an enlightened and highly educated leader, who was for 6 years the Secretary of the All India Muslim League and who gained his footing in the Council as a Muslim representative and also

owed to it his elevation to the post of the Chief Judge of the Chief Court of Oudh, could find it possible to deliver the following words in a Shia gathering in the Ganga Pershad Memorial Hall on February 5, 1940.

"If the Shias of India be not labelled as a nation in themselves they difinitely form a sect in themselves. Their distinctive features make them an entity apart from the other Muslims. They have absolutely different conceptions about the Unity of God, Godhood, the Quran, the Prophethood, the Caliphate, the fasts and the prayers, the marriage and burial ceremonies, in short in the interpretation of all matters, basic or subsidiary, and, this constitutes a definite line of demarcation."

These words were followed by an express declaration from Sir Wazir—

"We have separate history and separate traditions and no one could deny that even our legal principles, which are a pivot for all civic life, are absolutely different. Look at our laws relating to marriage, divorce and inheritance, and you

would find them to be dissimilar (to those of the Muslims.) How then could there be any unity between them and us. (Daily Sarfaraz of Lucknow, dated 9-2-40)

Sir Wazir Hasan's straight talk is really a creditable performance. I wish the other Shia leaders, who have been building a separate political existence for themselves through the All India Shia Conference, the Shia College, the Shia Political Conference, the Madrasatul Waizeen and other Shia bodies, were equally outspoken, because that would quickly pave the vay for the legal recognition of the Shias as a separate minority and for the determination of their rights as a separate entity.

The Muslims, I repeat, are suffering grievous spiritual and temporal losses from the Shias and the Ahmadis. With the exception of a very few, the educated Sunnis are blissfully ignorant of the huge number of Sunnis who have been led astray by the propaganda carried on by these two sects and they are

unaware of the number of perverts that annually go over to these religions Not even those bodies who have proselytization as their basic objects have any idea about them. The Muslims spend their money and time on converting people of other religions but are unaware of those unfortunate Muslims who are sneaked away from them by the Shias and the Ahmadis and are lost to Islam. These perverts are steadily swelling the ranks of the renegades.

What Dr. Aqbal said about putting the Ahmadis outside the pale of Muslim religion applies with added strength to the Shias. As long as these two sects are not amputated from the body politic of Islam, the running sore of perversion among the Sunnis will continue and as sure as there is a day of judgment, people who can, but will not stir their little finger for saving their brother Muslims from falling a prey to Shias and Ahmadis, will have to answer for it to their God.

Soon or late the Muslims become alive to the dangers of conversion to Christianity, the Hinduism and other religions

because they are openly different religions; but the Muslims slumber on and fail to make any organized effort while the Shias and the Ahmadis, who outwardly profess to be Muslims, go on silently and steadily undermining the Islam and the Muslims.

Those who think that I have painted the picture in too lurid colours should make enquiries about the Shias and the Ahmadis living in their midst and find out whether they came over from other religions or were Sunnis who have been perverted to these sects. I assert with all confidence that these enquiries will establish that hardly only 5 p. c. of these 50,000 Ahmadis and 10. lac of Shias are converts from other religions; the remaining huge percentage of 95 will be that of the unfortunate Sunnis who have succumbed to the wiles of the Shia and Ahmadi propagandists. Among the Shias there will be found a large number of persons who centuries ago, in Iran and in Mesopotamia, and a few generations back in India, gave up the Sunni

religion. In this very city of Lucknow there are many a well known personage whose ancestors gave up their religion in the time of the Nawabs of Oudh but still take pride in calling themselves Siddiquis, Farooqis, Usmanis, and Alavis (i. e. descendents of the house of Abu Bakr Siddique, Omar Farooq, Usman and Ali).

Apart from this spiritual loss, the Muslims have also grievously suffered in mundane matters, in as much as the Shias always appropriate more than their numerical due in every sphere of activity and what they appropriate in excess goes not from any other share but from that of the Muslims themselves.

We will take just one or two examples to establish our point. The Shias constitute only 3 p. c. of the Muslim population in U. P. but out of the nine Muslims who could secure elevation to the bench of the Allahabad High Court and the Oudh Chief Court since their establishment, as many as three of them

were Shias and out of the two Home Members, one was a Shia..
The nubmer of the Muslims who held portfolios in the Cabinet of the Central Government was 5 upto date. Out of these 3 only were Sunnis; one was a Shia and the other an Ahmadi.
It is a biological fact that the small minorities are always well-organised and aggressively sectarian and many a Muslim in Government and semi-Govt. services have to lament their fate in falling a prey to sectarian aggressiveness on the part of the Shias and the Ahmadis.
In these Provinces, since the advent of the Public Service Commission, it would be difficult to spot a department in which the Sunnis have not suffered losses as far as the services are concerned. It would be wrong to think that these losses are merely temporary and that a change in the personnel of the Commission would wipe them off. Those who have got in now by usurping the places of the Sunnis, would be there to block the progress of the subsequent Sunni employees for the

next 25 or 30 years. Besides, what guarantee is there that this welcome administrative change would not take years before it becomes a fact.
The Sunnis, in particular the educated scions of the noble families of Sunnis in these provinces, have no other source of advancement, and even of livelihood, except the services and it is to secure this that Muslim parents squander heavy amounts for giving their sons higher education in the Universities.
Can the Sunnis ever forget how they are being trampled down in the name of constitutional procedure and the regulations?
Just as communalism has created and is constantly widening the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims in their political reapprochment, the Shias have created a breach in the inter-Muslim unity and the more the Shia communalism goes from strength to strength and the greater the number of the Shias that flourish at the expense of the Muslims, the wider and more

unbridgable will be the gulf that would separate the two sects.

3. PREVENTION OF MADHE SAHABA

In support of this demand Sir Sultan Ahmad has tried to make out the best of what is an absolutely bad case and the demand under this head is nothing short of an insulting piece of presumptuousness.

It is said that the Madhe Sahaba assemblages and processions are an innovation and it is asserted that these practices obtain nowhere in the world with the solitary exception of Lucknow.

If we look to the question from the strictly religious point of view, Milad Sharif, Juloosi Muhammadi, Seeratunnabi meetings, Urses (anniversaries) of the Saints, the ceremonies in connection with mourning like tazia, menhdi, duldul and taboot are, one to all, innovations To make it easier for Sir Sultan to understand the matter, the phrase of Khalifatahu

bila fasl is also an innovation. The azan as given by Imam Jafar Sadiq in La Yahzarahul Faqih on page 93 Vol I does not contain this phrase and the author has clinched the issue by adding: "This is the correct azan, nothing more, nothing less."

After the times of the Holy Prophet, according to the Sunni beliefs, the days of the illustrious Caliphs, the Tabaeen and the Taba-i-Tabaeen make the best period of Islam, but there is no trace of Milad Sharifs or the Urs ceremonies of the Saints, during those epochs. The Juloos-i-Muhammadi and Seeratunnabi meetings were introduced only a few years back in Hindustan after the extinction of the Turkish caliphate.

We have not cared to investigate how bidaat is defined in the Shia theology, but history establishes it that the mourning ceremonies, which later on prevailed in Iran and India, were absolutely unknown even to the times of their eleventh Imam. As to the Tazias, Sir Sultan himself contends, not on grounds of history but on hearsay handed down from generation to

generation, that it is a momento of the time of Tamerlane and, thus, an Indian invention. If there had been even a shred of historical truth in this claim the compendious and detailed Tuzuki Taimuri *would have surely contained at least some slight or even a remote reference to it. It therefore follows that, if from a strict religious point of view the Madhe Sahaba meetings and processions are innovations, the Milad Sharif, the Juloos-i-Muhammadi, the Seeratunnabi meetings, the Urs ceremonies of Saints, and, with added applicability, the mourning practices themselves, are all innovations.

We will give later an exposition of the question of Madhe Sahaba from a religious point of view. Here we have simply to say that conceding, for argument's sake, that Tamerlane had a right to console himself by constructing a tazia, the Sunni Ulemas of Lucknow, too, have decidedly the right to "Autograph memoirs of Tamerlane.

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propagate the virtues of the Sahaba by holding meetings and processions for the purpose and it should be remembered that this right has been given to them, not by Tamerlane, but it has been enjoined upon them as a duty by an authentic tradition of the Holy Prophet of which the following is a literal translation -

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If mischiefs or bidaats appear and persons speak ill of the Sahaba, those who are learned should demonstrate their learning in the cause of the virtues of my sahaba; if any one omits to act thus, may the curses of God, all the angels and of humanity fall upon him. God will not vouchsafe to accept the performance of any duty or any virtue from such a defaulter'

(Sawaiqi-Muharriqa, page 2)

Any objection to Madhe Sahaba on grounds of custom falls to the ground; first of all because Islam not only does not

sanctify customs, but was really revealed to the world with the proclaimed ideal of removing the manacles of customs and practices from the feet of humanity.
Ghalib, the great poet, who claimed to be an adherent of Ali, the lion of God, has thus expressed this truth:-
"We believe in the oneness of God. Our religion lies in doing away with customs."
Secondly, Sir Sultan should know that Egypt celebrates the martyrdom of Hazrat Omar and Hazrat Osman every year and commemorative meetings are held in certain Indian cities also on the anniversaries of the Caliphs.
I suppose Sir Sultan has heard of Fatehpur, a well-known town only some 40 miles from Lucknow. Here, not only a Madhe Sahaba procession is taken out every year since 1901, but in all the mosques at the time of the five azans the names

of the great Caliphs are prcclaimed according to their rightful order in the Caliphate. The person responsible for this "bidaat" (religious innovation) there was the noted saint and theologian, the late Hazrat Maulana Syed Abid Husain, to the glory of whose soul the credit for the procession and the proclamation goes.
If the recitation of Madhe Sahaba had been a condemnable innovation from the religious point of view, it would never have received in 1908-1909 the support of the well-known Saint and Teacher, the late Hazrat Maulana Syed Ainul Quzat, who, as we all know, was the teacher both of the late Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal and of Maulana Abdul Shakoor. It was to the support and encouragement of that renowned and revered savant that the Madhe Sahaba in Lucknow owes its real inception.
Sir Sultan must be knowing the English Law, and even according to it an innovation is not a crime by itself.
A learned judge of the High Court of judicature at Allahabad has cleared up the point thus:-

''Their Lordships of the Privy Council have
clearly held that persons, of whatever sect,
are entitled to conduct religious processions
through public streets..... The right thus
recognised by their Lordships is again not one
which is dependent for its enforcement on the
previous exercise of it.....The members
of any other community or sect, however cannot,
on the sole ground that it is an innovation,
arrogate to themselves the right to object''
(A. I. R. Allahabad 1935.
page 577.)
Page 22 of the Allsop Committee report lays down that:
We do not suppose that any body would now
maintain that a religious procession or assem-

bly should be prohibited merely because it
was an innovation. ''
In spite of all this, if Sir Sultan thinks that he can challen-
ge our right to Madhe Sahaba on any legal ground, the easiest
course for him is to knock at the doors of the law Courts
instead of careering about the country and filling it with the
din of propaganda and confusing the issue by raising a hue
and cry about the danger to Islamic unity.
When in the beginning of 1937 the Government of Sir
Harry Haig appointed the late Mr. Gwynne, Chief Secretary,
to talk over the matter with the Sunni and the Shia leaders
with a view to bring about a compromise between the two
sects, the Sunni representatives put forward a tentative pro-
posal that the Government should proceed against persons
who recited Madhe Sahaba in public under Sec. 298 of the
I. P. C. and that, if it succeeded in obtaining a conviction, the
Sunnis would give up their demand for the puplic recital of
the Madhe Sahaba till such time as they got that Section
amended in the Central Legislature according to their wishes.

They at the same time stipulated that if the Government failed to obtain a conviction, it should at once proceed to abrogate its resolution of the year 1909 and remove all restrictions from the Madhe Sahaba. Neither the Shia representatives nor Mr. Gwynne agreed to such a sporting offer.
It is a delusion to think that the Sunnis can be intimidated into giving up the Madhe Sahaba by threats of riots and bloodbaths. The Lucknow Sunnis refused to bend their knees in this respect to the non-Muslim majority; can anybody, with even a grain of sense in him, hope that they would kow-tow to the Shia minority. During the last few years the Shias engineered not a few riots with resultant loss of life on both sides, but they failed to intimidate the Government, and the Sunnis were not cowed down into giving up their demands. The members of the Government alone can know the true state of

the nerves of the Government, but as far as the Sunnis are concerned, they are every hour getting more and more determined to defend their right to the last breath in their body.
We assure the Shias that the more the unseemly incidents from their side continue, the stronger will be the steely purpose of the Sunnis to hang to their right with the skin of their teeth. These incidents will serve only to intensify their bitterness against the Shias.
It was the ancestors of these very Sunnis that razed to the ground the proud edifices of the Persian and Roman Empires, carved out with their swords renowned kingdoms in the three continents and led the life of soldiers in arms constantly for more than twelve centuries. We may be a sad and a poor relic of these ancestors, but he knows ill the virtue of centuries of a proud unbroken tradition who labours under the hallucination that even now, when we have fallen upon evil days, we have become so craven-hearted and abject in spirit that we would care even a jot for the ridiculous threats of the Shias. Such threats merely put us on our mettle and make us the more de-

termined to guard the memory of the Sahaba with our lives and to nourish the Madhe Sahaba with our life blood.
The Shias, the big as well as the lesser fry among them, are never tired of the false propaganda that the Piggott as well as the Allsop Committees have absolutely prohibited the Madhe Sahaba and the wonder of wonders is that even the learned and shrewd Sir Sultan has taken up the refrain although the truth is just the contrary.
Addressing the Legislative Assembly on July 12, 1939, Premier Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant spoke as follows:-
'I can assure the members that the Piggott and Allsop Committees definitely laid down that the Sunnis' right of recitation of Madhe Sahaba could not be denied and that it could be exercised under circumstances in which we

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even contem-
have allowed it and perhaps they
plated its exercise under greater freedom. The restriction issued by the then Government in 1909 was
similar (National Herald, Lucknow dated July 13th, page 12.)
It seems necessary to amplify what has been dealt with briefly in this speech and to serve this end it would not be out of place to give here relevant extracts from the reports of these two Committees and the Government resolutions thereon, which explicitly or by implication admit the right to the recitation of the Madhe Sahaba.
This is from Clause 31 of the Piggott Committee report :-
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What we want is a rule which shall deal effectively with the abuse which seeks to con-
vert a Moharram procession into a Charyari de-
monstration while yet interfering as little as

possible with the liberty of the Sunnis
assert the distinguishing doctrines of their
faith."
to
In their lengthy resolution published by the Government of
Sir John Hewett on January 7, 1909, clause 15 has the follow-
ing express declaration :-
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66
The desire which is sufficiently apparent
from the whole of their memorandum is to secure
pronouncement from Government that the
public recitation of the praises of the first
three Khalifas is at all times a provocation
and an offence against the public peace. It
is obviously impossible for the Government to
issue any such pronouncement.....
A closer analogy is offered by the Shia formula
which acclaims Ali as Khalifa Bila Fasl,"
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thus asserting their belief in his immediate

succession to the Prophet. They
themselves
strongly object to being restrained from the
public utterance of this formula."
Clause 17 of the same Resolution has the following definite
pronouncement :-
To issue a general proclamation with in-
tent to render liable to punishment any indivi-
dual who in any public place and under any
circnmstances whatsoever sang or recited in
an audible voice verses in praise of the
first three Khalifas is a step the Government
is not prepared to take. "

The recommendation of the Piggott Committee was that Madhe Sahaba should be prohibited on the three days of Ashra, Chehlum and the 21st of the month of Ramzan. The Government accepted this recommendation in their resolution of January 7, 1909 and promulgated prohibitory orders accordingly. The Muslims however disobeyed these orders at the very first apportunity and some eight to nine hundred persons were arrested the same day. That was before the Majlis-i-Ahrar came into being, nor was there any such thing then as a Madhe Sahaba Committee or the Majlis-i-Tahaffuz-i-Namoos-i-Sahaba. Aa a matter of fact there was at that time no political awakening or organization among the Muslims in the true sense of the word. Even the Muslim League was then a child of recent birth.

This demonstration of dissatisfaction by the Muslims compelled Mr. A. H. Radice, the then Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, to issue the following proclamation on 26th March 1909 :-

"Whereas the orders published by the Government in the city of Lucknow relating to Ashra, Chehlum and 21st Ramzan resulted in creating a misunderstanding among certain people that Madhe Sahaba has been totally forbidden while those orders do not intend any such thing, the following orders are therefore promulgated again :-

1. Madhe Sahaba is not and never was forbidden.
2. Every one high and low has the right to recite Madhe Sahaba at any time and in any assemblage within his house, mosque, grove and other bounded place which is his private possession.
3. Madhe Sahaba should not be recited in public streets, lanes and open places on the days of the Ashra of Muharram, the Chehlum and the 21st of Ramzan.
4. If it is desired to recite Madhe Sahaba in procession or meeting on occasions other than the above on roads, lanes

and open spaces, permission should be obtained three days in advance from the office of the Supdt. of Police."

Do these quotations leave any loophole for any doubt that the Piggott Committee or the Government of Sir John Hewett, wanted that Madhe Sahaba should be treated as an offence like the Tabarra and should be totally forbidden.

As regards the Tabarra it has been expressly dealt with in clause 15 of the Resolution of January 7, 1909 in the words that follow:-

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The reason why the Shias have always been restrained from the public utterance of their Tabarra is because this formula is not a mere assertion of their belief in the Khalifa Ali as the immediate and rightful successor of the Prophet Muhammed, but pronounces imprecations on the first three Khalifas as obviously cannot be uttered in public except with the intention of wounding the religious feelings of those who believe in them. ' '

The fact was that at that time the Sunnis used to recite the Madhe Sahaba poems in place of or along with the Marsias (elegies) on the Ashra and Chelum days when taking out the

tazias. Since the Shia Kerbela at Talkatora was situated to the South of the city, while the new Sunni Kerbela at Phool Katora was situated towards the west and the tazias of both the sects were taken out through Chowk, the central bazar of the City, and the Shia processions passed from the northern gate towards the southern and the Sunnis took their tazias from the south gate towards the north, the rival tazias used to confront one another in some part or the other of the Chowk. To avoid this clash the authorities first of all merely set apart one half of the day for the processions bound for Talkatora and the other half of the day for the processions bound for Phool

Katora. Subsequently the Piggott Committee recommended the prohibition of the Madhe Sahaba on the three chief mourning days of the Shias, viz., the Ashra, the Chehlum and the 21st of Ramzan and the Government accepted this recommendation in their resolution. This much alone is a fact round which the whole web of myth has been weaved.

By their access to the ear of the authorities, the Shias gradually widened this limited prohibition to a total prevention of Madhe Sahaba. In the beginning the Sunnis were contented to a certain extent with the proclamation of Mr. Radice and were then entangled to such an extent with the calamities that overtook other Islamic countries and so engrossed were they with other nationalistic and patriotic movements, that they could not pay their full attention towards the matter of seeking redress against these crafty manoeuvres of the Shias and the resultant injustice of the authorities. Individual and limited efforts proved fruitless and were never publicly known, but according to the saying that there is a time for everything, there did come a time to stop this chronic injustice, so that the lawful religious and civil right of the Sunnis may be attained.

Much prior to this, the Sunnis objected to, and put up a struggle against the interpolation of the words "Khalifatahu Bila Fasl" in their azan by the Shias. In the year 1882 the

Shias, however, obtained a decree from the Court in their favour and, in course of time, they started uttering this phrase along with their funeral processions, and this is done to this day. Though this phrase is repugnant to the Sunnis, they are bearing it with patience. As we have shown above, the Piggott Committee and the Government of Sir John Hewett held the Madhe Sahaba and the Khaliftahu Bila Fasl at par with one another. If the Shias had adopted the same attitude and shown a like commendable patience and not gone to extremes, there would have been no riots and no bloodshed.

Although the Allsop Committee report totally agreed with the Government resolution of January 7, 1909, the Shias accept it as their oracle and it is therefore necessary to give a few extracts from that report also.

The following is an extract from page 8 of the report published in the book form :-

"We do not think that the Govt. meant that all processions and assemblies in which Madhe Sahaba was to be recited should necessarily be forbidden except on the three days of Ashra, Chehlum and the 21st of Ramzan."

The matter has been dealt with, with even greater clarity, on page 26. We quote here the very words of the report:-

If at any time it could be infered that the recitation of Madhe Sahaba was a perfectly independent religious observance having no concern with the Shias or any Shia ceremony, we do not think that Shias could reasonably object to it."

The qusetion has been further elucidated on page 8, to quote the words of the report again:-

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They (the Government) obviously intended to make two distinctions, one between the three

important days and other days in the year and the other between recitations in organised assemblies snd recitations by separate individuals. They meant to pass definite orders only about the three days..... What are now known as Madhe Sahaba recitations by assemblies were forbidden in all public places on the three specified days. Such recitations by separate individuals were generally forbidden only on the routes of and in the hearing of tazia or

other Mohammadan procession. ''
This has been further amplified on page 20, thus:-
(the Caliphs)
place either
Any Sunni may
''Any Sunni may praise them
at any time in any private
individually or in assemblies.
praise them individually at any time or place
except in the hearing of a Mohammadan proces-
sion on the three days of Ashra, Chhelum and
the 21st of Ramzan. 1 1
The following occurs in the short resolution that was
published by the Congress ministry along with this report
on 28th march 1938:-
"They wish to make it clear that the Sunnis'
right of public or private recitation in
praise of the three khalifas is not in dispute.
This right they undoubtedly possess.
It would not be out of place to reproduce here another
extract taken from Premier Pant's speech of the 12th July:-
''We issued.....a resolution in March 1938
in which we accepted frankly and unreservedly
the right of public recitation of Madhe Sahaba
by the Sunnis. There was no objection to this at
the time from the side of the Shias.

We followed up the resolution with the Commu-
nique of November 1938 and in that Communique
we definitely said that we recognised the right
of the Sunnis to recite Madha Sahaba in public
processions as well as in public meetings and
that we were exploring avenues in consultation
with the representatives of both communities
with a view to devise means to enable the Sunnis

to exercise that right.''
Maulana Azad takes credit for adding that portion in the short resolution of March 1938 which relates to the recognition of the right of the Sunnis. He had written a lengthy letter to Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani on April 16, 1938 in which he gave an exposition of this part of the resoltuion. Some extracts from this were read out at the meeting of the Council of the Provincial Congress Committee held on April 24, 1938.
The author is the best person to elucidate the meaning of his language and so we think it proper to reproduce the very words of the letter which are relevant to this matter.
I called for the report and sent for Hafiz Ibrahim Saheb the same day and clarified the nature of the question. It was laid down in the very beginning that so for as proclaiming and reciting of Madhe Sahaba is concerned there is no prohibition form Government and in this connection the citzens of Lucknow have the Same rights as the Sunnis of other places.!!
The theme is thus developed further on:-
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'This addition to the Government resolution has placed the matter beyond any doubt even for a moment that no Madhe Sahaba meeting, conference, oration or speech, however public it may be, can be stopped in any circumstances.!!

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Subsequent to March 28, 1938, when the Resolution was published, the Majlis-i-Ahrar arranged for a Milad in Mohalla Bhadewan in the 2nd week of April with an announcement that Madhe Sahaba will also be recited on the occasion. authorities stopped the recitation of Madhe Sahaba by an order under Sec. 144. When news of this reached Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, he wrote in a letter to Maulana Husain

Ahmad on April 21:-
''I am informed, that after the publication
of the Madhe Sahaba Committee report, a Milad
was arranged for in some Mohalla and it was
intended to recite Madhe Sahaba on that occas-
ion, but the local authorities interfered by
promulgating orders under Sec. 144.
If this is true and the nature of the inter-
ference is what it is
interference by the
absolutely wrong and
ment resolution. '!
stated to be then this
local authorities is
contrary to the Govern-
The letters of Maulana Abul Kalam, from which these extracts are given, are in our possession.
The Shias may cry themselves hoarse in denying the religious importance of Madhe Sahaba, but the Sunnis can never forget that the venerable Sahaba, and, particularly the Great Caliphs have been praised by the Holy Prophet in the traditions, and, by the Almighty Himself, in the Quran. There is no express mention of names in the Quran, but the traditions give the names expressly. No one can also deny the historical fact that the Holy Prophet himself directed his poet laureate, Hazrat Hassan bin Sabit, to compose an ode in honour of Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique, his Companion of the Cave, and gave the poet a place on his own pulpit and in his own mosque to recite that ode in the presence of the Sahaba. Most probably Sir Sultan himself is aware of the fact

that in the whole of the Islamic world, in the orations delivered on all Fridays and on the occasion of the two Ids and at the time of the Haj in the plains of Arafat on Jabal-i-Rahmat, the praises of the Caliphs and other prominent

Sahaba are recited, name by name, as an essential part of the Khutba or the oration. In the Nikah ceremony and on occasions of traditional orations, the Sahaba are necessarily praised.

Sir Sultan should also know that the praises of the Caliphs are written, in their order of precedence, on all the pillars of the four verandahs of the Musjid-i-Baitul Haram (Kaba Mosque) in Mecca The four corners of the well of Zumzum also bear as their carving the praises of the four Caliphs. The praises of not only the four Caliphs, but also of Ashra-i-Mubasshira ((Ten blessed Companions) and other prominent Sahaba are also written in the courtyard of the Prophet's mosque in Medina and a tablet hangs from the door of the Prophet's mosque towards the Babun Nisa (Gate for ladies) in which God's blessings have been called upon those who bear love to Hazrat Abu Bakr and Hazrat Omar.

No Shias who have been to Mecca and Medina on pilgrimage ever complained either to the Turkish authorities or later on to Sharif Husain's administration that the names of the Khaliphas and their praises wounded the Shia feelings. This ultra-sensitiveness was evidently reserved for Lucknow (whose alphabets by the way work out to the same numerical figure as that of Kufa), whose Shias absolutely lose all semblance of mental balance merely on seeing the names of the Caliphs on the flags and the mosques.

The importance attached to the Caliphs in the centre of Islam as well as throughout the Islamic world has got a two-fold reason.

The one reason is that according to the fatwas of the theologians:-

''It is proved from the Quran and the traditions that the Sahaba are as manisfestation

from the Almighty to his creatures and that
they are an elevated medium for embracing Islam.
It is also established that for the gratitude
that the Muslims thus owe to them, Islam has
laid down upon the Muslims some obligations
that they have to discharge towards the Sahaba,
such as to venerate them, to love them, to obey
them and to pray for their salvation..... It is
incumbent upon the Muslims to propagate all the
injunctions of their religion. These four
obligations are just like other obligations
and so the propagation of them too is essen-
tial.
(Collected Fatwas on Madhe Sahaba pp-31-32.)
The other is that it is imperative to antidote the malicious poison introduced by the Khawarij and the Rawafiz. There are very few Khawarij in India but, as the other sect has a considerable following in this country, the Ulemas had to lay down in their fatwas as follows:--
66 The recitation of the praises of the
four Companions is a religious obligation. In
places where the Rawafiz (the seceders, i. e.
the Shias) hold majlisses and where there is
an interference with the praising of the Sahaba
the recitation of the praises of the Charyars
(Four Companions) should be considered an
emblem of Sunnism and, as such, a religious
obligation. '' (Collected fatwas on Madhe
Sahaba page 18).

This is the unanimous attitude of all the Sunni sects towards the question of Madhe Sahaba, be it in prose or in verse. Centuries ago, Hazrat Mujaddid Alf Sani thus addressed the dignitaries of the city of Samana in Epistle 15 of Vol. II of his letters:-

"
Although it is not essential to speak of the Caliphs in the Khutba, it is an establish d practice of the Sunnis."
In olden times, following the practice of the rest of the Islamic world, the Muslims used their mosque as their town halls, to borrow a contemporary term, and held all their meetings there. With the growth of the democratic conception of Government by the people, when bigger gatherings became necessary, the Muslims found the necessarily limited accommodation of the mosques insufficient for their needs and had to hold their meetings in the wider spaces of the parks and the open grounds. Since the Muslims held sway over the country, the entry of a non-Muslim in the mosque was not considered to be offensive in those times. Force of circumstances has now barred the way to such entries.
At present
if it is desired to gain access to the ear of the non-Muslims, mixed gatherings can only be held in parks and the open public places. This is just the reason why there has been an increase in the number of public meetings and processions and, there is no one so unreasonable as the Shias, to take any exception to the recitation of Madhe Sahaba in public places on the ground of its being an objectionable practice. There is absolute unity among the Muslims on this question.
If there is any difference of opinion anywhere at all, it relates to the taking out of the Madhe Sahaba processions. In the opinion of Maulana Abdul Kalam, and one or two other theologians of his type, the taking out of the Madhe Sahaba processions is a bidaat (extraordinary innovation in religion) and hence it should not be resorted to. An overwhelming majority of the theologians however does not subscribe to this

opinion. The thologians of Firangi Mahal, Nadwa, Budaun, Moradabad and a number of other places, nay even the theologians of Saharanpur and Deoband, who are so averse to the

very idea of a bidaat that people dub them as Wahabis, have held the procession in question to be a proper one, while many of them hold it to be a religious obligation. All these fatwas have been printed in a collected form and can be obtained from us.

Due consideration must, however, be paid to the fact that such slight theological differences of opinion obtain on other questions as well. These internal affairs of the Sunnis concern them alone and no other sect nor the Government can have any say in the matter, so long as these matters do not come into a clash with the laws of the land.

Will it surprise Sir Sultan if we were to venture to place before him some extracts from the books of the Shias themselves and some quotations from Hazrat Ali and from several of their Imams and famous and recognised Ulemas and poets in which the praises of the first three Caliphs are to be found. A collection of such extracts with their translation in English was placed before the Allsop Committee. Here we content ourselves with reproducing only a few of them.

1. Nahjul Balaghat is a famous book of the Shias. It contains orations and epistles from Hazrat Ali. The following quotation of exquisite beauty deserves attention :-

"Letter from Hazrat Ali to Amir Muaviya:-

Those who had sworn allegiance to Abu Bakr, Omar and Usman took the like oath to me and on the very same conditions. It does not behove those who are present to prefer another to me nor does it lie on the absentees to secede from me. It is only the Mohajirs and the Ansars who have the right to vote and the one who is elected by them is entitled to

unanimous recognition. Any one who casts aspersion on their choice or calls it an innovation in religion is to be treated as a renegade. If he refuses allegiance, war should be declared on him, since he would be deemed to have strayed from the

path of Islam into that of a non-Muslim. God will give his due unto him." (Nahjul Balaghat Vol II page 7.)
It is also written in the same work that Hazrat Ali said to Hazrat Usman :-
-
"I know nothing which is not known to you, nor can I tell you anything of which you are ignorant. In reality you know what is known to me; you too have seen and heard just what has been given to my eyes and ears to see and hear and have lived in the company of the Prophet just as I have lived; the son of Abi Qahafa (Abu Bakr) and the son of Khattab (Omar) were not better than you in treading the path of righteousness and you are nearer to the Prophet in genealogical relation than those two because you had also the honour of becoming his son-in-law, which the others did not possess." (ibid Vol 1 page 322.)
(3) Hazrat Imam Baqar, the fifth Imam of the Shias said:-
''I do not deny the greatness of Abu Bakr and Omar, but the former has preference over the latter.!! (Ehtijaj-i-Tabrasi page 204.)
(4) Imam Baqar relates that the Prophet (may blessings be upon him) prayed to God to strengthen Islam by the conversion either of Omar, the son of Khattab or of Abu Jehl, the son of Hisham. '' (Nasikhut Tawarikh Vol II Book I.)
It would only be fair to remind Sir Sultan that when on November 10, 1936, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan moved an adjournment motion in the Provincial Legislative Council to draw the attention of the Government to the actions of the local authorities in connection with the Madhe Sahaba agita-

tion, Syed Ali Zaheer, Bar-at-Law, the Secretary of the Shia All Parties Conference also took part in the Council deliber-tions and in his speech not only admitted the fact that the splendid achievements of these personages and their magnifi-

cient service to Islam could not be denied, but actually held out an invitation to the Nawabzada to come with him to his house and recite Madhe Sahaba there. This speeeh can be seen in the printed proceedings of the Council.

As long as the question was one of interference with the Shia ceremonies on the days of Ashra, Chehlum and the 21st Ramzan, the Shia demand had a grain of reasonableness in it, in as much as rejoicings do wound mourners and it was on this ground that the Sunnis submitted before the Allsop Committee that they were willing to abide by all reasonable restrictions that are applied to the taking out of the funeral and marriage processions of non-Muslim people, as the Sunnis certainly did not intend to interfere with the Shia ceremonies. The Shias however adopted an extremely unreasonable attitude and raising the slogan of "National prestige in danger" magnified the whole question into one of life and death for their community. Thereafter, the hope for any reasonable attitude from the Shias languished. It is a matter for regret that even Sir Sultan failed to realise his responsibilities and just as in the past year a number of educated and distinguished Shias participated and supported the Tabarra movement and thereby furnished a convincing proof to the educated Sunnis of India of the fact that all the Shias, differences between their classes notwithstanding, were one in their extreme enmity for the Sahaba and that there was no one among them who did not throw all sense of decency to the winds in an orgy of calumny and vituperation, Sir Sultan himself gave in this very address his blind support to the Shia demands. This is an irrefutable proof of the fact that not a single follower of this grotesque cult is blessed with the virtues of moderation or tolerance.

Sir Sultan has thought it fit to end his address with an appeal to the magnanimity of the Sunnis to give this right up

of their own accord.
This appeal might have carried more weight than all the legal quibblings, historical hair-splittings and political wire-pullings of Sir Sultan, but we regret that his appeal has no chance of evoking any response for the following cogent reasons:
(1) Since a year Sir Sultan himself is playing the role of a party to this dispute. Armchair politicians and the pleasure-seekers of Simla may not be aware of the fact and they may be won over by Sir Sultan and persons of his ilk into publishing any sort of statements they please, but the Sunnis of Lucknow know full well that Sir Sultan left no stone unturned to press the ridiculous demands of his co-religionists and to have the legitimate rights of the Sunnis trampled under foot. Sir Sultan's presidential address itself is a proof, if proof were needed, of his extreme unfairness and stark sectarianisim.
(2) The Shias of Lucknow, whose advocate Sir Sultan is, have left nothing undone during the last few years and specially since the year 1939 to wound deeply the religious sentiment of the Sunnis, to inflict grievous economic and physical losses on them, not even stopping at murder, and to trample on their legitimate rights, not only by compulsion and a horrid use of power, but also by adopting means that are extremely repugnant to all sense of decency and ill-befits any person who has any sparks of gentlemanliness and humanity left in his composition. The Sunnis have been put on their mettle now and have no feeling left for their implacable enemies, the Shias.
(3) After the resolution of the Shia All Parties Conference and of the crowded meeting held in the Asafuddaulah Imambara, it was announced on the morning of the 17th April by the Tanzimul Momineen with much show and ostentation that in

deference to the views of the mujtahids and the leaders, it was decided to give up the Tabarra agitation and abandon the

Mushaira (poetic contest) for the vilification of the Sahaba which had been previously announced.
previously announced. Duped by this announcement, the local authorities released the persons arrested for the offence of the Tabarra and some outside Muslim leaders were hoodwinked into publishing conciliatory statements and apeals for bringing about a settlement between the sects. These Muslims however did not know the Shias and the value to be put upon their word. In the same Imambara of Asafudaulah, the same Mushaira of vilification was held on the very night of the 17th of April and it was staged on a big scale by setting up loud-speakers on the roof of the Imambara. The move plainly was to inflict gashes on the hearts of the Sunnis living within the reach of the loud-speaker's voice and thereby to provoke them to violence. Even this was not enough for the malice of the Shias. Tabarra was written on the skins of the animals belonging to the Sunnis and during succeeding nights Tabarra was flung at the Sunnis from the roofs of the Shia houses in many a quarter.

(4) The words of Sir Sultan in his presidential address were:-

"If I had not been leading the Shias to believe that this procession of the Madhe Sahaba would be the first and the last, there would certainly have been a riot on that date and rivers of blood would have flowed from both sides." (pp. 15 and 16.)

He also added as follows:-

"

I had requested the members of my sect to abstain from all such actions as may cause any disturbance in the meeting and the procession and that they were not to interfere with persons who wanted to go with a view to take part in this demonstration. My instructions resulted in the uninterrupted passage of the procession and the peaceful holding of the meeting." (page 16.)

There are some people who can run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Sir Sultan (and with him the other Shia leaders) on the one hand made a show of sweet reasonableness in the country by passing specious resolutions, and on the other hand, he conveniently forgot to repeat his last year's instructions to the 'members of his sect' to abstain from interference and mischief. The result of this Janus-faced policy was, that when the Shias realised that the Sunnis struck to their non-violence in spite of the repeated provocations, they started stray murderous attacks on the Sunnis in the night preceding the 12th of Rabiul Awwal, that night of nights, in the early morning of which the last of the Prophet was born to the world. These murderous attacks in the night were followed in the following morning with repeated assaults and showers of brickbats, and even bombs were thrown on the Sunnis when they were wending their way to the Idgah from their various quarters to participate in the procession. This was done in a number of such quarters in which the Shias had a large population and possessed big houses, and the roofs of the Shia houses were used as the pitching ground for these missiles. Matters assumed such proportions that the Shias clashed with the police and even the officials on duty could not escape unattacked.

The words of Sir Sultan thus came true that :-

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A situation would be created in the next few days the omens of which can be found floating like specks of cloud in the atmosphere" (page 20.)

And thus was realised his wish that:-

"It is just possible that a few days of the next week may constitute a landmark in the history of my sect." (ibid.)

No one can venture to assert with any reasonable hope of being believed that the continually aggressive attitude adopted by the Shias from the 17th to the 20th April to wound the feelings of the Sunnis and to inflict material and physical losses on them were just a fortuitious conbination of sheer acci-

dents. The Sunnis had not been responsible for one single new activity during this period and had disdained to pay any heed even to the crocodile tears shed by the Shias in passing their resolutions.

In spite of all the silence of the Sunnis, the Shias, without any rhyme or reason, ruthlessly discharged all the arrows out of their bow. It is a matter of extreme gratification that inspite of all this the Shias failed miserably in provoking the Sunnis to the extent of paying them back in their coin and thus leading to a riot in the city, which could be used as a pretext for stopping the procession of the 12th Rabiul Awwal. Nature itself came to the help of the Sunnis on the night of the 11th with a thunderstorm followed by showers of rain to damp the incendiarism planned by the Shias. Although the Sunnis were extremely provoked by the murderous attacks of the Shias in the previous night, the morning of the 12th Rabiul Awwal witnessed their grim determination not to play in to the hands of their opponents by giving rein to their temper and they settled down to make preparations for the procession. This grim determination remained unshaken even though the Sunnis were attacked in numerous places while on their way to the procession with the flags of their mohalla associations and a number of them were wounded; a young bhishti even fell a martyr to Shia ferocity. In spite of all this fury which was let loose on the Sunnis, they persevered in remaining peaceful to the end and took out the mammoth procession which was unprecedented in its magnificence. The authorities and the English papers gave varying figures of the actual processionists, ranging their estimate from 50 to 80 thousands. Excepting the Shias, all other non-Muslim sects in the city were profusely represented among the thousands of spectators who lined the route of the procession and listened to the praises of the Caliphs. Many a people, Muslim as well as non-Muslim provided iced drinks for the processionists and erected gates on the route to welcome them.

Sir Sultan, and all those who put forward the claim that they feel for the Muslims and have really and truly the cause of Shia-Sunni amity at heart, should give their attention to the following points as well, over and above what has already been stated:-

(1) Just as the Shias, according to their beliefs, owe allegiance to their Imams, next to the Prophet, exactly to the same degree, the Sunnis consider it to be essential to their religion to hold up the great Caliphs and the other prominent Sahaba as their ideal. If the Shias seek to serve the interests of their sect by commemorating the achievements of their Imams, and by reciting their praises keep the memory of their religious leaders alive and create a yearning among themselves to follow in the footsteps of their Imams, just in the same manner and to the same extent, the Sunnis consider it as vitally necessary for their religious life to commemorate their religious leaders and to put their virtues and mighty services to Islam before the world repeatedly, and thereby to create a fervent desire in the Sunni hearts to follow in the steps of these illustrious personalities.

(2) The Sunnis have never done nor can they possibly do any propaganda which is adverse to the Imams, more particularly to Hazrat Ali, Hazrat Hassan and Hazrat Hussain, while the Shias propagate one calumny after another against our religious leaders.

If it is essential for the Shias to praise publicly their Imams in order to hold them up as an ideal for themselves, it is doubly necessary for the Sunnis to recite praises of their religious leaders and to recount their feats in the cause of Islam, not only to hold them up as their ideals, but also to refute the baseless charges levelled against them by the Shias.

(3) No one has the right to forbid what God has sanctioned. When, out of deference to the wishes of one of his wives, the Prophet stopped taking honey, he was admonished by God

in a revelation telling him that even he could not choose to hold as being forbidden what God had permitted.
Prominent Sunni Ulemas have given fatwas not, only holding Madhe Sahaba to be right and lawful in accordance with their religion, but also as being incumbent upon the Muslims in the present circumstances of the case. It is therefore obvious that the Sunnis cannot give up the Madhe Sahaba, to please the Shias. If, Heaven forbid, they are forced to give it up there is a real danger of there coming a day when they would have to forswear the cow-sacrifice and even the offering of the Namaz (prayer) and the calling of the Azan in their mosques.
(4) In order to effect a compromise, there must be a spirit of give and take on both sides. There can be no peace unless and until both the parties to the dispute evince a conciliatory attitude and cultivate the essential virtue of tolerance. The tolerance of the Sunnis can be convincingly established from the fact that, even during the last 4 years of extreme strain on inter-communal relations no single instance can be cited of any interference by them with the Azan or the mourning activities of the Shias. The Shias held their Majlisses day and night, as of old, and all along took out their Tazias, Alams and Taboots and illuminated their Imambaras.
Unlike the Shias, the Sunnis did not show even so much of intolerance as to hold any counter Milads just to disturb and defeat the Majlisses held by the Shias, though the Shias did actually hold any number of counter Majlisses at different places just to disturb the Sunni Milads. During these last 4 years the Shias have extended the period of their mourning by practically one full month by including the first Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays of each lunar month, but the Sunnis raised no protest against this innovation. The Sunnis have protested only when Tabarra has been recited in their hearing or to their knowledge.

It is nothing but Tabarra that had been the cause of all the riots in Lucknow since the year 1907. The Sunnis are always excited to desperation by Tabarra and are then ready to face death even. During the period of the last 35 years no single instance of any interference by the Sunnis with any Shia meeting or procession can be cited, provided of course that such functions were not tainted with the provocation of Tabarra and were confined to the usual peaceful ceremonies. The Shias, on the other hand, have been continually adopting an aggressive attitude. They started with adding the clause of khalifatuhu bila fasl to their Azan, though this was not done even in the times of the Shia rulers of Oudh. Then they went a step further and began to recite this clause even along with their funeral processions. The Shias and the Sunnis had a common Kerbala for a long time, but later on, in spite of the Sunnis and the Hindus, and without even consulting them, they introduced such changes in the arrangements relating to the Kerbala that the Sunnis had to arrange for a separate Kerbala of their own. It was to this place that the Hindus also used to take their-Tazias though later on they gave up the practice of keeping the Tazias altogether. Since the time of the Nawabs of Oudh the Sunni dignitaries had become used to the practice of attending the Majlisses held by the Shia notables. It must however be acknowledged that in these Majlisses the religious susceptibilities of the Sunnis were duly respected. Later on, when the Sunni dignitaries saw that the Majlisses held even by the better class of Shias were not free from Tabarra and the Shia speakers at these Majlisses openly made insolent attacks on their religious leaders, the Sunni notables, not finding it in themselves to put up with such intolerant indecencies, gradually refrained from attending them. Now only such Sunnis care to attend these Majlisses as have an axe of their own to grind or are dead to all sense of religious self-respect.
It were the Shias themselves who provoked the Sunnis by reciting Tabarra in the Chowk and when it led to a riot, they ran up to the Government and by resorting to wire-pulling

and toadyism brought about the imposition of restrictions on the Madhe Sahaba. As would have been obvious from the extracts given from the Piggott and the Allsop Committee reports, the Government had imposed restrictions only for three days in the year (pp 22 above). The ready access of the Shias to the ear of the authorities brought about the extension of these restrictions for all the 365 days in the year in actual practice. The climax was reached in the time of the Shia city magistrate, Mr. Abu Talib Naqvi, when the Juloosi Muhammadi of the 12th Rabiul Awwal could not be taken out as prohibition was imposed upon the recitation of the Madhe Sahaba in the procession. The Shias even protested when a few days later such verses of the Quran were recited with the Juloosi Muhammadi as contained the praises of the great Caliphs When, as ill chance would have it, Mr. Naqvi became the offg. Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow for a period of just two weeks, people were arrested even for reciting Madhe Sahaba inside a house. Matters went to such a length in the regime of Mr. Naqvi and the City Kotwal, Sirdar Sunder Singh, that when a pandal was erected to hold a Milad by the roadside and the names of the Caliphs were displayed on the gate constructed for the occasion, the Shias rushed up to the authorities with their protests and the names of the Caliphs had to be taken down. During the time of the same Kotwal, the atrocity of arresting the Sunnis for reciting Madhe Sahaba in a mosque and of locking up a blind mendicant in the jail who begged for alms by reciting Madhe Sahaba, was perpetrated and this was done in the face of the express findings of the Allsop Committee (vide page 26 above).

The mischief of assembling, ostensibly to hold a Majliss, but in reality to shout Tabarra close to Sunni Milads whereever they were held, was also started at this time. This made it impossible for the Sunnis to hold their Milads in peace. Some of these facts are admitted even in a Shia booklet called "The

Awakening of the Shias."

Thanks to the complaints of the Shias, even in a central place like Lucknow the post of the city Kotwal has been reserved for non-Muslims and there has been no Muslim kotwal for the last 35 years and it will not be surprising if the hurricane propaganda, started by the Shias after their achievements of the 12th Rabiul Awwal, ends in a convention that Lucknow shall never get a Muslim as its city Magistrate or Deputy Commissioner.

The Shias display extreme intolerance on the one hand and, on the other hand, demand that the Sunnis should give up the Madhe Sahaba in their meetings and Milads and also abstain from taking out the one single procession throughout the whole course of the year that is taken out under the eyes of the authorities according to the communique published by the Congress Ministry. And this demand is made in spite of the fact that the route that was allotted to the procession for the two occasions that it could be taken out, is at a considerable distance from any of those quarters in which the Shias live.

(5) Many people really never care to try and ascertain the true nature of the Shia demands and in their ignorance raise a hue and cry in the name of Islamic unity and toleration. If these persons were to get down to facts with a cool mind the real nature of the whole question would become apparent.

The Shias made a start by manufacturing "facts" and publishing false "traditions" and then gave these concocted myths the name of history. Having thus paved the way, they started spreading queer and bizarre beliefs against the Caliphs based on fictitious stories and, the wonder of wonders is, that they now want the Sunnis to show respect to these lies and not to tell their illiterate and ignorant co-religionists who these personages really were. For one of these personages the Holy Prophet said that "next to the Prophets he was the best among the men"; for the other the Prophet said that" he would surely

have been a Prophet if there had been any Prophet to come after himself." The Holy Prophet also said of the third that

"he would be his companion in heaven". The Shias want that the Sunnis should not be told of the virtues and the brilliant achievements of these personages, of the services they rendered to Islam and the way in which humanity, in general, and the Muslims, in particular, can benefit by trying to emulate the standard of conduct set by them, and how spiritual and temporal benefits can be derived by followig in their footsteps.
In other words, the Shias demand that the Sunnis should deny in practice, and proclaim in effect, that those books of traditions are false and unreliable by the help of which they have learnt to interpret the Quran, have gained knowledge of facts relating to the life of the Prophet and built up all that edifice of Islamic teachings which is called Shariat or the Muslim law.
By this demand the Sunnis are in fact asked, God forbid, to give the lie to the Prophet and to spurn his orders and instructions.
Tolerance and Islamic unity indeed!
Even a prejudiced historian and critic like Sir William Muir had to say of Hazrat Abu Bakr in his "Caliphate, Its Rise and Fall" (page 88, Third edition)
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'After Mohammad himself there is no one to whom the faith is more beholden.''
The editors of the Encyclopaedia of Islam (Vol III p. 984) speak of Hazrat Omar in the following strain:-
''He was really, as has been said, the second founder of Islam, he who gave the edifice, erected by the religious inspiration of Mohammad, its social and political framework.''
And "tolerance" and "Islamic unity" demand that the

praises of such great benefactors of humanity should be taboo and the narration of their splendid achievements and tributes to their illustrious personalities shnld be held to be a heinous offence, while calumniating them and pronouncing Tabarra and curses upon them should be exalted as a virtue !

45
The Shias allow themselves the right to commemorate their Imams in public places, in meetings and processions and to shout their names to the sky; all the different communities in India, down even to the so called depressed classes, can celebrate the memories of their leaders, nay even the Muslims. are conceded the right to commemorate the memories of leaders like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Mohamad Ali, Doctor Ansari, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mustafa Kamal and others and to hold public meetings and take out processions in their honour, but as soon as they start celebrating the Abu Bakr day, the Omar day or the Osman day and try to hold a meeting or arrange a procession, the Shias at once make a show of extreme intolerance and go even to the length of playing with human lives to show off their rancour towards them.

Were we to stop honouring these personages, will not this obviously mean that we too accept the calumnies of the Shias and agree with them in holding that these personages were not deserving of the honour bestowed upon them by the Prophet, while those entities, who took pride in calling themselves the slaves of these Caliphs, are deserving of praise and devotion. May God save us from such an evil!

(5) The Shias have been trying continually to bring the Madhe Sahaba and the Tabarra on the same level; they want that just as Tabarra is an indecent act and a punishable offence, Madhe Sahaba should also be declared to be an offence, and, if this effort fails, they want their Tabarra to intimidate the Sunnis into giving up the Madhe Sahaba.

The Shias may think what they like of their Tabarra but

the Sunnis can never tolerate it, nor can they admit that it can be placed on the same level as Madhe Sahaba. Ignorance, sheer lack of sense or some overpowering influence might make an Allsop or any other non-Muslim to put these two things on the same footing, but all such rotten documents or pronouncements will absolutely fail to serve the ends of the Shias. The

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Sunnis consider all such efforts to be an insult to their religion and absolutely intolerable, be these efforts from the side of the Shias or the Britisher or from any other non-Muslim quarter.
Sir Sultan Ahmad has referred to Tabarra at one place in his presidential address. He says:-
"Tabarra means aloofness and the severance of connection and Lanat means prayer to invoke the discontinuance of the Divine blessing. The word Tabarra finds place in the Quran and does not mean abuse." (page 15.)
Suppose we shut our eyes for a moment to what Sir John Hewett had to say about the Tabarra in his resolution (vide page 23 above) and to the fact that the Shias were convicted by the courts for the offence of Tabarra in Lucknow, Fyzabad and Saharanpur and suppose we accept the interpretations trotted out by Sir Sultan, will Sir Sultan and his Shias be prepared to tolerate the pronouncing of the Tabarra and "Lanat," for example, on that Imam of theirs who has disappeared without leaving any trace of his whereabouts, on their third martyr, on their mujtahids, or even on their ancestors.
How apposite is the following verse from the poet:-
"A gentleman is false to his code of honour if he does to others what he does not want others to do to him." (Ghalib.)
We will end up with the respectful submission that, if Sir Sultan or any other person, wishes to bring about peace and compromise between the Shias and the Sunnis, the proper approach to the question is not to come forward with blind advocacy for the Lucknow Shias and with encouragement for their senseless desire of trying to force the Sunnis to give up

their ordinary personal and civil rights, which, by the way, are conceded to all the castes and creeds in India, without a single exception and which they all enjoy, more or less. The proper way would be to check the Shia tendency to extremism, to put a stop to their aggressive actions and to bring their

demands within the reasonable limits of moderation. The Shias have the examples of His Majesty Riza Shah Pahlavi of Iran and of Imam Yahya, the King of Yemen, before them. If the Shia leaders follow in the footsteps of these Shia rulers and give a correct lead to their followers, time would slowly heal the wounds that have been inflicted on the Sunni hearts by the incessant aggressiveness of the Shias.

The faith of the Sunnis in the teaching of the Holy Quran that "good lies in the way of peace" would then gradually bring about a change in their mood and the way for peace and compromise would become easy.

We clearly announced in the Pioneer of May 26, 1939 that, if a proper atmosphere were created the Sunnis would be found ready to listen to all reasonable pourparlers for peace. The Shias, however, spurned the offer and their attitude made it obvious that to them compromise means just this much, and nothing more, that the Suunis must bow down to the Shia demands, renouncing all their rights, and concede to the Shias all the royal prerogatives of the days of Wajid Ali Shah. When the Shias raise the ill-timed slogan of status quo, they mean just this and nothing less.

The world has travelled far by now. The last world war introduced a number of changes in the geography of the earth. Many a kingdom tottered to its fall and new ones have risen in their places. What this war will bring about no one can yet foresee. Time is bent on taking its relentless course. Even in conservative India itself there have occurred a number of changes, because India too, like all else in this world of ours,

is subject to the eternal law of change. It is surely too late in the day to expect the Sunnis to acquiesce in the worn out orders of 1909, and still less in the interpretation put upon it. by some of the flattery-loving authorities; the Shias want however this to be the last word in the matter. This acquiescence would to all intent and purposes amount not only to the complete renunciation of their religious injunctions by the Sunnis,

but to the renunciation of their national objective and their civil rights, as well.

The Shias have been deluded by their misguided friends into the fond belief that the Sunnis can be bullied and cowed down by riots and bloodshed and that the Government can be so impressed by their false propaganda and can be made to be so fed up with facing one riot after another, that it would deprive the Sunnis of their legitimate and recognised rights. This is just the reason why since 1936 the Shias have been holding out threats after threats of turning the city into a river of blood and this is why they have been creating frequent disturbances on such occasions as suit their purpose. As far as the Sunnis of Lucknow are concerned, we want to assure all the Shias in India that, instead of being cowed down by these riots and the losses in men and money, the courage and fortitude of the Sunnis is steadily developing and they are becoming more and more determined in their aims. The more the Shias exhibit obstinacy and rancour against the Sunnis and the greater their mischief and malice becomes, the more will the Sunnis go on organizing themselves for the defence of their rights and will soon have nothing but bitterness left for the Shias.

Had the Congress Government been bullied by the Shias into withdrawing their communique of the 31st March, or should any other Government at any time ever decide to adopt such a course succumbing to the flattery of the Shias, falling a prey to their wiles or merely to escape administrative difficulties, the

injustice would not only react as a shattering blow to the prestige of the Government but the action itself would prove absolutely futile; the Sunnis would never tamely submit to the flouting of their religious sentiments or to the usurpation of their admitted right. It would be premature, and out of place besides, to prognosticate at this stage what course the Sunnis will adopt in the case of such eventuality. We do not attach any value whatsoever to the Shia threats and will

therefore disdain from copying their method of reeling off one violent ultimatum after another. As a matter of fact we can never bear the idea of exciting the people to violence, but this much we can say without any hesitation, that short of abusing such religious leaders of the Shias as the Sunnis themselves venerate, the Sunnis will stop at nothing which is not actually forbidden by their religion and which may become necessary for defending their rights.

To show off their tolerance and in blissful ignorance of the true state of affairs in Lucknow, some Sunni leaders indulge in launching out occasional appeals. We would humbly invite them to Lucknow to gain a first hand knowledge of the actual facts of the case. They must also see all that filthy literature that is published by the Shias about the first three Caliphs and the wives of the Prophet, which in turn furnishes material for the equally filthy publications of the Rajpal type of non-Muslims. If even then these leaders have any hankering left in their hearts for the Shia-Sunni unity, we feel definitely sure that they would be compelled by their own consciences to support our following demands and would themselves try to bring round the Shias to agree to them, just and moderate as these demands are:-

(1) The Shias must admit that the great Caliphs and the other Sahaba are the religious leaders of the Sunnis, and, as such, the Sunnis are entitled to narrate the heroic incidents and glorious achievements of these leaders and to recite their

praises in public places-subject of course to the proviso that such narration does not interfere with the ceremonies relating to the other religions and that they remain within the four corners of the law.

(2) The Shias must announce that they will not utter, to the knowledge and within the hearing of the Sunnis, even a word of Tabarra against any of these personages and will control their newspapers and journals, their speakers and poets and even their masses and will put a stop to their uttering even

derogatory remark or insinuation against them. They must also announce that they put an end for all times to such actions as are perpetrated on certain occasions to defame the memory of these Sahaba.

(3) The Shias must also promise that they would never interfere with any Sunni meeting or procession, nor with any legitimate and lawful step that the Sunnis might take to reform the beliefs and the practices of their community or to improve their spiritual or temporal well being.

When the Shias have effected this change in their attitude, then and then alone will the Sunnis be completely convinced that the Shias would no more wound their religious sentiments and susceptibilities nor would they take advantage of their influence and organisation to try to invade any of the legitimate rights of the Sunnis. Then and then alone will there be a proper atmosphere for peace and the
and the way for a compromise would
be paved. When that stage has been reached, the Sunnis would be willing to listen to any suggestions which are made in the spirit of a fair give and take or in the name of human fraternity. Failing this, all talks of unity and Islamic solidarity are
so much waste of breath.

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Ganga Fine Art Press, Lucknow.
JUNE, 1940.

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BHARATIYA ITIHAS PARISAD
(Anjuman-i-Tarikh-i-Hind)
Registered, April 1940
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MEMORANDUM OF ASSOCIATION
AND
RULES & REGULATIONS

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BHARATIYA ITIHAS PARISAD
Memorandum of Association
NAME
1. The Association will be known as the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad (Indian Academy of History).
OBJECTS
2. The B. I. P. shall have the following as its objects :-
(a) To produce a comprehensive authoritative history of India.
(b) To keep in touch with the progress of Indian historical research, to synthetise its results and to revise Indian history in their light from time to time.
(c) Search, collection, preservation and study of the original sources of Indian history.
(d) To synthetise studies in various branches and aspects of Indian history and archæology and

for the purpose of such
conferences and provide
students working in the
synthesis to arrange
other facilities to
different fields for
mutual consultation and collaboration.
(e) Study of Indian geography, ethnology, anthropology, linguistics and also of Indian civilization, culture and art, etc.

(f) To produce an authoritative gazetteer of India in Hindi.
(g) To record the results of the above-mentioned. studies, generally in Hindi and other Indian languages.
(h) To produce authoritative and popular works on Indian history and other Indian studies in Indian languages, viz., Hindi, Urdu, Bengali,. Assamese, Oriya, Telugu, Tamil, Sinhalese, Malayalam, Kannada, Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi, Pashto, Kashmiri and Nepali.
(i) For the fulfilment of the above-mentioned objects, to establish libraries, laboratories, museums, schools, classes etc., or when asked, to supervise and offer advice to the previously existing libraries and such other institutions, arrange lectures, educate and train students, help with stipends and honoraria students and scholars, publish journals, periodicals or books, and affiliate and collaborate with other institutions.
(j) To acquire, hold and disburse funds and other properties moveable and immoveable for the attainment of its objects and do any other thing

conducive to the above-mentioned objects.
NOTE--In the terms of these objects India includes Greater India whenever necessary.

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(3)
PROVISIONAL COUNCIL
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3. Until the various organs of the B. I. P. are duly constituted the following will act as its Provisional bed Council and may discharge all the functions of its Council:
1.
1. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Patna, RECTOR;
2. Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Darjiling, PRESIDENT;
3. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, Baroda, VICE-PRESIDENT;
4. Syt. G. S. Sardesai, Kamshet, Poona, MEMBER;
5. Syt. Shiva Prasad Gupta, Benares, MEMBER;
6. Kumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinha, Sitamau, MEMBER;
7. Syt. S. V. Puntambekar, Benares, MEMBER;
8. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta, MEMBER;
9. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras, MEMBER;
10. Syt. Shrinath Sah, Durgakund, Benares, TREASURER;
no tow
11. Syt. Jay Chandra Vidyalankar, Benares,
Rules & Regulations
THE ASSEMBLY
SECRETARY.
The B. I. P. shall be constituted as an Assembly, with the following as its constituents:-
(i) Rector,
(ii) Honorary members,
(iii) Corresponding members,
(iv) Life-members,
(v) Associates,

2.
3.
(4)
(vi) Representatives of allied bodies,
(vii) Subscribing members, and
(viii) Sympathisers.
An ordinary session of the B. I. P. shall be held once every year. The business of the annual session shall be to review the work of the preceeding year, plan and settle the lines of work for the ensuing year, consider various academic problems and issues connected with its studies, elect office-bearers, allocate work amongst different departments, appoint committees consisting of honorary corresponding and life-members and associates. for specialized works, consider and sanction budget of income and expenditure, and so on. The Council (as defined in rule 15 infra) shall organise and regulate the work on the lines laid down by the Parisad in its annual session.
THE RECTOR
Dr. Rajendra Prasad will be the Rector of the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad for the first five years of its existence, and may be re-elected to that office by its Assembly. On his office falling vacant, the Council shall propose one of their members as Rector, who will be elected to the office for three years at a time on receiving sanction of the Assembly. A retiring rector will be entitled to re-election. The Rector of the

Parisad shall be the chairman of its Assembly and Council.

THE HONORARY AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS
4. Scholars of repute whose authority in any
5.
particular branch of research is recognised,
may be elected by the council as the Parisad's
honorary members. The Parisad's life-members
may also be elected honorary members.
honorary members will enjoy all the privileges
of the class A members.
The
The Council may elect as corresponding members,
scholars who may from time to time help the
Parisad with advice on specialized subjects of
research and study.
THE LIFE MEMBERS
6. (a) Any person pledging himself or herself to at
least fifteen years exclusive service of the
B. I. P. through study and research during
which period he or she shall undertake to
observe the discipline of the Parisad and
accept for his or her livelihood the honora-
rium fixed by the B. I. P.'s Council, may be
initiated by the Council as a life-member. The
initiation shall be complete by the candidate
writing and signing the pledge and the Council
approving the same.
(b) Before approving a person as life-member,
the Council may require him or her to undergo

a period of apprenticeship with any honorar,
corresponding, or life-member or associate.
The Rector or the life-members will have the
authority to dismiss an apprentice at any time
without assigning any reason for the act.
(c) The first two or three years of every life-

member's term of service shall ordinarily be assigned as his or her training period, during which he or she shall be required to produce some specified original thesis. members, who in the opinion of the Council may have produced such original work before joining the Parisad may be exempted by the Council from such training period.

THE ASSOCIATES

Life-

7. Persons, who, without joining the B. I. P. as its life-members undertake specified studies or researches according to its scheme, and submit from time to time the results of such studies in writing to the Parisad may be elected by the Council as its Associates.

THE ALLIED BODIES

8. Literary, educational or research institutions may be affiliated to the Parisad as its allied bodies on receiving the Council's sanction. Every allied body shall be entitled to send one representative to the Parisad's Assembly. Affiliation-fee for an allied body shall be Rs. 100/- per annum. The

& allied bodies shall receive, like the vice-patrons, all air publications of the parisad free.

SUBSCRIBING MEMBERS AND SYMPATHISERS

9.

Persons contributing specified subscriptions to the Parisad's funds may be enrolled as its members, and may belong to one of the following classes: 10

(a) Those contributing Rs. 500/- per annum shall be known as patrons ;

(b) Those contributing Rs. 250/- per annum shall

be known as vice-patrons;
(c) Those contributing Rs. 100/- per annum shall be known as class A members;
(d) Those contributing Rs. 12/- per annum shall be known as class B members.
10. Persons contributing Rs. 4/- per annum to the Parisad's funds shall be known as its sym-
pathisers.
11. Twenty times the amount of any kind of subscription paid by an individual or body within a period of two years shall be considered as payment of the same for the period of his, her or its existence.
12. Patrons, vice-patrons, and class A members shall be entitled to be represented by duly authorised proxies in the meetings of the B. I. P.'s Assembly.
13. Patrons, vice-patrons and class A members shall be entitled to receive all publications, and class B members and sympathisers, the journal of the Parisad free. Class B members may be allowed

a discount on other publications and may also receive some of them free. The details in this respect shall be settled by the Council.
THE LIFE MEMBERS AND THE COUNCIL
14. The Life-members shall ordinarily meet once in every quarter for reviewing the progress of their work and for other business. The Life-members will commence functioning as a body when there are at least three of them.
15.
The B. I. P.'s Assembly shall every year appoint a Council, which shall be responsible for the regulation and administration of all the affairs of the Parisad and for maintaining the discipline:

of its life-members and apprentices.
The following shall constitute the Council:-
(i) The Rector;
(ii) The President and the Vice-President (vide rule 19 infra) ;
(iii) Another representative of the honorary members when their total number exceeds 20 ;
(iv) One representative or two representatives of the corresponding members, according as their number is up to 20 or more ;
(v) Four representatives of such Associates who are at least of three years' standing and who have contributed at least two major original theses, which have been approved by the Council, provided that when the total number

of such Associates is less than 35, their representatives to be 1 of the total number; provided also that upto the year 1942, Associates who are not of three years' standing may also vote in the elections ;
(vi) Three to seven life-members who have completed their training period, elected by the Life-members;
(vii) One representative of the allied bodies;
(viii) One representative or two representatives of the patrons, vice-patrons and class A members, according as their aggregate number is less or more than forty;
(ix) One representative or two representatives of the class B members and sympathisers according as their aggregate number is less or more than two hundred.
16. The properties of the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad shall be managed by its Council.

All the pro-
perties of the B. I. P. shall vest in it as a corpo-
rate body and no member of its Assembly in his
or her individual capacity, nor heirs, executors or
assigns of any such member shall have any claim
on them or part of them.
17. The Council shall ordinarily meet once in every
half year.
OFFICE-BEARERS
18. Besides the Rector the B. I. P. shall have the
following office-bearers :-1. President, 2. Vice-

President, 3. Secretary, 4. Assistant Secretary,
asd and 5. Treasurer.
19. The president and the vice-president shall ordi-
narily be elected from the honorary members. All
studies of the Parisad shall be conducted under
mootheir guidance.
20. The Life-members shall propose a secretary and
an assistant secretary from amongst their num-
ber. The proposed persons shall receive the said
to offices on being elected to them by the Assembly.
Only a life-member who has completed his or her
training period shall be eligible as secretary. The
treasurer shall be elected by the Assembly in its
annual meeting from amongst its subscribing
members or representatives of the allied bodies.
21. The secretary of the Parisad shall be secretary
of its Council as well, and chairman of the Life-
members. The assistant secretary of the Pari-
i sad shall be secretary of the Life-members.
BYE-LAWS AND CHANGE IN CONSTITUTION.
22. The Council may frame any bye-laws or rules
according to and in the spirit of this Constitution.

23. No change in the rules of this Constitution shall be effected unless it is supported by the votes of the 3/4 of the members of the B. I. P.'s Assembly present in its meeting or by the votes of of the members of the Assembly present in two successive meetings.

Babu Rajendra Prasad issued the following appeal for the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad in July 1938:-

Behind our struggle for political freedom lies the great urge of an Indian Renaissance for the all-round regeneration-political, social, economic and cultural- of our race. It is indeed a healthy sign of this. Renaissance that an increasing number of our scholars. is being attracted to the study and elucidation of our nation's history. For the study of history is a nation's. self-retrospection, its longing to know its own self by understanding its past in order to obtain guidance for its future. And a live and healthy nation must be able to devote a reasonable proportion of its talent and. scholarship to this essential function.

Indian scholarship in the domain of History has during the past decades reached a high level. But side by side with the progress of research and the coming to light of new material there has been growing in the leading workers all over India a keen feeling of the need of a national agency to co-ordinate the labours of detached workers engaged in different branches of this vast subject and to organise and direct fresh research in the light of such co-ordination and synthesis from. the Indian point of view. Moreover the growing national consciousness of our masses requires that the scholars engaged in the research of our nation's history should record the results of their labours in our own languages as well.

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(ii) DD
It was with these objects in view that my valued friends, the late lamented Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and Syt. Jaychandra Vidyalankar, conceived and planned a scheme for a national institute for preparing a synthetic history of India and for co-ordinating and directing research in Indian history from the Indian point of view. I readily fell in with the plan. A detailed scheme was circulated amongst some friends, and finally a conference of scholars met in December last at the Bharat Mata temple, Benares, under the presidentship of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and inaugurated the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad.

The response which we have had from scholars in India and Ceylon has been very encouraging. Scholars of the first rank and of international reputation have agreed to join us and contribute their share in achieving the objective of the Parisad. Scholars are not wanting who would devote their lives to the cause in the spirit of national service. To get the best out of this splendid opportunity and make the best use of the spirit of co-operation and service, the Parisad needs funds, and I appeal to all those who are well placed and can help to come forward with handsome donations or enrol themselves as subscribing members to enable us to push forward this work of national regenaration.

Further inquiries on the subject may be made from Sriyut Jaychandra Vidyalankar, Secretary, Bharatiya Itihas Parisad, Benares.

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PRISON REFORM IN U. P.
IS IT PAMPERING THE PRISONER ?
Issued by U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society,
Council House, Lucknow

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INTRODUCTION
But
REVENUE is an old, a primeval instinct. It has governed the actions of individuals as of the society. As rightly pointed out by Godwin this fierce desire of the community, always to pursue and punish the refractory member of it, has coloured the whole history of our criminal law and administration. it is equally true that we have made much progress and today the anti-social individual is not so much a problem of punishment as of psychology. Yet, many pepole are still governed by the orthodox conception. It is no surprise therefore that a certain class of people would not hesitate to characterize as "pampering the prisoner" all attempts at putting our prison system on a scientific basis. The report of the United Provinces Departmental Jail Committee, many of whose recommendations have been accepted by the Government, has too not escaped this criticism. In the following pages the main recommendations of the Committee have been examined with a view to prove that the criticism levelled is not only unjustified but misdirected.
GOPINATH SRIVASTAVA,

Chairman,
U. P. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society.
COUNCIL HOUSE:
Lucknow, March 4, 1939.

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PRISON REFORM
REFORM IN U. P.
IS IT PAMPERING THE PRISONER?

MAN is born free: then why should there be any prisons at all is a question that often haunts the mind of great thinkers. Mankind in the earliest times made a short shrift of the criminal and needed no prisons. Later on with a greater development of education and ethics it was agreed upon that it was very hard and unfair to finish off a life for every breach of law. The prisons therefore came in to existence as a midway between killing the criminal outright and allowing him the right of living free, and as it was opined that in order to maintain the peace and order in the community retaliation by the individual for a wrong done to him should be replaced by retaliation by the State the prisons were designed to that purpose. Life in them was extremely wretched and miserable. With the march of times prisons ceased to be the houses of retaliation and their retention was demanded in the name of the need of protecting the society from the depredations of the undesirables. Nothing more and nothing less. In order however to ensure against récidivism it was considered that prisons should be made an object of terror as it was thought that one stay in jail, however short or long, should be sufficient to keep back a man from those paths of life which lead to prison. This was a negative step and there is no wonder that it produced negative results. What was really needed was an affirmative effort inasmuch as the prison was to serve the following three purposes:

(1) to give a temporary relief to the society against the activities of the offender;
(2) to deter the criminal from similar acts; and
(3) to refit the offender for constructive work in life.

Thus society's attention got centred on the need for utilizing the period of imprisonment for reforming the offender and to refit him for

life outside the jail to which in normal cases he was destined to return sooner or later.

In so far as the first object of giving temporary relief to the society is concerned the purpose is admirably served by the offender's detention behind the bars. The stigma of conviction and the unpleasant and

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painful sense of confinement crippling the individual's liberty of action served the purpose of deterring the criminal from pursuits of crime. Thus tortures and sentences, beyond those inherent and involved in the curtailment of liberty and the stigma of conviction, became absolutely superfluous and unnecessary. They tamed the man for the time being and made him a "good prisoner" but instead of helping the object of refitting the man for constructive living they actually retarded the chance for that. Somehow or other this last fact took a very long time to attract the attention of the authorities and till very lately the idea of prison life was that it should be a hell for the convict. Even now there are men who believe in making an example of a convict. Though the need for refitting the man is now widely recognized yet every attempt at humanizing jails is questioned by some people and labelled by them as short-sighted and improper. They see a snake in every act. They talk of the coddling of prisoners and of pampering them. Since the publication of the Departmental Jail Committee Report on the United Provinces Jails in January, 1939, it is now being said that the Ministry in the United Provinces is converting the jails into so many hotels and is putting a premium upon crime.

in danger is a common slogan.

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Discipline

It is proposed in these lines to analyse what the Government of the United Provinces has, since the advent of the Congress Ministry, done for the convict and to see if that amounts to a pampering of the prisoners. It seems that no apology is needed for a brief reproduction of the departures made or proposed in the treatment of the prisoners. These are as follows:

A.-Classification and concentration of prisoners
Heretofore we had mixed jails. Hereafter prisoners of one class will be concentrated at one jail, to wit, juveniles in Borstal and juvenile jails, habituals in habitual jails, casuals in casual jails, Star class in star class jails, so on, and so forth.
B.-Diet
Proposals under this head are-
eld her of (6)
(1) Early morning meal will now be issued to undertrials and those undergoing simple imprisonment.
COOLE
(2) Variety, in the early morning meal, which hitherto consisted of parched gram, shall now be effected by issuing dallia, ghungni, gur and parched gram on alternate days for the sake of a daily change. dert

3
QMD
(3) Arrangements have been made to ensure variety in the issue of dals.
(4) Special diet on chief festivals like Holi and Id and on days of religious fasting.
(5) Gur one chattak per capita will be given on Holi and Id.
(6) Fruits of annas 2 per diem thrice a week to the superior class of prisoners have been provided.
(7) Politicals of the B class can prepare their weekly menu within the standard expenditure of diet prescribed for them.
(8) The privilege of better food may be sanctioned by Government in special cases to C class also.
C.-Dress
(1) Life of cotton clothing has been restored to nine months instead. of one year.
(2) Male prisoner shall have the option of substituting one pyjama instead of one of the two jangiahs. Saris to replace lehnga and chaddar in case of female convicts.
(3) Inmates of the juvenile jails and Borstal institutions shall wear khaki shirts and shorts in place of the ordinary prison dress.
(4) Three blankets instead of two will be given to each convict for

use in winter.
(5) Prisoners over fifty and convict officers of every age shall get a waistcoat and a woollen topa in addition to their present dress.
(6) During the summer and the rains the prisoners shall have a cotton chaddar and a blanket.
(7) Prisoners suffering from enlarged spleen and hydrocele shall wear distinctive dress.
(8) Prisoners in hospitals will get a coat and a pyjama instead of a kurta and jangiah.
(9) Jail made soap in place of sujji shall be issued to convicts for washing their clothes.
D.-Drill
(1) Drill has been made compulsory in case of the juvenile prisoners.
E. Education
(1) Primary education for all adults under the age of 50 has been made compulsory.

(2) Lantern lectures on morals, hygiene, health and other suitable subjects are allowed.
(3) Better libraries are now to be the order of the day.
(4) Rewards and concessions for encouraging literacy have been sanctioned.
(5) Training school for training convict teachers is going to be started.
(6) Religious teaching and music classes for juveniles have been arranged.
(7) For female prisoners training in handicraft, needle work, embroidery and crochet has been arranged.
(8) Big placards on different topics will be exhibited on the walls inside the barracks.
(9) Politicals shall have the use of one vernacular and one English daily and have the option of reading any number of books and newspapers at their own cost.
F. Exercise and Games

(1) Introduction of physical exercises and games for the healthy recreation of the A and B class has been sanctioned.
(2) C class prisoners of the Central Prisons, shall have games and exercises.
(3) Scouting, football, volley-ball, basket-ball, kabaddi, races, and other games have been introduced in the juvenile jail.
G. Farms, etc.
(1) Dairying and seed-farming with extensive cultiva ion of the jail lands have been introduced to train convicts in the use implements of husbandry and methods of cultivation.
H.-Health, Hygiene and Toilet
of modern
(1) Weekly supplies of mustard oil to the Sikhs and others who keep long hair on religious grounds.
(2) Body oil to prisoners for skin nutrition and as protection against mosquito bites.
(3) A comb with a weekly supply of a chattak of soap and a chattak of mustard oil as against half that quantity to females and prisoners with long hair.
(4) Every female ward to have one or two looking glasses.
(5) Permission to replace churies at their own cost has been given to females.

(6) Release of females in advanced stages of pregnancy and if lifers on parol to avoid births inside the jails. Undertrials, if release impossible, will be treated by maternity nurses.
(7) Special arrangement will be made for bringing up the children with female.convicts.
(8) Issue of sterilized rags to females during the period of menses to ensure cleanliness.
J. Interviews and Information
(1) When a prisoner is transferred from one jail to another he can send a letter giving information of the change to his home.
(2) Legal advisers, friends and relations shall have better interview facilities specially in the case of newly convicted persons and relations

[coming from long distances.
(3) Letters will now be allowed at the rate of one in two months instead of one in three months.
K-Labour
(1) Only the physically fit shall be put to hard labour and the weight of the prisoners shall be taken into consideration in assigning hard labour.
(2) Hollow bamboo handles to mills to decrease chances of blisters on hands have been provided.
(3) Castor seed pressing, oil extracting and water-lifting by the convicts manual labour have been stopped.
(4) Emyloyment of convicts for domestic and private service of the jail staff is prohibited.
(5) Females shall now be put on light labour during menses.
(6) Payment of wages to the prisoners is sanctioned.
L. Punishments
(1) Solitary punishment as a court punishment is to be abolished.
(2) Flogging is now restricted to proved violence and mutiny or incitement thereto subject to the previous sanction of the Government.
(3) Use of the cross-bar fetters is restricted and reduced to seven days instead of ten days.
M. Reformative
(1) Panchayat system to be introduced in jails.
(2) Remissions as incentives to those who take a keen interest in study.
(3) Extension of the rule of remission to short term prisoners.

(4) Three years good conduct without any punishment will entitle a prisoner to two months remission of sentence.
(5) Constitution of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society with district committees throughout the province.
(6) The inauguration of the Borstal institutions.
(7) Prisoners' Release on Probation Act.
N. General
(1) Installation of the radio sets in Borstal, juvenile, Star class

and the Tuberculosis jail, to begin with.
(2) Mass singing for half an hour every day for every prisoner.
(3) Smoking of biris and cigarettes at their own cost permitted to the undertrials and to convicts at the State cost of one pice for three days.
(4) Supply of gur to non-smokers.
(5) Undertrials shall not be deprived the use of their shoes.
Having briefly set out the changes we have now to see if these changes either collectively or individually amount to the pampering of the convict, and before attempting an answer to the question it seems only fit to know what "pampering" is. Now, in ordinary parlance to pamper is to "over-indulge or to spoil a person by kindness". It will follow that if you give a man his due you can neither be charged of over-indulgence nor of spoiling him through kindness.
After this preliminary observation let us now look to the case which is put up by those who level the charge of pampering. They say that the convicts are mostly drawn from the scum of the society and in quite a substantial majority of crimes the causes for the offence are economic. Therefore by providing them a better diet, a better dress, a better house, and more conveniences in life than they did enjoy as free men you are creating a situation that will empty the slums and fill the prisons.
They therefore maintain that prisons ought to underbid the slums, and any deviation from this is to their mind a pampering of the prisoners. These gentlemen however shut their eyes to the fact that slums in Indian habitations were even prior to these changes worse enough not to attract anyone to them-on the basis of physical comforts -in preference to housing and living conditions inside the Indian jails, minus the sense of confinement in them. Moreover, if we stick to the policy of underbidding the life conditions outside the jails we shall have to keep in mind the worst of the slums as the standard for being underbidden by jails. This is so because recruits to crime come mostly from these habitations. Would it be, we put it to them, just and fair

to those who come under the clutches of the law from the middle class that they should be taken down to the same level as the slum people. The answer must definitely be 'No' if the standards of life outside the jail are to be the criterion and standard of the conditions inside the jail. There shall then be no uniformity of treatment. Will that conduce to the well-being of the prisoners or, for the matter of that will that advance the cause of discipline in the name whereof the changes are being objected to? It is therefore evident that if we keep in mind the condition of the poorest and the most oppressed slum dwellers in view we will realize that their conditions of life are so extremely wretched that "it would be impossible to run a prison humanely without making the lot of at least some of the criminals more eligible than that of many free citizens". The remedy as Bernard Shaw has rightly remarked "is not to make the prison worse but the slum better". We cannot help quoting copiously from Bernard Shaw's preface to "English Prisons" by Webb on this point. That learned writer says that "the moment the treatment of the criminal is decent and merciful enough to give him a chance of moral recovery, or, in incorrigible cases, to avoid making bad worse, the official descriptions of his lot become so rosy that a clamour arises against theives and murderers being better off than honest and kindly men; for the official reports tell us only of the care that is taken of the prisoner and the advantages he enjoys, or can earn by good conduct, never of his sufferrings; and the public is not imaginative or thoughtful enough to supply the deficiency. What sane man, I ask the clamourers would accept an offer of free board, lodging, clothing, waiters in attendance at a touch of the bell, medical treatment, spiritual advice, scientific ventilation and sanitation, technical instruction, liberal education and the use of a carefully selected library, with regular exercise daily and sacred music at frequent intervals, even at the Ritz Hotel, if the conditions were that he should never speak, never sing, never laugh, never see a newspaper and write only one sternly censored letter and have one miserable interview at long intervals through the bars of a cage under the eye of a warder? And when the prison is not the Ritz Hotel, when the lodging, the food, the bed, are all deliberately made so uncomfortable as to be instruments of torture, when the clothes are rags promiscuously worn by all your fellow prisoners in turn with yourself, when the exercise is that of a turnspit, when the ventilation and sanitation are noisome, when the instruction is a sham, the education a fraud, when the doctor is a bully

to whom your ailments are all malingerings, when the waiters are bound by penalties not to speak to you except to give you an order or rebuke

and then address you as you would not dream of addressing your dog, when the manager holds over your head a continual threat of starvation and confinement in a punishment cell, then what man in his senses would voluntarily exchange even the most harassed freedom with life in such a hotel". (English Prisons by Webb). It therefore emerges from the above that those who talk of pampering either lose sight of or find it convenient to forget the fact that the real punishment is confinement and loss of liberty. Punishment therefore continues all right notwithstanding the humanizing steps taken or proposed by the Government.

Reverting to the more important changes individually we find that most of them are too minor to receive notice here but there are some that can be called and are considered to be major changes Thus we find that under the heading classification, the idea of concentration of prisoners of one type in one jail marks an important departure. Upto now we had mixed prisons, but as evil society leads to evil habits the need for keeping one type of criminals removed from the influence of the other type has long been recognized, and as the allotment of barracks or circles alone, in the same jail, had not proved as effective segregation of one set from the other, as was required to ward off the evils of commenselity between habituals and casuals, politicals and non-politicals, juveniles and adults, tuberculars and healtly, etc., etc., the present Government has decided that there should be concentration of one type at one place. This will make the prisoners assembled at one place homogenous and their treatment will be a simpler matter. In a mixed jail different types need different treatment and it is impossible for the same set of officers to adopt in the same jail different standards of treatment. The concentration is therefore an improvement that will not in any way lead to any spoiling by kindness.

Next we come to diet and dress. The major changes under these heads are a supply of variety in diet with the provision of a third blanket

in winter and a chadd ir in summer. Men are sent to jail not to be made physical cripples. There is no justification for ruining a convict's health. It is a hard medical fact that to preserve body in good health and in a fit state to bear up and resist disease a variety in food is of the greatest consequence. Luxuries are out of question but a diet properly regulated and varied is necessary to preserve him in health. It is any day better to have a healthy prisoner than to have a sickly and emaciated pristner because in the latter case in addition to the costs of medicine,

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un-
he will need nutritious diet after the cure and will thus be an necessary and costly burden on the exchequer both during the period of his illness and after. All prison officers have at sometime or other recognized the importance of food to the prisoner. No grievance is more likely to combine a body of mal-contents in a jail than a grievance about food. Therefore variety is needed both on medical grounds and for administrative purposes. Prison dietary was never meant to be penal in its character nor was it ever intended that it should take the form of a punishment. The principle underlying the constitution of a jail dietary was that it should be sufficient to keep the prisoner in health and strength with absence of luxury and with due regard to economy. The cost of dietary in the United Provinces jails works out to rupees two and a few annas per head per month. The varieties that have been introduced will not lead to any extra cost. We leave it to the imagination of the readers to fix the measure of the luxury that may be achievable in a diet costing less than two annas a day. Diet expenses in the United Provinces jails are by far the lowest in the whole of In dia. If even after these conditions one is inclined to describe the prisons as luxurious establishments it is a sad commentary on the economic conditions outside the jails, but one has yet to see a prisoner who would prefer to stay, not a day but a minute, longer than the period required by the term of his sentence, inside the Jail.
out.
Those who have contact with jails are aware of the fact that food is a constant topic of conversation, a plentiful source of complaint with consequent discontent among the prisoners. There is nothing to be won-

dered at because a convict has to take the same food years in and years He consequently loses his appetite and zest. Anyone who questions this experience may make a trial for himself and his verdict after a week and sometimes earlier would be that "no variety means no food,". It is admitted that with the quantity of food supplied by the jail a man normally gets well fed, possibly better fed than a free man outside the jail, but the free man is not bound by that monotony which has as far been the lot of the prisoner. He has the option to change and does change. Monotony deadens zeal and appetite. It is therefore contended that variety in food was the prisoner's due and its introduction would be ill-described if it is said that it amounts to pampering.

Similarly the supply of a morning meal to undertrials and prisoners undergoing simple imprisonment would not be pampering them. The urge for hunger is very acute in the hours of the forenoon. To make

the prisoners go hungry amounted to a partial starvation and that would be a punishment unjustified by the terms of the warrant under which they were held in jail.

Reverting to changes under the head dress one has to remember that ours is a mosquito-ridden province and in some parts has extreme climatic conditions. We have a severe cold season and a severe hot season. Outside the jails the poorest of the poor manage to ward off cold by either sleeping together or by the use of fire or pil (rice straw).

The jail in underbidding the external conditions does not permit these amenities to the prisoners and instead keeps them in fully ventilated barracks throughout the year. The draught of the cold air makes the convicts shiver in their blankets and has an adverse effect on their health. The mosquito pest makes conditions unbearable for them during the summer and the rains. An additional blanket to protect them from cold and the chaddar to ward off mosquito bites were a real necessity. It would be idle to say that these constitute any over-indulgence. In fact these measures will lead to contentment and better health which are the two great assets for re-fitting a man for a re-entry in life.

The next minor item of change in the matter of dress is the optional substitution of a pyjama for a
pyjama for a short and sari for a lenhga and a
chaddar. The idea is to gradually approximate the jail dress to that worn by the people outside. Yet a third change in the matter of dress is the provision of a waistcoat and a woollen topa for convicts over 50 years of age and to convict officers of all ages. This is the whole of the story of the amenities in dress and means very little additional cost. At present the cost of clothing and bedding per head is less than annas five per month. We put it to the decriers of these changes if the cost of rupees three and annas twelve per year per head revolts against their sense of severity.ber

This brings us to drill, education, exercise and games. If the purpose of punishment were to make a greater wreck of a convict during his stay in the jail than he was at the time when he entered it, activities under these heads would certainly be uncalled for. Luckily for the society and for all concerned the common sense of the world revolts against any such notions and the minimum expected of a jail is that if it does not physically, morally and intellectually improve a man it will see that the man does not get deteriorated in any of these respects by his stay in a prison. Therefore all the activities aiming at making him more fit, more intellectual and well-behaved are,

in spite of the ill-informed criticism, to be continued. Moreover with a drive for literacy going with full force outside the jails it was impossible not to introduce schemes for encouraging literacy in jails. It is true that Victor Hugo's dream of closing a prison as a consequence of opening a school has not yet materialized but in a country heading for democracy the need for an intelligent grasp of matters by every adult member of the society is a real necessity, and therefore education, whatever may be said by the critics thereof is not to be ignored,

The present Government at any rate would not mind the charge of pampering if the extension of educational facilities is the ground for it. Drill keeps a man fit. Exercise develops a sound body which leads to a sound mind. Games build character and the rebuilding of

character is the very essence and the very purpose of confinement in a jail. Only the short-sighted will ever object to these.

Health, hygiene, toilet and interviews are the next items where some changes have been introduced and a most cursory reading of the changes introduced would convince anybody that they have come a little too late. It is really a matter for some wonder why they were not effected long before now. For instance who will question the need of sterilized rags for females or their release in advanced stages of pregnancy? Who will say that the issue of body oil or mustard oil in insufficient quantities was a better way of doing things, or who will advocate that interviews with legal advisers should be closely censored? Let us, therefore pass on to the changes under the heads labour, punishments and reforms.

Under the head labour a salutary rule of putting only the physically fit to hard labour has been promulgated. Orders have been issued that convicts should not be put to castor-seed pressing, oil extracting and water lifting. The employment of convicts for private and domestic service of the jail staff has been prohibited. The former were unnatural jobs for a man and the latter debasing. Go to the country-side and you will find that bullocks do the former, the menials the latter. There was no justification for either of the two practices. Their continuance ignored the fact that punishment was only another name fot loss of liberty and did not include these methods of torture.

Payment of wages to convicts is another significant move under this head. The idea is a natural sequence of commercializing the jails and has more than one advantage. Firstly, it is a substantial reply to the critics of commercializing jails. Hitherto jail products were not allowed to compete with the free labour outside the jails because it was asserted by the houses of business that convict labour being free

labour, the jail rates of their goods would be low and would adversely affect the wage standard outside. As a consequence men inside the jail could not get the requisite training in cottage industries and those of them who belonged to the artizan class were the greatest sufferers, for they lost much of their aptitude for the particular craft they knew

by their inaction or being out of touch with that art in jail. This naturally meant reduction in chances of their rehabilitation. Secondly, convicts naturally took but little interest in the work assigned to them and this meant not merely the waste of their energy but also the waste of the public money spent on the material. Poor workmanship resulted. Payment of wages will remove this. Thirdly, the rate of production was very poor and this was due to lack of interest. It is now expected that wages will be a fair attraction and incentive for better production both in quality and quantity. Incidentally it will enable the Superintendent of Jail to form his opinion as to the capacity of the man for earning an honest living after release. The man himself will realize, if the measure of his work is poor, that he should put in more energy to achieve that standard which will make life conditions for him outside the jail easy. It will be quite a fair index of the chances of his rehabilitation for the guidance of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies. Last, yet not the least, aspect of this matter is that the man shall have on the date of his release fairly sufficient funds to fall back upon and start life over again. In view of all these advantages this system of payment of wages has been introduced. So long as the convict is inside the jail he will be getting no cash and therefore upto the date of his release he will be living in the dreamland of hope-hope of a better life on return home, hope of a house and hearth in existence, and hope of opulence. Unlike the present-day convict who from behind the bars can take no care of his family, the prisoner of tomorrow will be in a position to contribute his mite for the welfare of his dependents. The prisoner in the past on return home nearly always and most particularly in cases he happened to be the sole bread-winner used to find that either the family had disbanded and decimated or it was reduced to emaciated skeletons of humanity as a consequence of poverty and lack of a bread-winner. Therefore in spite of there being no desire to stay a moment longer in jail than required by law his eagerness to get out was not very acute. The position hereafter will stand changed. He will be over-acute to go out and to get the earliest release. Thus the wage payment system will conduce to the development of the better side of him. It will not spoil him. On the other hand it will improve him.

Under the head punishments the stoppage of solitary confinement as a judicial sentence has been recommended. Even the most enthusiastic advocates of solitary confinement shall have to admit that it neither improves the health nor the mentality of the convict. It is conceivable that in the first few hours of solitary confinement, the man may repent for his conduct which led him to solitary confinement but as the time will pass on the devil in him shall flourish. There is much truth in the dictum that the devil gets hold of an idle brain. Admitting that the man will be doing some manual labour for a few hours out of the twenty-four, yet the rest of his time will be devoted to brooding, and brooding over one's misfortune is the worst enemy of voluntary effort at reformation.

Flogging another relic of barbaric age has been restricted to cases of proved violence and mutiny. This is in accord with the practice in English prisons. It may be of some interest to note that flogging in 1891 was resorted to in 586 cases in the United Provinces Jails as compared to 7 in 1938. The inference is that even without the orders of stopping it flogging was getting into desuetude. Its restriction therefore makes no very significant difference.

To those who are not conversant with the prisons it will probably be news that in no other province so many irons are used as in the United Provinces and it seemed that a halt to that practice was very much needed. The worst of the fetters were cross-bar fetters. They made living wretched and miserable and revolted against the scheme of rehabilitation. Their use has therefore been reduced and restricted.

We must now come to cross-bar fetters.

We now come to the reformative measures, and of these the first one, namely the introduction of the panchayat system is very important. We are living in an age of democracy and as an ex-convict voter has as much to shoulder the responsibility of democratic government as a non-convict voter has it follows that training in the art of democracy, if it could be given, would be to the advantage of the society at large. This reason by itself is more than sufficient to justify the introduction of panchayats inside the jails. There are, however, other reasons also

for their introduction. A jail panchayat would be a sort of a Mutual Welfare League. It cannot be denied that even at present leagues leading to gangs exist in jails. As they are not controlled and directed by jail authority they are generally subterranean movements and almost all subterranean movements are unhealthy. These accredited panchayats will therefore cut at the root of gang formations and will prove of

immense help to the jail authorities in the maintenance of discipline and in the matter of the treatment of individual prisoners. To illustrate the point it would be sufficient to say that if there existed a panchayat in a barrack authorized to report for punishment or for reward to any prisoner then the conduct of the inmates of the barrack would be more easily and accurately known to the jail staff than at present. Necessary treatment shall therefore be meted out to the man. To reject the scheme of panchayat because it would lead to the creation of a privileged convict class inside the jail would be ignoring the existing conditions. Even on the present day there is the privileged class, namely, the convict officer. If the latter's existence did not pamper the criminal, the former's should not. It is intended that the panchayats shall be divided into various sub-committees, that shall look after say sanitation, ration, labour, etc., etc. that may be declared to be their sphere. These will be elected bodies and their co-operation with the staff will make jail atmosphere healtheir and better.

The other important moves for reform are represented by the proposed establishment of the Borstal institutions, the inauguration of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies and the enactment of the two Probation Acts. There is a vast literature on the utility of each of these subjects available to, and within easy reach of, anyone who might be interested in the study of the proposition. It is not therefore proposed to discuss these in detail in these columns. The remaining changes under this head do not call for a discussion here.

Under the head general we find that provision of radio sets in certain classes of jails has been recommended. It is wrong to think of & radio
set in the terms of the music programme that forms part of it. Minus

the music, radio is nothing but an extension of the system of lecturing and distributing news. We believe that before long a system of having a teacher for every class in a school room, at least in the case of grown-up boys, will, in the name of economy, have to give way to a radio. set. One broadcast lecture from a radio station on the subject will meet the requirements of all. Exactly the same would apply to the prisoners collected in a barrack. The persistency with which it is expected the radio broadcaster will be telling them to improve themselves and to bring themselves in a line with the free people, would in the fullness of time stimulate them. Thus radio sets have a virtue which ought not to be ignored. Occasional music will also not be misplaced. Music has a very soothing effect and is known to have tamed even the wildest animals. Music touches chords of life and vibrates the man with fresh

energy. Therefore if some music is released to them through the radio it will all be to their good. It is well to remember here that radio is being pressed in service for educating the masses in villages. Its use in jails will therefore be nothing out of the common. Half an hour of singing has also been recommended. This would be recreation after the day's drudgery and would relieve the pent-up feelings. Let us hope these measures will not spoil the prisoners.

Lastly, the provision to smoke is the change that has been effected. People conversant with the jails will have to concede that many a vice inside the jail was traced to the prohibition of the use of tobacco. The fact that tobacco used to be smuggled cannot be disputed. This was a vice that could not be stopped and this was a privation that the prisoner found it impossible to bear. He would do anything for a smoke or a chew. Bribery, sodomy, violence, back-biting and what not thrived inside the jails because of the rule against smoking. By permitting a smoke, which has for the Indian labourer a recreative effect the Government has cut at the very root of so many evils and has minimized the chances of the prisoners being spoiled. Therefore there is no pam-pering in this either.

Having discussed in detail as also collectively the various aspects of the changes let us now leave the subject to the verdict of

experience.

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1939

Page - 256
THE
255
25A
Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co Ltd
LAHORE
NINETH
ANNUAL REPORT & ACCOUNTS
FOR
THE YEAR ENDING 31ST OCTOBER, 1939
MANAGING AGENTS
Messrs. Narang Bros. & Co., Ltd.
FACTORY
NAWABGANJ-DISTT. GONDA, (U. P.)

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The Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co., Ltd.,
256
LAHORE
ESTABLISHED 1932.
Authorised Capital, divided into 12,000
shares of Rs. 100 each fully subs-
cribed
Rs. A. P.
12,00,000 00
Paid up Capital upto 31st October,
1939
11,99,529 10 3

Reserve Fund
4,00,000 00
Dividend Equalization Fund
*1,00,000 00
...
Directors
1. Dr. Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Kt. M. A., Ph.D.,
M. L. A., 5, Montgomery Road, Lahore
2. Dr. Shiv Datt, L. M. S., Rais, Baghbanpura.
3. Lala Kesar Ram Narang, Manager, Punjab Sugar
Mills Co., Ltd., Ghughli (Gorakhpur).
4. Lala Des Raj Narang, B. A., LL. B., M. B. E.,
Manager, Basti Sugar Mills Co., Ltd., Basti (U.P.)
Managing Agents
NARANG BROTHERS & Co., Ltd.,
3 Montgomery Road,
LAHORE.
Manager
SETH KRISHAN DEVA
Secretary
B.A., LL.B.
L. Parkash Chand
Auditors
MESSRS. BASANT RAM & SONS, LAHORE.
Head Office:
3, Montgomery Road, Lahore.
Factory: Nawabganj, Distt. Gonda, U. P.
*This sum also includes Rs. 40,000 provided for in this year.

Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co., Ltd.,
LAHORE.
NOTICE
The 9th Ordinary General Meeting of the Shareholders
of the Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co., Ltd., will be held on Satur-
day, the 10th February 1940 at 5 P.M. at the Registered Office

of the Company, 3, Montgomery Road, Lahore. Your presence is requested. In case you are unable to attend you may kindly send in your proxy on the enclosed form which should reach the office of the Company 72 hours before the meeting to be registered in time.

BUSINESS-

1. Reading of the Auditors' Report.
2. Adoption of the Balance Sheet and the Directors'
3.
4.

Report.
Election of Director.
Dr. Shiv Datt retires but is eligible and is standing for re-election.
Appointment of Auditors for the year 1939-40.

5. Fixing remuneration of Auditors for the year 1939-40.

Note The transfer books of the Company shall remain closed for 14 days from 28th January to 10th February 1940, both days inclusive.

LAHORE:
26th January 1940.
By order of the Board,
Parkash Chand
Secretary.

THE NAWABGANJ SUGAR MILLS COMPANY, LIMITED, LAHORE.

Directors' Report for the year ending 31st October, 1939.

From the Balance Sheet it would appear that the net profit for the year ending 31st October, 1939, amounted to
The Directors recommend the appropriation of the amount as follows
Dividend at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum for the year ending 31st October, 1939, out of

Dividend at 5 per
year ended 30th
already been paid
which ad-interim
cent. for the half-
April, 1939, has
Dividend Equalization Fund
Charity Fund
Carried forward
Rs. A. P.
1.70,098 23
1,19,947 6 0
40,000 0 0
4,150 12 3
6,000 0 0

The profit for the year has not been very satisfactory. The reason is that the floods during the rainy season of 1938 destroyed a good deal of the crop for the year 1938-39 with the result that we could only crush 1/3rd of the total crushing capacity of the mills. The recovery was also low as the cane which survived the floods had deteriorated and was of low quality. Full depreciation has not been shown on machinery as the mills worked only for a short period owing to scarcity of cane. It will be noticed that with the addition of Rs. 40,000 this year the Dividend Equalization Fund will stand at rupees one lakh.

The factory is working quite satisfactorily although even this year the crop is very short and cane is not available to feed the whole plant.

The Directors appreciate the good work done by the staff inspite of the unusual and adverse circumstances.

GOKUL CHAND NARANG
SHIV DATT
KESAR RAM NARANG
DES RAJ NARANG
Directors.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

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CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES.
Capital
Authorised Capital,
12,000 Shares of
Rs. 100 each Rs. 12,00,000
Issued & subscribed Capital
for payment in cash
12,000 Shares of
Rs. 100 each
Rs. 12,00,000
6
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
Amount.
Total.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
Called up at Rs. 100 each
12,00,000 00
Less calls in arrears
470 5 9 11,99,529 10 3
(i) Due from Managing
Agents
(ii) Due from others
Nil.
Rs. 470-5-9
Reserve Fund
4,00,000 0 0
Dividend
60,000 0 0
Fund

Equalization
Charity Account
Unpaid Dividend and In-
terest payable to share-
holders
Carried over
968 3 8
3,345 14 9
16,63,843 12 8

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7
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
PROPERTY & ASSETS.
Machinery-
Amount.
Rs.
Total.
A. P.
Rs.
As per last Balance Sheet 24,01,803 4 11
A. P.
Additions during the year
18,768 14 6
24,20,572 3 5
Less
sale-proceeds and
rebate, etc.
2,914 12 0
24,17,657 7 5
Deduct total depreciation
to date
5,88,649 15 8 18,29,007 7 9
79
Tools and Plants :-
As per last Balance Sheet

Additions during the year
3,043 5 9
40,872 13 0
37,829 7 3
Less sales and recoveries
1,385 12 6
39,487 0 6
As
Deduct total depreciation
to date
Weighing Machines :-
per last Balance Sheet
Additions during the year
12,746 12 6
26,740 4 0
25,287 13
6
1,808 6 0
27,096 3 9
Less sale-proceeds
1,800 0 0
25,296 3 9
Carried over
18,55,747 11 9

.
CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES (contd.)
Brought forward.
Employees Provident Fund
(A Portion of it is required
to be invested under Section
282-B (2) of the Indian
Companies Act)
Provision for Income-Tax
Loans Secured:

1,250-6 per cent. debentures of Rs. 500 each secured by mortgage of the assets of the Company
(Note.-The remaining unissued 150 debentures of the face value of Rs. 75,000 are lodged with the Imperial Bank of India, Lahore, as security for occasional overdraft).
Deposits :-
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
Amount.
Rs.
Total.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
16,63,843 12 8
30,300 4 6
1,41,270 15 0
6,25,000 00
Fixed Deposits
20
1,00,100 0 0
Current Deposits
841 7 0
Earnest money Deposits...
16,051 10 6
Security Deposits
36,209 1 0
1,53,202 2 6
Carried over
26,13,617 28

9
263
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
PROPERTY & ASSETS.
-contd.

	Amount. Rs,	Total. A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward			25,296	3 9
Deduct total depreciation to date			18,55,747	11 9
			600	
			8,412	6 6
			16,883	13 3
Buildings:-				
As per last Balance Sheet				
Additions during the year				
Deduct total depreciation to date				
Railway Sidings:-				
As per last Balance Sheet				
Additions during the year				
Deduct total depreciation to date				
Safes, Fixture & Furniture:-				
	2,74,337	4 3		
	18,931	13 0		
	2,93,269	1 3		
	38,169	5 3		
	2,55,099	12 0.		

25,091 2 3
38 14 0
25,130 0 3
8,373 0 6
16,756 15 S
As per last Balance Sheet
11,586 15 1
Additions during the year
1,036 3 9
12,623
¼ 10
Less amount written off
and recovered
52 11 0
12,570 7 10
Deduct total depreciation
to date
6,176 14 1
6,393 99
Carried over
21,50,881 14 6

264
CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES-(contd.).
10
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
Amount.
Rs.
A. P.
Total.
Rs. A. P.
Brought forward
Other Liabilities
1. For Expenses :-
(i) Unpaid wages and

salaries
(ii) Interest payable
(iii) Income-tax of Em-
ployees payable
400
11,746 10 9
7,349 2 6
26,13,617 28
89 9 0
(iv) Sundry credits
(v) Excise duty payable
18,183 4 9
47,827 2 0
(vi) House rent payable
600
85,201 13 0
2. For goods supplied :-
(i) Price of Sugarcane
payable
(ii) Sugarcane
1,719 0 3
commis-
156 10 9
sion payable
(iii) Provision for Sugar
commission payable
to agents
1,122 13 0
2,998 8 0
3.
For other finances :
(i) Income-tax on Deben-
tures deducted and
payable
Carried over
5,136 11
4
5,136 11 4 27,01,817 7 8

11
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
PROPERTY & ASSETS
-contd.
265

	Amount. Rs.	Total. A. P.	Rs.	A. P.
Brought forward			21,50,881	14 6
Books:-				
As per last Balance Sheet	376	9 0		
Additions during the year	109	12 6		
	486	5 6		
Deduct total depreciation to date	211	00		
	275	5 6		
Agricultural Implements:-				
As per last Balance Sheet	5,502	8 0		
Additions during the year	5	15 0		
	5,508	7 0		
Less amount written off etc	848	8 9		

4,659 14 3
Deduct total depreciation
to date
1,789 13 0
800
2,870 1 3
Live Stock:-
As
per last Balance
Sheet
Less amount written off
and adjusted
Carried over
600
2,523 11 6
60 0 0
2,463 11 6
21,54,027 5 3

206
CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES-contd.
Brought forward
(ii) Due to traders
(iii) Employees
fund
Suspense
12
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
Amount.
Total.
Rs.
A, P.
Rs.
A. P.
5,136 11 4 27,01,817 7 8

10,213 0 8
welfare
17 13 9
15,367 9 9
6,348 0 9
Profit & Loss Account
Balance as per
last Balance
Sheet Rs. 2,16,164-3-4
Less appropria-
ated towards:
Final dividend
at 6 per cent
for the MOR
year ended
31st October
1938...Rs. 71,956-13-0
Dividend Equa-
lization Fund
Rs. 60,000-0-0
4802
Reserve Fund
Rs. 80,000-0-0
Charity Account
Rs. 4,207-6-4
2,16,164-3-4
Balance
Carried over
Nil.
27,23,533 22

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SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
13
267
PROPERTY & ASSETS
Amount.

Total.
-contd.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
Brought Forward
2,463 11 6
21,54,027 5 3
Deduct total depreciation
to date
1,352 4 0
1,111 7 6
Agricultural Farm, Struc-
ture & Fixture :-
As per last Balance
Sheet (Manjha Farm)....
Additions during the year
(Lachmanpur Farm)
Deduct total depreciation
to date
Laboratory Instruments :-
3609 0 0
379 6 3
3,988 6 3
682 11 3
3,305 11 0
As per last Balance
Sheet
8,007 11 3
Additions during the year
1,643 12 0
9,651 7 3
Less breakages
62 12 9
9,588 10 6
Deduct total depreciation
to date
2,435 00

7,153 10 6
Roads
746
4 3.
Less amount written off...
46
4
3
700
00
Carried over
21,66,298 2 3

14
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES (contd.)
Brought forward
464
Profit for the year ending
31st October 1939 as
per Profit and Loss
Account annexed
Less ad-interim dividend
paid for the half year
ended 30-4-1939
Note.
(Provisions held
for depreciation
(Rs. 6,68,999-2-9) have
been deducted under
respective heads
per contra).
as
Amount.

Total.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
1,70,098 2 3
27,23,533 2 2
59,970 14 0 1,10,127 4 3
Carried over
28,33,660 65

269
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
PROPERTY & ASSETS
-(contd.)
Brought forward
Motor Car:
As per last Balance Sheet
Less amount written off...
Telephone :-
As per last Balance Sheet
Less amount written off...
Drawing Instruments :-
As per last Balance Sheet
Less amount written off
Stocks and stores in hand
as valued and certified
by the Manager-
(a) Sugar partly at con-
tracted rates
Excise Duty and partly
at cost price
(b) Molasses at contract-
ed rates
15
Amount.

Total.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
21,66,298 2 3
1,100 0 0
400 0 0
700 00
124
00
25
0
0
99 00
50
00
25
00
25 CO
less
96,468 14 9
468 12 0
21.875 0 0
(c) Cane crops in field
(estimated value)
(d) Stores at cost:
Coal, Coke, Firewood,
Lubricating oils, Sugar
Gunny bags, Sulphur,
Lime, Building mater-
ial, Timber, Printed
Stationery, Dispensary
medicines, apparatus,
etc., Electric goods,
B Bricks, General
stores, Fire bricks, spare
parts of machinery,
Press cloth, Laboratory

Chemicals, grains etc.
Carried over
2,47,942 7 3 3,66,755 20
25,33,877 4 3

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270
CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES-contd.
Brought Forward
16
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
Amount.
Total.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
28,33,660 6 5
Carried over
28,33,660 65

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271
17
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
PROPERTY & ASSETS
-contd.
Brought Forward
Book Debts Considered
good:-
Loans on Pronotes:-
to staff Rs. 6,828 0 10
to others Rs. 1,909
Amount,

Rs.
Total.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
03
8,737 1 1
of
(Note: At the close
the year a sum of
Rs. 3,374-13-0 was due
from the Manager of
the Combany. No
amount was advanced
to him during the year..
Advances to staff
Due from cultivators
Due from Traders
Bills outstanding
(1) Secured
Rs. 2,777-1-0
(2) Personal
Rs. 94,651-2-1
97,428-3-1
Other Items:-
Manjha Farm Expendi-
ture
As per last
Balance Sheet
Rs. 4,300-0-0
Less amount
written off
2,300-C-0
2,000-0-0
Carried over
25,33,877 4 3
707 11 9
8,645 8 9
49,884 7 0

29,453 6 6
97,428 3 1
26,31,305 7 4

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272
CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES-contd.
Brought Forward
18
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
Total.
Amount.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
28,33,660 65
Carried over
28,33,660 65

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273
19
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
PROPERTY AND
Amount.
ASSETS (contd.)
Rs. A. P
Brought Forward
2,000-0-0
Add Lachman-
pur Farm pre-
paring
and

breaking
of
new land
4,206-11-0
6,206 11 0
Prepaid Ry. siding rent...
Interest accrued but not
963 6 6
Total.
Rs. A. P.
26,31,305 7 4
realized on
calls
Security lodged
unpaid
183 4 3
with
Indian Oxygen
Acetylene Co., Ltd.,
and
Calcutta
Suspense
300 0.0
304 10 0
7,957 15 9
Investments:-
40 Debentures (7%)
of Rs. 500 each of the
Steel and General
Mills Co., Ltd., at cost
5 Fully paid up shares in
Reserve Bank of India
at par
Employees
Provident
Fund Investments :-
3 per cent. G. P. Notes
of the face value of
Rs. 7,500 @ cost

Interest accrued on above
20,000 0 0
500 0 0
20,500 0 0
7,368 12 0
74 10 0
7,443 6 0
Carried over
26,67,206 13 1

CAPITAL AND LIA-
BILITIES-concld.
Brought Forward
Total
20
THE NAWABGANJ
BALANCE SHEET
Amount.
Total.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
28,33,660 65
28,33,660 65
AUDITORS' REPORT
We have audited the Balance Sheet of the Nawabganj Sugar Mills Company, Limited, as at 31st October 1939, as above set forth and the annexed Profit and Loss Account for the year ending that date, with the books kept at Head Office, Lahore, and at Nawabganj Factory and beg to report that :-
(a) we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required, and
(b) in our opinion the Balance Sheet and the Profit and Loss Account are drawn up in conformity with the law, and

(c) such Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Company, and
(d) in our opinion books of accounts have been kept by the Company as required by section 130 of the Indian Companies Act.
BASANT RAM & SONS.
LAHORE,
13-1-1940.
Registered Accountants.
AUDITORS.

SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.
AS AT 31st OCTOBER 1939.
21
275
Total.
PROPERTY & ASSETS
-(concld.)
Amount.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
Brought Forward
Cash and other Balan-
A. P.
26,67,206 13 1
ces:-
Cash in hand at
Head
Office and Nawabganj
12,143 7 1
In current account with
different Banks
1,53,185 63

Drafts in hand
1,124 12 0
1,66,453 94
Total
28,33,660 6 5
Directors.
Parkash Chand,
Secretary.
GOKUL CHAND NARANG
SHIV DATT
KESAR RAM NARANG
DES RAJ NARANG
For the Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co. Ltd.,
DEV RAJ NARANG
Managing Director,
NARANG BROS & Co. Ltd.,
Managing Agents.

22
276
THE NAWABGANJ
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR
EXPENDITURE.
ود
To opening stocks of Sugar
and Molasses on 1st
Nov. 1938
Sugarcane, Railway frei-
ght, Cess and loading
charges etc. Coal, Fire-
wood, Sulphur, Lime,
Mill Stores, Lubrica-
ting Oils, Sugar gunny
bags, Press Cloth,
Belting and Ropes,
Electric Goods, Labo-
ratory expenses etc....

ود
99
Establishment, Working Labour, Commission to Manager and Contribution to Provident Fund
Directors Remuneration.
Amount.
Total.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
2,00,628 59
8,72,965 9 3
10,73 593 15 0
1,74,090 0 0
7,476 12 0
ود
Managing Agents and
Remuneration
ود
Commission
Remuneration
Trustees of Debenture
7,673 0 0
to
holders
600
0 0
99
Travelling and Motor Expenses
5,341 8 9
ود

Stationery,
Postage,
Telegrams
and Tele-
phones
2,890 15 9
99
Light and Fuel
865 4 6
Commission and Bro-
kerage on sale
Sugar
of
15,645 3 6
Carried over
2,14,583 12 6 10,73,593 15 0

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277
23
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.,
ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1939.
INCOME.
Amount.
Rs.
Total.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
By sale of Sugar and
99
Molasses
Sugar and Molasses in
hand on 31st October
1939
18,30,166 46
96,937 10 9 19,27,103 15 3
,, Miscellaneous Earnings

2,347 3 2
Share Transfer fees
65 0 0
2,412 3 2
99
Income from
93
Agricul-
tural operations
22,568 1 6
Carried over
19,52,084 3 11

278
24
THE NAWABGANJ
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR
EXPENDITURE.
Amount.
Total.
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
Brought forward
To Repairs to Machinery,
Buildings,
and Railway sidings...
Interest and Discount...
2,14,583 12 6 10,73,593 15 0
39
99
General charges
23
Law charges
Licence Fee
22

Audit Fee
99
3.9
Furniture
19,960 4 10
51,011 3 11
3,494 3
4
and
1,310 4
13,250 13
1,500 0
609
5,195 8
2,564 2
360
9
Insurance charges
House, Land, Office and
Railway siding rents.
Dispensary Expenses
99
Excise Duty
23
,, Agricultural and Farm
৬৬
Expenses
,, Income Tax (Provision)
99
99
97
99
99
99
৬৮
Income Tax
U. P. Flood Relief
Contribution
Expenses of Sugar

Syndicate
Bad debts written off ...
Depreciation on Machi
nery, Buildings etc.
Other articles written
2,55,594 12 0
18,045 0
23,000
0
234 6
906
960 1 0
5,515 3 4
76 15 9
6,16,296 11 11
91,418 4 6
off
Balance carried to Balance
Sheet
Total
LAHORE,
13-1-1940,
677 2 3
100
92,095 6 9
17,81,986 18
1,70,098 2 3
19,52,084 3 11
BASANT RAM & SONS.
Registered Accountants.
AUDITORS,

25
279
SUGAR MILLS Co., Ltd.,
ENDING 31st OCTOBER, 1939.
Amount.

Total.
INCOME. (Concld.)
Rs.
A. P.
Rs.
A. P.
Brought forward
19,52,084 3 11
Total
Directors.
19,52,084 3 11
GOKUL CHAND NARANG,
SHIV DATT,
KESAR RAM NARANG.
DES RAJ NARANG,
For The Nawabganj Sugar Mills Co. Ltd,
Parkash Chand,
Secretary.
DEV RAJ NARANG,
Managing Director,
NARANG BROS & Co., Ltd.
Managing Agents.

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10
Gr
280
1/9-509
Address by His Excellency Sir HARRY HAIG, K.C.S.I.,
C.I.E., I.C.S., Governor of the United Provinces,
to the two Chambers of the United Provinces
Legislature on September 9, 1937.
danno I FEEL it to be an occasion of unusual significance
when I avail myself for the first time of my privilege of
addressing the members of the legislature of the United
Provinces as constituted under the Government of India
Act, 1935, and find myself brought into personal contact

with that body which represents the essential spirit of the new constitution. The legislature is the source of power in the constitution. On it depends the nature of the Government and its policy. It represents moreover the principle of democracy. It is the link between the people and the Government. It is through it that the people bring their influence to bear, and that the Government is in the strict sense of the term popular. Finally, its conduct will be the touchstone of the working of the democratic system. It stands for the idea of decision by means of fair discussion, and the more it fulfils that ideal, the more closely will it remain true to the essential principles of its nature.

The As I look around me today, I cannot but be impressed by the changes that are apparent since the days when I

used to address the legislature under the old constitution. The most obvious change is that of size. Not only do those who deliberate in this chamber number now as many as 228 as compared with the 123 that used to comprise the old Legislative Council, but there has also been added to the legislature a second chamber numbering 60. The increase in numbers is not without its significance. It is an indioation of the closer touch which under the new constitution exists between the members of the legislature and the constituencies. The members of the Assembly represent much smaller areas than their predecessors in this chamber, and it is easier for them to maintain effective contact with their constituents. This is only one of the features of the new system based on democratic principles, which must introduce, and indeed has already introduced, into our public life the essential characteristics of democratic control.

In the second place, I see around me many new faces. Here, again, the new constitution has clearly set in motion new forces, the working of which will have a profound effect on the future development of the Province. New powers,

new methods, new men, and a new spirit are the first fruits of the new system of government. Yet all is not new. The legislature, like the Province, is a blend of new and old, and among the members here today are many who have served

and made their mark in our old Legislative Council. Ladies, Ilam glad to observe, are no longer restricted to one solitary representative, however talented. They appear in numbers which suggest that their influence will make itself fully felt, and as an earnest of that development one of them is already seated among the Members of the Government.
Where everything has changed, the Governor too is not the Governor known to the former constitution. He has his own important functions and responsibilities, but they are not the same as those which he exercised in the previous conditions, and I can no longer address you now as I used to address the old legislature, feeling that I had some personal responsibility for the whole field of Government's activities. The policy which is placed before you in this legislature is the policy of the Ministers, and it cannot be carried out unless it receives the support of the majority of the members of the legislature. These are changes of great significance which you all recognize. But in spite of all these changes the object of Government remains as it always has been, to promote the welfare, the contentment and the prosperity of the people.solr
And that brings me to another point, which it is perhaps well to emphasize. While a ministry depends on the support of a particular party in the Legislature, and

must be expected to maintain firmly its own principles and policy, it is responsible for the administration of the whole Province and for the welfare of the whole people. Now, the virtue of the democratic system is that decisions are reached after open discussion, during which the representatives of all bodies of opinion in the Province have an opportunity of stating publicly their point of view. Those who have been elected by the people, who are accustomed to public life and public discussion, who are aware of the force of criticism, tend to be responsive to public opinion and to give due weight to the arguments even of political opponents. And thus we get on the whole in a democratic system that policy which commends itself by argument to the majority of the people, and we may hope to avoid the extreme courses which are so often followed by those who, under other systems, are in a position to impose their will on the whole people.

Among the many adjustments that have to be made at the beginning of this new system none is more important than the relations between the public services and the Government. The principle of those relations is perfectly clear. The Government lays down policy, the services carry it out. It is generally recognized that the satisfactory administration of a country depends on the efficient and

loyal work of its public services. Their activities are directed and the policies which they are to follow are prescribed by the Government. But the Government cannot make its will effective or carry out its projects for the welfare of the people, except through the great administrative organization of the public services. Contact between those who now hold the political power in the province and the members of the services has owing to past policy and conditions been slight. But now that a new relationship

has been established there is no room for doubt that the members of the services will carry out their duties with complete loyalty and with every desire to assist the new administration. Such difficulties as there may be are likely in my opinion to arise not in the relations between the services and the Government, but in the relations of the services with the public. It is natural enough that the sudden extension of the democratio system should give a great impetus to all kinds of unofficial activities and that in numerous directions unofficial workers should come into much closer touch than hitherto with the members of the services. But while it has always been a principle of administration to welcome unofficial assistance wherever it can usefully be given, it will I am sure be remembered that certain duties and certain responsibilities are plainly placed

upon different sections of the public services, and that they are bound to carry out those duties to the best of their judgment and ability, taking their orders from their official superiors, and, in the last resort, from the Government itself. General public opinion makes itself felt on the Government through the Legislature and through the press, and it is bound to play a very important part in the determination of policy. But once policy is determined, it must in the main be the function of the public services to carry it out.

I think there may be at times some confusion in the public mind in its approach to these democratic ideas. A Government, however democratically formed, however responsive to public opinion, has to exercise authority; in other words, to govern. Its agents for the process of governing are government servants, and the authority they exercise is the authority of Government. Government are naturally closely concerned to see that the standard of conduct of their. servants is the highest possible, that blemishes and weaknesses are removed, that complaints of misconduct are inquired

into strictly. Misbehaviour of government servants reacts on the credit of Government itself. But there need be no apprehension that honest and loyal service will not meet with the appreciation and support of the Government; and indeed it is clear that Government cannot be carried on without

the gravest handicap, unless the Government services retain confidence in themselves and command the respect of the public.

I would mention one other characteristic of public services, and that is their primary obligation to maintain a strictly non-party attitude. They are the services of the Province, and stand outside all party considerations. Members of the services must not identify themselves with any political party, nor must they show any antagonism or distrust towards any party. Their duty is to carry out their work fairly, honestly and efficiently and to let the public feel that it can rely on proper, considerate and impartial treatment.

After these general reflections I would pass for a moment to some of the main problems of policy that confront my Ministers. The practical foundation of all administration is finance, and it is a matter for regret to me that at the outset of this new constitution my Ministers should have been placed inevitably in such difficulties in framing their first budget. I can speak with some real personal sympathy, for during the period of nearly three years in which I have occupied my present office, the finances of the province have been a source of constant and prominent anxiety, to which I have had occasion to

refer repeatedly. It is true that as a result of the inquiry conducted by Sir Otto Niemeyer we are receiving for the first five years of the new Constitution a subvention of 25 lakhs from central revenues. For purposes of that inquiry my Government had represented their case in the fullest possible manner, and put forward detailed anticipations which have proved only too true. When the report of Sir Otto Niemeyer was published my Government felt it necessary to point out officially that if effect were given to these proposals the new Government in this Province would on existing facts be faced with appreciable deficits for the first two or three years of its existence. That forecast has been justified by events; and while my Ministers have in the light of the most recent estimates of revenue, and by introducing rigorous economies, been able to reduce appreciably the deficit which I had expected when preparing the estimates of revenue and expenditure for the first six months of the present financial year, even so, it has proved in this year a task beyond their powers to present a budget that is fully balanced. But in difficult conditions they have set an example of financial principle, which is of the greatest value at the outset of the new system of Government.
My Ministers almost immediately on assuming office found themselves faced with a position of grave difficulty

and threat to the public peace arising out of the labour troubles in Cawnpore. It was a matter of profound relief to me that through the efforts of the Ministry an agreement was reached which resulted in the workers returning to the mills. The main issues in dispute between the millowners and the workers are still unsettled, and I recognize that conditions in Cawnpore are at the moment most difficult and uncertain. Nevertheless, it is earnestly to be hoped that as a result of the work of the

committee that has been set up by my Government to make a detailed inquiry into the points in issue, some fair solution may be found for matters which at present appear to be difficult of adjustment, and that the industrial interests, the labourers and the city of Cawnpore as a whole may be spared the calamity of an industrial strike on a large scale. A strike is really an attempt to settle difficulties by force, and it carries with it all the evils that arise from the use of the arbitrament of force. I trust that all those who have influence with public opinion will use their best endeavours to prevent a situation being created which cannot be solved by the method of argument and the principles of justice.

The most urgent and vital problem with which my Ministers are confronted is the improvement of the condition of the rural population throughout the province. In dealing

with this problem the Government is handling matters which are fundamental to the whole life, organization and administration of the Province. It is inevitable that there should be serious differences of opinion on many points in matters which so closely affect the interests of different classes. But my Government propose to proceed by the method of appointing committees which will, I am sure, consider with great care the essential facts in the problem of tenancy reform and the burden of rural indebtedness, and on which all shades of opinion will have an opportunity of making their views heard. A number of measures are under consideration for dealing with another of the major problems in this Province, namely, the relief of middle class unemployment. I need not go into the details of these measures.

But if my Government can succeed as they hope to do in improving the position and the economic condition of the tenants, in promoting everything that is summed up in the words "rural development" and at the same time in providing new chances of employment for the educated young men

for whom at present life offers such difficult prospects, they will indeed deserve well of the people of this Province. These are the objects which I believe are very near the hearts of all those who sit in this legislature, and I earnestly trust that the labours of the legislature may give to our people the blessings of greater prosperity and happiness.

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1/7-29
Resolutions of the U. P. 290)
Provincial kisan Conference.
Held under the presidentship
of
SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL
On
27th and 28th April 1935
At
ALLAHABAD.

1. This provincial Kisan conference remembers with love and respect Shri T. A. K, Sherwani a well wisher of peasants and a respected and beloved leader of this province and expresses its deep sorrow at his death which has caused a heavy loss to the public life of this province. It expresses with profound respect its heartfelt sympathy with his widow, his mother and father, his brothers and other members of his family,

2. During the last seven years due to the inflation of the value of the rupee by the legislature and to the great fall in the prices of grain, the condition of the peasantry has gradually declined and rural life has been violently shaken

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The Government has made no substantial efforts towards ameliorating their condition; whatever small remissions in rent have been granted are entirely inadequate. In the opinion of this conference while the zamindari-and-tenancy system lasts, it is urgently necessary that properly authorised committees in which the peasantry should be adequately represented, be set up which after making economic enquiries, may be able to make definite reductions in rents. In the opinion of this conference the rentals should be about what they were in 1895 and the revenue to be realised from the petty Zamindars at any rate, should be the same as it was in 1895.

3. Having regard to the manner in which the economic condition of the peasantry has gone on declining during the last seven years and the fact that it is not possible for the tenants to pay even the present rents with convenience, and that the arrears of rent go on increasing, this conference is of opinion that with a view to removing the distress of the peasants and improving their condition it is very necessary that an enquiry be instituted into the whole question of arrears of rent, and that the arrears should be entirely remitted in the case of those peasants

whose economic condition prevents their making the payment due, and in the case of those who can make some payment, the rent should be reduced to suit their economic condition. Keeping in view all the circumstances affecting the consideration of this question this conference is of opinion that the arrear remaining after reduction should in no case exceed more than a third.

This conference also recommends that the arrears of revenue be either fully remitted or reduced to a half according to the economic condition of the Zamindars.

4. In the opinion of this conference agricultural holdings. (not including gardens and groves) should not be subdivided beyond a fixed limit. This limit should for the present be fixed at eight bighas (5 acres). Holdings which are smaller than this limit be allowed to remain for the present as they are, but their further division should be stopped and as these holdings continue to be added to other holdings, the rule as to eight bighas should as far as possible apply to them. The conference is also of opinion that the system of consolidated holdings should be definitely accepted in place of the present system, under which a tenant's holding consists of a

number of small parts situated at distances from one another, even though the new system may appear inconvenient in the beginning in the case of some individuals. This conference is also of opinion that in the ease of petty Zamindars and tenants the principle should be accepted, that those whose total income is insufficient to meet the necessary requirements of their family be exempt from payment of revenue or rent.

5. In the present economic sitution of the country the indebetedness of the peasants is making their poverty deeply miserable. Interest is piling up and on account of the cheapness of agricultural produce the peasants are absolutely unable to pay their debts. In the opinion of this conference justice demands that the debt of

those peasants who are not in a position to pay any part of it should be completely cancelled and the debt of those peasants who can make some payment should be so reduced as to be brought within their capacity to pay.
Pending the acceptance of the above principle at least this rule should be adopted that in the execution of decrees against peasants, articles necessary for agricultural purposes and for their household use and such portion of their lands as

is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families should be exempt from attachment, and they should not be subjected to personal arrest.
This conference also records the opinion that the recent debt legislation in the province does not at all solve the problem of peasants' debts, and that legislation should be undertaken on the basis of the principle above recommended.
6. This conference notes with some satisfaction that as a result of the peasant movement, the peasants have to some extent begun to be self-conscious and to express themselves against illegal exactions and tyrannies, and Zamindars also have somewhat seen the limit of their own powers; but even then this conference with a full sense of responsibility asserts, that Nazarana, Hari, Begar, exacted presents and realisation of more rents than are shown in revenue papers, and in the event of rents not being realised various kinds of physical torture such as the well known method of making peasants stand in the position of a cock, making them stand in the sun, beating them, tying the hair of several women

in one knot and making them stand in the sun,

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(6)
and other similar inhuman methods are still in vogue.
In the whole of the province it is also a known feature that Zamindars do not issue receipts for the rents they realise and get angry with those who ask for receipts that the Zamindars dislike those tenants who make payments of their rents by means of money orders and regard them as their opponents. Honest Government servants will admit that there are very few Zamindars who issue receipts for rents and that the majority of Zamindars regard issuing receipts or accepting money orders as derogatory to their prestige and dignity, and that the practice of not issuing receipts is regarded by the Zamindars as a useful weapon againts the tenants.
It is the firm opinion of this conference that illegal collections and non-issue of receipts in lieu of rents should be made penal so that Courts may take steps against such action. At the same time this conference urges the peasants to unite strongly and face illegal demands and tyrannies and to break the practice of making payments without taking receipts. Where they find it difficult to obtain receipts they should remit the rents by money orders, or where convenient

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(7)
deposit it in tehsils. In regard to the deposit of rents in tehsils this conference urges that rules

should be so framed as to permit tenants to deposit rents without any additional cost.

7. Having regard to the cheapness of grain and to the inflated value of the rupee, the present irrigation rates are very high. In the opinion of this conference the rates should be reduced by a half.

8. This conference urges that the old system which was prevalent in the country of leaving sufficient land all round a village as pasture land should be revived. The disappearance of pasture lands due to the negligence of the Government has been one of the main causes of the destruction of village life.

In the case of tanks, ponds, jungles and the like which remain even now in use for irrigation and grazing, steps should be seriously taken not to allow their present features to be altered.

9. This conference is of opinion that just as town improvement acts have been framed for the improvement of towns, necessary laws should be enacted for the improvement of villages and institutions should be set up which may build

model villages in which agriculturists shoula have full rights to construct houses on their lands and in which Zamindars should have no authority to interfere with their lives.

10. In the opinion of this conference it is a necessary factor for the improvement of village life that proper arrangements should be made for education and industrial activities, and for finding employment for those who possess no land. Administrators should accept the principle that it is one of their fundamental duties to give

facilities to every individual to earn the simple requirements of life.

11. This conferenc welcomes the Village Industries Association started by Mahatma Gandhi and urges the peasants and workers in the cause of peasants to give whatever help they can in the work of the Association.

12. In the opinion of this conference, pending the abolition of the Zamindari system all the statutory tenants should be given occupancy rights along with a proper reduction in their rents.

13. In the case of joint shareholders it is an usual tenancy by several practice for the

Zamindars to realise their rents from any one of the shareholders. In the opinion of this conference joint owners of Khatas should be given facilities for the separation of their Khatas, and where a joint cultivator of any holding is not able to have a separate Khata although he wishes to separate from his shareholders, he should be charged rent only for as much land as he himself cultivates.

14. Several resolutions have been adopted in the conference with the object of improving the condition of the peasants. These resolutions have kept only the existing system of land tenure in view. But it is the firm conviction of this conference that to improve substantially the condition of peasants and of villages and place them on a firm foundation it is necessary to change entirely the present system of land tenure. So

long as there are several conflicting interests in the same soil the condition of villages cannot be greatly improved. The present Zamindari system is from the standpoint of the welfare of villages thoroughly wrong. This system was introduced with the advent of the British Government and it has led to the absolute destruction of village life.

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In the opinion of this conference there is only one fundamental method of improving village life (which will benefit both peasants and Zamindars), namely, the introduction of a system of peasant proprietorship under which the tiller of the soil is himself the owner of it and pays revenue direct to the Government wtihout the intervention of any Zamindar or Talukdar. The kisans should by law be given the right to pay reasonable compensation to Zamindaas in several instalments and to become owners of the land under their cultivation. The Government also should arrange to purchase land from Zamindars for tenants on payment of a reasonable compensation and it should advance loans to tenants for the purchase of their holdings at a very low rate of interest; and these loans should be repayable gradually within thirty to fifty years.
This conference is convinced that an arrangment of this kind can be smoothly and beautifully carried out and that it will benefit all the parties concerned and will lead to an allround improvement in the condition of the rural population.
15. This conference recommends that in every district, Ashrams should be opned at centres,

covering groups of villages where at least one worker should be established who should make it his mission to make all efforts to improve the economic, social, and educational condition of the villages. Efforts should be made that the villagers themselves undertake the greater part of the expense of these Ashrams. The spread of education among the kisans, the production and distribution of khaddar and the improvement of village industries should be particularly undertaken by these Ashrams.

16. To carry out the resolutions passed in the conference and to frame the constitution of the Provincial Kisan Sammellan, on the basis of these resolutions, this conference appoints a committee of the following persons. This committee will place the constitution framed by it before the next conference. This committee is also given the power to co-opt up to twenty additional members.

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President-Syt. Purushottam das Tandon,
Secretary-Syt. Mohan lal Gautam.

MEMBERS.

1. Syt. Ganga Sahai Chaubey (Cawanpore)
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Viswambhar Dayal Tripathi (Unao)
Raghunath Sahai Sukle (Etawah)
Ram Naresh Singh (Jaunpur)
Ganga dhar Sharma (Sitapur)
Ramadhar Singh (Basti)
Ram Surat Misra (Benares)
Devapal Singh (Farukhabad)
Sitla Sahai (Raibarellie)
11 Pt. Ram Lal (Sultanpur)
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Brindaban Misre (Ballia)
Tikaram Tripathi (Allahabad)
Suryabali Pandey (Gorakpur)
Shyam Sunder Shukla (Pratapgarh)
Indra Deva Tripathi (Ghazipur)
17. Syt. Malkan Singh (Aligarh)
18. Sri Ramji Das (Jalon)
19. Syt. Mahashai Shivalal (Bulandshahar)

20. Pt. Baldev Chaubey (Azamgarh)
21 Syt, Ram Rup Pandey (Banda)
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Chandra Bhan Gupta. (Lucknow)
Krishna Dutta Paliwal.
Sampurnanand.
25. Pt. Balkrishna Sharma.
26. Seth Damodar Swarup.
27 Syt. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.
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Lal Bahadur.
Sewa Press, 54 Hewet Road, Alld.

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BRIEF LIFE SKETCH
OF
SIRDAR P. S. SODHBANS
F.L.A.A. (LOND.), R.A.
SOLDIER, ACCOUNTANT, ECONOMIST,
POLITICIAN AND PATRIOT.

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INTRODUCTION
This booklet contains a brief enumeration of the contributions made to modern India by a very patriotic and able personality, Sirdar

P. S. Sodhbans.
For over forty years, he had striven to be at the post of duty,
in a varity of capacities, ranging from soldiering to accountancy, from
work at the time of the Punjab Martial Laws to the fateful days
preceeding the sad demise of the Father of the Nation in Delhi.
catholic
S. Sodhbans, combined in him the discipline and sacrifice of
the highest Sikh tradition and yet was able to develop a
approach to the problems of the country and of the outside world.
It is seldom given to a single individual to cover so much activity
within the ambit of one's life, whether it was in connection with
representing India at International gatherings, or in the country itself,
on behalf of himself and of his interests, S. Sodhbans stood out four
square against tyranny and disloyalty to the national interests.
Soldier, accountant, economist, political leader, author and
journalist, social worker, and friend of the poor-this is but a small list
of the numerous facets of S.Sodhbans's life and work.
In him the Sikh community has a stout defender of the Panth,
and the country a patriot and servant who keeps the people and their
interest above self.
LANKA SUNDARAM

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SIRDAR PREM SINGH SODHBANS
HIS GLORIOUS RECORD OF LONG PUBLIC SERVICE
TO THE COUNTRY.
1. He started life in Army in September 1902 at Bannu at an
early age of 18 years, as his father Sirdar Mehr Singh who was an
officer in the army, was killed at Datta Khel, Tochi Valley, Northern
Wazirastan. Left Service on account of illness in 1905.
2. Secretary Swadeshi Sabha, Rawalpindi, from November 1905
to March 1907 and lost heavily as he opened Swadeshi Store in
January 1906 during Swadeshi Movement started after the partition
of Bengal in 1905.
3. After heavy financial loss he migrated to Lahore in April
1907 and joined Bharat Mata, a violent political movement, which was

run by S. Kishan Singh, father of famous Patriot-Martyr S. Bhagat Singh, L. Pindi Dass, Sufi Amba Prasad, Mehta Anand Kishor and others.

4.

Forced by family circumstances as after the death of his father he was obliged to live a normal life to look after the family affairs as the head of the family, and consequently he started study again in 1907 for Accountancy.

5. Took no part in public movements while he was a student, but after qualifying for the accountancy profession in 1911-A.L.A. A. (Lond.) he began to take interest in public affairs from 1915.

6. Attended the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1916 and opposed the Lucknow Pact, as he considered it an anti-national Pact, but his voice being a junior congressman's became one in wilderness.

7. Attended the Session of the Punjab Political Conference held in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore in April 1917 under the presidency of late Mian Fazal-i-Hussain, and the Chairman of the Reception Committee was late L. Harkishan Lall. Opposed the ratification of the Lucknow Pact which was brought before the Session, as the Sikhs with a few exceptions were not taking part in politics. He opposed this Pact though he belonged to a minority community as it was

anti-national. This Pact was a fore-runner of the present vivisection of India, and so he was in a position to look ahead.

8. He was pioneer in starting Political Movement amongst the Sikhs in 1918 with the consultation of Hindu friends of the Congress, for claiming a separate and special representation for the sikhs in the Punjab as an important minority like Muslims in other Provinces, for, protection to this important minority was not granted under the Lucknow Pact. The Central Sikh League was formed early in March 1919 and its first Session was held at Amritsar at the same time with the Session of the Indian National Congress after Martial Law, in December 1919. He and Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar arranged a Tea Party' to meet Congress

leaders at Amritsar.
9. Martial law was proclaimed in April 1919 as the masses were against the enactment of the Rowlett Act, and on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi near Delhi at the instant of Sir Michel O' Dwyer, then Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. General Dyer massacred Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs at Jallianwala Bagh on-13-4-1919.
10. Untold atrocities were committed by the British Officers-Civil and Military, and by Col. Johnson, Martial Law Administrator of Lahore. Sirdar Sodhbans collected Col. Johnson's notifications secretly, and in June-July 1919 he took a chance of leaving the province to place them before late Pt. Moti Lal Nehru and visited Allahabad. He was directed by Dr Syed Hussain to go to Lucknow to meet him there as he was conducting a big Zamindari case. On arrival at Lucknow he was asked by Pt. Moti Lal Ji to meet him on the following date at tea, as he was going out of station in connection with a case. He placed all the notifications before him and explained to him the complete tale of the Punjab Martial law atrocities. Pandit Jawahar Lall was also present. In the meantime our other collegue in the Congress, Lala Goverdhan Dass, escaped to Madras and he made a similar public declaration of the atrocities and brutalities committed by the British Rulers of that time. L. Govardhan Dass was arrested

and brought to Lahore and jailed alongwith L. Harkishan Lall, Ch. Rambhaj Dutt, L. Duni Chand and many other Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders.
11 First Sikh Member of All India C-ongress Committee 1919-23.
12. Congress Vice-President Committee in principal activities:- and President of the Lahore City 1920-21-23. The following were

his
(a) He did bonfire of the foreign cloth on
on the bank of
River Ravi alongwith late Lala Lajpat Rai, President Punjab
Province Congress Committee 1921.
(b) Did civil disobedience in November 1921 after the
arrest of late Lala Lajpat Rai and presided over a banned meeting.
Kindly see the account in Young India for December 1921.
13. Member, Executive Committee of the Provincial Congress
Committee, 1919 to 1923 :-
(a) Director National Volunteer Corps of the Punjab
Provincial Congress Committee 1921-23.
(b) Member National Education Committee which control-
led National Education in Affiliated National Colleges. Acharya
Jugal Kishore was the Principal of the Lahore National College.
14.
Attended special Session of the Indian National Congress
held in Calcutta in September 1920 under the presidency of late
L. Lajpat Rai, and requested for recognition of the Sikhs as an
important minority, and inspite of obtaining support of many
members of the Subjects Committee he could not succeed in getting
the Lucknow Pact amended. Mr. Bipin Chander Paul moved the
resolution. Mr. Jinnah was also present.
15. Second Session of the Central Sikh League was held
during the Dusehra Holidays in Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, in October
1921 under the presidency of Baba Kharak Singh. Mahatma
Gandhi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and other Congress leaders also

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attended. Sirdar Sodhbans was the General Secretary, and was
responsible for success of the Session. This was the first important
Sikh Political gathering ever held in the Punjab, and he was
congratulated by late L. Lajpat Rai and late L. Harkishan Lal
and other leaders for the marvellous success achieved in educating
the Sikh masses.
All

16. Prince of Wales, now Duke of Windsor, visited Lahore in March 1922. There was complete Hartal in all bazars. The Executive Committee of the P.P.C.C. appointed him to see that the city remains in perfect calmness inspite of provocations. responsible members left to attend All India Congress Committee meeting at Delhi which was to take place on the same date. He controlled the situation in Anarkali admirably when the police got a muslim Nanbai (cooked food) shop opened to feed the Muslims from Shahpur and Mianwali Districts who were specially brought to line the route of the Prince of Wales, procession as Hindu, Muslim aud Sikhs of Lahore boycotted the procession.
17. Host to Mahatma Gandhi, Shrimati Kastura Bai and Maulana Shaukat Ali, who visited Nankana Sahib with regard to the massacre of 125 Sikhs by the Mahant of Nankana Sahib Gurdwara in 1922.
18. One of the Founders of the Gurdwara Movement. Ex Member of Committee S.G.P.C. 1920-23. President Lahore District Gurdwara Committee 1921-24. Organiser of Akali Dal as Police force to maintain possession of Gurdwaras along with S. Amar Singh of Sher-i-Punjab, S. Teja Singh Bhuchar and S. Kartar Singh Jhabar in 1921. The force has now become a powerful political organisstion as the Sikh League was dissolved.
19. He was mainly responsible for compromise between the Punjab Government and the Akali Sikhs at the instance of S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar and S. Mangal Singh, Ex-M.L.A- The case pending in the court against Master Tara Singh, S. Teja Singh Sumandri and others was withdrawn after incorporating agreed amendments to the. Gurdwara Act. Mr. P. N. Kaul was associated

with him.
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20 (a) Honorary Secretary, Indian Institute of Registered Accountants, Lahore, started in 1922.
(b) Founded "Indian Accountant" as an organ of accountancy profession in India in July 1922, in order to create public opinion for the organisation of the Accountancy Profession as in

other countries.
21. He approached Government of India alongwith 16 Professional Accountants of Bombay, Calcutta, U.P. and Punjab for establishment of a Central Organistion of Accountancy Profession in January 1928. It was on this move that the Government of India appointed a Committee to amend Section 144 of the Indian Companies Act, and the Indian Accountancy Board as Central Organisation was established in 1932.
22. He, alongwith other eminent citizens, founded the Punjab Flying Club at Lahore and represented this Club at the first and second Conferences of the Indian Flying Clubs in Delhi in 1930-31.
23. Member Executive Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1931-36 and 1937. He was present at the Session of the Indian Industrial & Commercial Congress held at Delhi in February 1926, when a Committee was formfed under the presidency of late Lala Harkishan Lall for establishment of the Federation. Mr. J.K. Mehta of the Bombay Indian Merchants Chamber was the Secretary.
24. He was the founder & Member of the Indian Chamber of Commerce, 1914-48, and was appointed its Honorary Secretary at the instance of Mr. J.K. Mehta and remained in Office from 1927 to 1942. He was a member of the Executive Committee from 1924 uptill now. It was due to his work that this national Chamber became a recognised and powerful organisation of the Commercial and Industrial opinion in the Province inspite of the opposition of the Punjab and the Northern India Chambers of Commerce which consisted of Europeans and interested Indians.

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25. Member of the Executive Committee of the Indian National Committee of the International Chamber of Commerce of Paris, New Delhi, 1932-33,35,37,42 '46-49.
26. He was the the first Indian Accountant invited to attend the IVth International Congress on Accounting held in London in July 1933 under the presidency of Rt. Hon'ble Lord Plender, F.C A. Please see item No 31 (a) & (b).,

27. He was the Member of Board of Economic Inquiry Punjab in 1936-40. Please see item No. 43.
28. He was the Member of N.W.R. Advisory Committee 1933-36.
29. He was nominated by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, New Delhi, the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers, New Delhi and the Federation of Industrial Employers, Bombay, for appointment as Advisor to the Employers' Delegate to 20th Session of the International Labour Conference held at Geneva in June 1936. His work at the International Labour Conference was greatly appreciated.

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30. Guest of Honour at Luncheon at Midland Hotel, Manchester, given in his honour by the Master Cotton Spinners' Association in July 1936.
31. (a) The First Indian Delegate and Guest of Honour to the 5th International Congress on Accounting held at Berlin in 1938. He submitted a National Paper-on "Development of Accountancy Profession in India." In this paper he proved that the system of Double Entry System of accounting-our Bahi-khata orignated in India.
(b) He was elected to the Panel of Presidents on 23rd September 1938.
32. (a) At Berlin after the Session of the Accounting Congress, he studied the system of storage of wheat and corn in Bunkers and visited Siemens' works and examined the Labour Welfare

System. (1-2/10/38).
(b) At Milan (Italy) he was guest of the Society of Accountants and was received by Datt. Cav. Rinaldo Rocco and Datt. Cav. Musu-Boy and visited factories where engines for aeroplanes, light rail cars, artificial silk and artificial wool used to be manufactured. He also visited Marble Church with 1,000 minarets and other places of interest. (16/17-9-1938.)
(c) At Frankfurt on Main he was guest of Dr. Syed,

Director, I. G. Farben biggest Chemical Works in World. He studied the accountancy system and also visited factories of the Chemical works and the Opel Car Factory in a near town (2-3/10/38).
(d). At Dresden, Capital of Saxony, he was guest of Dr. Kulge, Lord Mayor. Visited industrial centres and other places of interest (12-13/10/38).
(e) At Goblenz A/Nice in Sudetanland. He was the first foreigner to visit this area after its occupation by Germany on 14th October, 1938 as guest of Mr. L. N. Khanna, an Indian merchant settled at that place. At this place he studied the organisation of the cottage industry of artificial jewellery, and visited a biggest-carpet factory at Maffersdorf and factories in Christianthal area in company with the Nazi Officers and an interpretor. His card was placed in the Golden Book of the city (14-17/10/38)
(f) Similarily he studied the glass industry of Venice and Mozaic industry of Florence and other places, and studied the industrial organisation under the Nazi and Fascists regimes, and also the secret of cordial relations subsisting between the industrialists and labourers in Germany, Italy and Hungary in the economic interests of respective countries.
33. (a) Guest of Honour at the Luncheon by Deutchen Orient Varien, Berlin-an Organization of the German Foreign Office to entertain foreign potentates on 5th October 1938. H.E. Von Hentig presided at the function.
(b) Guest of Honour at a party arranged by the Budapest Chamber of Commerce, Budapest (Hungary) on 20th October, 1938. Here the Chamber gave all facilities for study of various industrise,

cottage industries, peasant arts and farmers' organisatians.
34. President, Society of Registered Accountants in N.India in 1937-38 and 1941-42. Please see item Nos.20 and 21 as he was responsible for the organisation of the Accountancy Profession. Member of India Accountancy Board (Government of India) in 1939-44 as representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi.

36. Member, Prices Control Board, Punjab in 1939-44
37. President, Incorporated Secretaries Association (India)
in 1941-48.
President of Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, in
1942-43. Please see item No. 24
39. Member of Panel, E-P.T. Board of Referees in 1941-46.
40. (a) Member, the Punjab Industrial Development Commi-
ttee in 1945.
(b) Member of the Board of Industries, Punjab. 1942-47,
and now a Member of the Board of Industries of the East Punjab.
41. Member, Executive Committee, Boy Scouts Association,
Punjab 1945 to 1947 and now of the East Punjab. He was specially
nominated on account of his special study of Youth Movement
in the Central European Countries.
42. Member of the Reception Committee, Inter-Asian Confer-
ence held in Delhi in March 1947.
43.
Ex-Member of Committee, Indian Economic Association
in 1948. He is a member of this Association since 1925 and
wrote many papers on economic problems of the country.
44. Member of Advisory Committee, Ministry of Relief &
Rehabilitation, Government of India 1947-48. He was obliged to
migrate from Lahore in August 1947. His residence and all belong-
ings were looted on 25th and 26th August 1947.

45. Signatory to the Pledge given to late Mahatma Gandhi,
for communal harmony enabling him to break his fast, and he was
the first to implement the same on 24th January 1948 by inviting
Nationalist Muslim friends and congressmen at a Tea Party at his
residence situated in Paharganj, a prohibited area.
46. Gave evidences before-
(a) The Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee in 1925.
(b) The Royal Commission on Indian Reforms in 1928.
(c) The Frenchise Committee on Constitutional Reforms,
in 1932.

(d) The Delimitation Committee in 1936.
(e) The Income Tax Inquiry Committee in 1936.
(f) The Wedgewood Railway Inquiry Committee in 1936.
(g) The Indian Sugar Tariff Board in 1937.
(b) The Punjab Unemployment Committee in 1938.
(i) The Punjab Land Revenue Committee in 1938.
PUBLICATIONS, "Indian Accountant" since 1922; Three Essentials for Industrial Development 1916; Economic Planning of India 1934; Export of Gold; Economic Development of Punjab 1937: German Problem in Europe in 1936 and 1938; India and League of Nations 1937; Industrial Development of India, 1937; Development of Accountancy Profession in India.-the National Paper submitted to the 5th International Congress on Accounting held in Berlin 1938; Indians Abroad, 1939; Need of a National Flag, 1940; Sikhs Position in India, 1st Edition 1942, second Edition 1947; Indian Trade Relations with Foreign Countries 1939; The Wheat Position in the Punjab 1943. Food Problem in India 1943. Etc., etc.
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Dilbar Building, Original Road, Paharganj,
NEW DELHI.
Telephone No. 7451.

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NARENDRA ELECTRIC PRESS,
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31-8-1948

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INDEPENDENCE DAY
E salute
WE
By Shree Purushottam Das Tandon
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(Reprinted from the 'Leader' of Jan. 26.)

our national flag and
take the independence pledge
today. The flag stands for National
Unity and
pledge for
the Will to Freedom. This
is a sacred function. On this day
we renovate our resolve to continue
unceasingly and with a fixed deter-
mination our fight for Freedom till
we win it. But this is also an occa-
sion for heart-searching and intros-
pection. Have we made substantial
advance towards our goal during all
these years since we first took the
pledge? Has our constructive effort
been full and sustained? Have we
been adding strength to our chief
political organisation, the Indian
National Congress? Have we been
able to forge a strong battleworthy
machine out of it to serve us in with-
standing the onslaughts made on us
in various directions and also in
covering our march forward? In
the very process
of putting these.
questions to ourselves
spot our weak points.
POLITICAL PLANNING WANTING
we begin to
We undoubtedly possess the confi-
dence of the people. The masses
approach us for help in their daily
troubles and also whenever any new
calamity befalls them. We are not
always able to do something sub-
stantial for them, but in any case
our words of sympathy and comrade-

ship always bring them solace. Mass voting during elections has shown with what burning enthusiasm people go to the polls to record their votes for Congressmen. Even Government officials are conscious that, in spite of interested foreign propaganda about the waning influence of the Congress, elections to the central and

provincial Assemblies, if they were to take place today, would go decidedly in favour of the Congress. While all this is certainly a source of legitimate gratification to Congressmen, the feeling thus engendered has itself encouraged them in giving importance in their public work to methods which lead to success at the polls to the neglect of other work which may not be so spectacular but which is essential for more substantial success for a country groaning under the yoke of a foreign power. The consequence is that while we have learnt to organise demonstrations. conferences, large gatherings and processions which have all helped in drawing mass attention to political questions and making the people dreamily conscious of their self-importance, political planning which could foresee and produce definite results from definite actions, has been entirely wanting. We have vaguely believed that mass contact and rousing mass consciousness will usher in a revolution which will in manner lead the British to

abandon their hold on the country and instal a people's government in its place. We have not generally cared to remember that while mass awakening is a huge potential force, it may like forces of nature be wasted if not wisely harnessed under a well thought-out plan and with necessary technical devices and that constructive planning in politics as in other directions is essential for progressive action.

some

UNITY OF PURPOSE AND UNITY OF STRATEGY

It seems to me that our first task lies in making our chief national organisation, the Indian National Con-

gress, more compact and therefore more effective. Compactness implies discipline and discipline implies a certain, unity both in theory and practice. To talk of the Congress representing all kinds of views prevailing in the country and being a common platform for all elements is to ignore realities and to indulge in an auto-hypnotic dreaminess. The Congress, divided into groups with diverse views and opposing purposes, may be a good arena for spectacular debates and fireworks of rhetoric but it will not develop the necessary strength to lead the country to freedom. That strength will come only from a unity

of purpose and a unity of strategy. The tactics of some groups in the army may differ somewhat but they must coalesce and concentrate on a common end and they must not be counteracting and neutralising one another. Thus the temptation born of a certain softness to give a standing invitation to all varieties of political thought to enter the Congress has to be subdued. Only
persons having fundamentally common views should be admitted into the Congress fold.

TO MAKE CONGRESS A REAL FIGHTING MACHINE

Another important question to be considered in this connection is that
number. Should
of quality versus
the control of the Congress continue to vest in those who, by the only qualification of paying a small fee 4 annas under the Congress rule -become full members with the power to vote at all primary elections of the Congress which lead to ultimate power in the Provincial Committees, the All-India Committee and to Congress presidentship? Congressmen are aware how these four-anna members come into existence. They are mostly enrolled by and in the interest of individuals who wish to have the control offices and executive committees and very often even their membership fee is found by others. What

abuses and demoralisation this system has led to is generally known to active Congressmen. They all talk of it freely among themselves. Half-hearted attempts have
of
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been made in the past to introduce greater decency in Congress elections by laying down some qualifications for membership in addition to the payment of 4 annas, but they have failed and the Congress has continued as a lax organization. I am clear that the attempt to strengthen the Congress by cleansing it of useless and pernicious elements and give the serious-minded and virile element the full opportunity for action has to be continued and experiments have to be tried in various directions to make our organization a real fighting machine.

QUALIFICATION FOR ACTIVE CONGRESSMEN

is

At present the Congress is under a ban, the Congress rules are in abeyance and the Congress committees are not functioning. It may be said therefore that it is not possible to make new rules for the Congress. This

correct so far

as it goes, but even the fact that the Congress is not functioning gives an opportunity to all those bodies which have come into existence in the different provinces to

carry on Congress work, to make their own experiments in constitution-making and then to evolve a common policy. The line of action which has been favoured by the Executive of the Representative Assembly of U. P. Congressmen, though it has not yet been adopted by the general body, is that while primary members may continue to be enrolled on the 4-anna franchise, the real power, that is, voting should vest in those members only who possess some other qualification also and who may be classed as active Congressmen. The qualification which the Committee has fixed for active Congressmen is wearing hand-spun khadi habitually. For candidates for offices or for membership of executive committees, the U. P. Committee has laid down an additional qualification, namely, giving at least one hour daily for Congress work. This plan, if effectively carried out, will probably reduce the number of primary

members, for they will not
for voting a
have
the incentive for voting at elections
but it is
encourage
and put the power of action in the hands of those who take their work somewhat seriously. A part of this plan will naturally be to make some arrangement for testing that the qualification demanded is actually possessed-whether by the active member or by the candidate. The device of having judges appointed for this purpose has been recommended. I submit that something definitely on new lines has to be introduced to lead the Congress from the old rut in which it has been ineffectively moving for years.

EVOLVE NEW PLANS FOR STRENGTHENING CONGRESS

I would suggest that in other provinces also Congressmen should think over these matters and adopt their own measures
to
strengthen
their organisation. All the experiments that we make can usefully be discussed later on by representatives of all these bodies coming together and discussing them among themselves. We cannot say how long the ban on the Congress committees will last and how long the

substitute bodies will have to work.
My hope is that if the provincial
assemblies or committees, which are
functioning at present, evolve new
plans for strengthening the Con-
gress organization, their efforts in
this direction will prove useful to
the Indian National Congress when
it begins to function normally and
that the Congress may then by
adopting some of the lines evolved
by the interim
stronger, purer
from the trial
would have passed.
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bodies, come
and more virile
through which it
Printed by Mahadeo N. Joshi, at the Leader Press, Allahabad.

RULES
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DETERMINING THE STRENGTH OF, AND
REGULATING THE METHOD OF RECRUITMENT
TO, THE UNITED PROVINCES CIVIL (JUDICIAL)
SERVICE IN THE AGRA PROVINCE
Corrected up to February 15, 1936
R
DIEU
DROIT
ALLAHABAD:
SUPERINTENDENT, PRINTING AND STATIONERY, UNITED PROVINCES
1936

Price, 3 annas.]

Rules determining the strength of, and regulating the method of recruitment to, the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province
MISCELLANEOUS
9th March, 1935
No. 1068/II-321.-In exercise of the powers conferred by the Bengal, Assam and Agra Civil Courts Act (XII of 1887), the Governor in Council hereby makes the following rules to determine the strength of, and to regulate the method of recruitment to, the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province:
Rules determining the strength of, and regulating the method of recruitment to, the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province
PART I-GENERAL
1.-These rules shall be called the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service Agra Branch Rules and shall take effect from the date of their notification.
Short title and date of commencement.
2. In these rules, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context-
Definition.
(a) "The Service" means the United Provinces Civil (Judicial) Service in the Agra Province.
(b) "Member of the Service" means a government servant appointed in a substantive or officiating capacity under the provisions of these rules or of the rules in force previous to the introduction of these rules, to a post in the cadre of the service.
(c) A "natural born British subject" is as defined in section 1 of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act of 1914.
(d) The "High Court" means the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad.

3. The service consists of Subordinate Judges and Munsifs.
Constitution of the
service.

319
(2)
PART II-CADRE
4. The strength of the service is as follows:
Cadre.
Munsifs
Subordinate Judges in the time-scale
Subordinate Judges in the selection grade
*108
32
4
NOTE The posts in the selection grade will disappear with the disappearance from
the service of the last officer who was appointed or approved for appointment to the
service before 4th July, 1931.
*The last post of munsif will be filled in a provisionally substantive capacity so long
as an officer from the Agra cadre holds the appointment of Deputy Legal Remembrancer
to Government. If a member of the Oudh cadre becomes Deputy Legal Remembrancer,
the last post of munsif will be held in abeyance.
PART III-RECRUITMENT
5.(1) Appointment to the service will be made by the Governor
in Council of persons who have been duly
nominated by the High Court.
Appointment.
(2) No person will be nominated--
or
(i) who is already in the permanent service of the Government
(ii) who does not satisfy the conditions of rule 6.
(3) In making nominations the High Court shall take care to secure

reasonable representation of the different communities and to prevent the preponderance of any one class or community. Preference will be given to members of families of tried loyalty and distinguished service and good social status. Before making nominations the High Court will satisfy themselves that the candidate to be nominated is of good character and is suitable in all respects for appointment to the service.
(4) First appointment under these rules shall be made to the posts of munsifs.
PART IV-QUALIFICATIONS
6. No person may be appointed to the service, unless he satisfy the following conditions:
(1) that he be a male and either-
Domicile
nationality.
and
(a) a natural born British subject who has himself resided in the United Provinces for at least three years otherwise than as a student at a University or other educational institution, and whose father is (or if dead, was at the time of his death) domiciled in the United Provinces;

har.
(3)
or co
(b) a natural born British subject who has himself resided in the United Provinces for at least ten years otherwise than as a student at a University or other educational institution and is himself domiciled in the United Provinces;
OY
(c) a subject of either the Rampur or the Benares or the Tehri-Garhwal State;
(2) that he possess a thorough knowledge of the Vernacular and be able to read and write Hindustani (both
Academic qualifi-
in the Hindi and Persian characters);
cation.

(3) that he be either-
(i) a Bachelor of Laws of a University established by Law
in the United Provinces;
or
(ii) an advocate, vakil or pleader on the rolls of, or entitled to
practise in, the High Court or the Chief Court of Oudh,
or
(iii) a Barrister of England or Ireland or a member of the
Faculty of Advocates in Scotland;
N.B.-In selecting recruits preference will be given to those who have practised at the
Age.
(4) that he has attained the age of 20 years and has not attained the
age of 27 years on the first day of July in the
year in which the qualifying examination
referred to in sub-rule (7) of this rule is held, provided that if no qualify-
ing examination is held in any year and he completes his 27th year on or
before the first day of July of that year he shall be eligible to take the
next qualifying examination as if he was not above 27 years of age;
(5) that he be in good mental and bodily health and free from
any physical defect likely to interfere with
Physical fitness.
the efficient performance of the duties of a
member of the service, and to ensure this he must be examined
by a Medical Board before his final selection;
NOTE Candidates are recommended to consult a Civil Surgeon before applying for
admission to the service.

(6) that he be of good character and has produced a clear certi-
ficate from a responsible member of the
Character.
staff, preferably the principal or the head of
the institution at which he was last educated, to the effect that he
has not taken active part in any association of a character sub-

versive of law and order, and that he has not come under the influence of such an association so as to be guilty of acts of indiscipline;
(7) that he shall have satisfied the High Court of his educational qualifications by passing to their satisfaction a qualifying examination conducted for this purpose.

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RULES
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REGULATING APPOINTMENT TO, AND
THE CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES UPPER SUBORDINATE
ENGINEERING SERVICE, IRRIGATION BRANCH
DIEU
R
ALLAHABAD:
SUPERINTENDENT, PRINTING AND STATIONERY, UNITED PROVINCES
1934
Price, 3 annas.]

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Rules regulating appointment to, and the conditions of service of, the United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch.
PART I-GENERAL
Short title.
"
These rules may be called the "United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation
Branch, Rules, and will take effect from
7th May, 1932, the date on which they are notified in the United Provinces Gazette.
of the service.
2. The United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service,

Status and functions Irrigation Branch, is a subordinate service constituted for the purpose of replacing the service hitherto known as the permanent Upper Subordinate establishment in the Irrigation Branch. All members of that service on the date on which these rules are notified will be deemed to be members of the United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch, in the same order of seniority as in the permanent Upper Subordinate establishment.

3. In these rules, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,--

Definitions.

(a) The Service" means the United Provinces Upper Subordinate Engineering Service, Irrigation Branch.

99

(b) "Member of the Service means a government servant appointed in a substantive capacity to a post in the cadre of the service.

PART II CADRE

4. The sanctioned strength of the cadre of the service at any time is the actual number of members of the

Strength of cadre.

service at that time.

PART III-RECRUITMENT

5. Recruitment to the service ceased after the candidates who under went training in the Thomason College,

Recruitment.

Roorkee, during the year 1920, were appointed to the number guaranteed, and the service will eventually cease to exist on the retirement or promotion to the United Provinces Service of Engineers, Irrigation Branch, of all the existing members.

324

(2)

PART IV PAY

6. The pay of the service is on a time-scale of Rs.110-71-200 -15-260-20-360-30-540 with an efficiency

Rate of pay and pro-

cedure regarding increments and efficiency bar.

bers of the service.

bar at the stage of Rs.300.

PART V-OTHER PROVISIONS

Designations of members of the service.

7. Those members of the service who are in receipt of pay at Rs. 200 a month or less on the time-scale shall be designated "Overseer," those in receipt of pay above Rs.200 and below Rs.360 a month "Supervisors," and those in receipt of pay at Rs.360 and above "Sub-Engineers."

Gazetted status of Sub-Engineers.

8. Sub-Engineers of the service are gazetted officers and their postings, leave, etc. shall be notified in Part I of the United Provinces Government Gazette.

Pay and allowance of members of the service when in charge of sub-division.

9. (a) A member of the service who on the date of issue of these rules is in charge of a permanent irrigation sub-division and is in receipt of a special pay of Rs.75 a month will continue to receive special pay at this rate, so long as he continues to hold his existing appointment or an appointment of a similar nature without reversion to sectional charge. A member of the service placed in charge of a regular permanent irrigation sub-division in future will receive a special pay of Rs.50 a month.

(b) A member of the service who is in charge of a temporary irrigation sub-division and for whom a temporary post has been created on a consolidated pay equal to his substantive pay plus Rs.75 a month, will continue to receive a consolidated pay at this rate so long as he continues to hold his existing appointment or an appointment of a similar nature without reversion to sectional charge. A member of the service placed in charge of a temporary irrigation sub-division in future will be appointed to a temporary post on a consolidated pay equal to his substantive pay plus Rs.50 a month.

PART VI-REGULATION OF PAY, ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS

allowances and pensions.
10. The pay, allowances and pensions of the members of the
Regulation of pay,
service will be regulated by the rules made under
rule 44 of the Civil Services (Classification, Control
and Appeal) Rules and pending the issue of such rules by the declaration made in G. O. no. A-5822/X-303, dated the 14th November, 1930.

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RULES
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REGULATING APPOINTMENT TO, AND
THE CONDITIONS OF SERVICE OF THE
UNITED PROVINCES PUBLIC WORKS DE-
PARTMENT (IRRIGATION BRANCH) DEPUTY
REVENUE OFFICERS' SERVICE
ULEU
PROLT
ALLAHABAD:
SUPERINTENDENT, PRINTING AND STATIONERY, UNITED PROVINCES
annas.]
1934

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Rules regulating appointment to, and other conditions of service of the United Provinces Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch) Deputy Revenue Officers' Service
PART I GENERAL
1. These rules may be called the United Provinces Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch) Deputy Revenue
Officers' Service Rules, and shall take effect from
the 1st April, 1933.
Short title and com.

mencement.
Status.
2. The United Provinces Deputy Revenue Officers' Service is a subordinate service constituted for the purpose of replacing the service hitherto known as the permanent Deputy Magistrates establishment in the Irrigation Branch. All members of that service shall now be deemed to be members of the United Provinces Deputy Revenue Officers' Service, Irrigation Branch.
3. In these rules unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context
Definitions.
(a)
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-
the Service means the United Provinces Subordinate Service of Deputy Revenue Officers;
CC
99
(b) member of the service means a Government servant appointed in a substantive capacity under the provisions of these rules to a post in the cadre of the Service.
PART II
4. The sanctioned strength of the cadre is 21 provided that the Government may leave unfilled or hold in abeyance any post, or may increase the cadre by creating permanent or temporary posts from time to time as may be
Cadre.
found necessary.
PART III
5.-Recruitment to the post of Deputy Revenue Officer shall be made by selection from ziladars who have passed the Canal Law Examination and are drawing
Methods of recruit-
ment.
pay in either of the three grades of Rs.150 per mensem, Rs.130 per mensem or Rs.110-5-125 per mensem.
NOTE. In making appointments, care shall be taken to secure reasonable representation of the different communities and to prevent the preponderance

of any
one class or community.
6. The appointing authority is the Government in the Public
Appointing authority. Works Department, Irrigation Branch.

PART IV
7. The period of probation of a Deputy Revenue Officer appointed to a permanent vacancy will be two years.
Probation.
Officiating service in the post of Deputy Revenue Officer will count towards the period of probation provided it is continuous up to the date of permanent appointment. The appointing authority may in its discretion extend the period of probation for any further term in the case of any particular person. A probationer will draw the pay of the lowest grade of the scale to which under rule 9 he would become entitled on confirmation.
PART V
8.-Seniority of members of the Service shall be determined by
date of appointment on probation in the lowest
grade and according to date of permanent
Seniority.
appointment in the other grades.
PART VI
9.-(i) The pay of the service is :
Pay.
First grade..
Second grade
Third grade
Rs. 500 per mensem.
Rs. 375 99
ララ
Rs. 250 39
99
for:
(1) persons who are appointed to vacancies before the 4th

July, 1931;
(2) ziladars who were in service before the 4th July, 1931.
(ii) The pay of all other members of the service shall be :
First grade
Second grade..
Rs. 325-25-350 per mensem.
Rs. 200-12-300 99
39
No increment in the above scales shall be allowed until the expiry of one year after the date of confirmation.
10. The leave,
Regulation of leave,
allowances, pension and
other conditions of
service.
PART VII-OTHER PROVISIONS
allowances, pension and other conditions of service of the members of the Service will be regulated by the rules made under rule 44 of the Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules, and pending the issue of such rules by the declaration made in Government notification no. A-5822/X-303, dated the 14th November, 1930.

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RESERVE BANK OF INDIA
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エノル
[INCORPORATED UNDER THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA ACT, 1934 (II OF 1934)]
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AGREEMENT
BETWEN
THE GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES
AND THE
RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

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Printed by the Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, United Provinces, Allahabad, India

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AN AGREEMENT made this seventh day of July 1937 BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED PROVINCES of the one part and THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA (hereinafter called "the Bank") of the other part.
WHEREAS the Bank was constituted and incorporated and is regulated by the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 [being Act no. II of 1934 (hereinafter called "the Act")] as adapted and modified pursuant to the Authority contained in section 293 of the Government of India Act, 1935, by an Order of His Majesty in Council, dated the eighteenth day of March 1937, cited as the India and Burma (Burma Monetary Arrangements) Order, 1937, with and subject to the various powers, provisions, and restrictions in and by the Act set forth and it
it was thereby
inter alia particularly provided as follows, viz.,
(1) By section 20 of the Act that the Bank should undertake to accept moneys for account of Provincial Governments and to make payments up to the amount standing to the credit of their accounts and to carry out their exchange, remittance and other banking operations including the management of the public debt and
(2) by section 21 (1) of the Act that Provincial Governments should entrust the Bank on such conditions as might be agreed upon with all their money, remittance, exchange and banking transactions in India and, in particular, should deposit free of interest all their cash balances with the Bank provided that nothing in that sub-section should prevent Provincial Governments from carrying on money transac-

tions at places where the Bank has no branches or agencies and that Provincial Governments might hold at such places such balances as they may require and
(3) by section 21 (2) of the Act that Provincial Governments should entrust the Bank, on such conditions as might be agreed upon, with the management of the public debt and with the issue of any new loans.
NOW IT IS HEREBY MUTUALLY AGREED AND DECLARED by and between the said parties hereto as follows, that is to say :-
1. This agreement shall be deemed to have come into force on the first day of April, 1937.

31
(2)
2. The general banking business of the Government of United Provinces (hereinafter referred to as "the Government") including the payment, receipt collection and remittance of money on behalf of the Government shall be carried on and transacted by the Bank in accordance with and subject to the provisions of this agreement and of the Act and with and to such orders and directions as may from time to time be given to the Bank by the Government through any Government officer or officers authorized by the Government in that behalf and at any of the offices, branches or agencies of the Bank for the time being in existence as may from time to time be so directed and for this purpose such accounts shall be kept in the books of the Bank and at such offices, branches or agencies of the Bank as shall be necessary or convenient or as the Government shall from time to time direct in the manner aforesaid.
3. The Government shall employ the Bank as the sole banker in India of the Government who shall deposit or cause to be deposited with the Bank or allow the Bank to receive and hold as banker the whole of its cash balances at any places at which for the time being the Bank shall have an office, branch or agency and the Bank shall subject to such

orders as may from time to time be given by the Government in the manner aforesaid receive and hold for the Government all such moneys as may be or become payable to the Government or on its account and the Bank shall transact at its offices, branches and agencies for the time being existing respectively all such business for the Government regarding the receipt, collection, payment and remittance of money and other matters, as is usually transacted by bankers for their customers. The Bank skall make the said moneys at the said offices, branches and agencies available for transfer to such places and at such times as the Government may direct. No interest shall be payable to the Government on any of the moneys for the time being held by the Bank.

4. The management of the rupee public debt of the Government and the issue of new rupee loans by the Government and the performance of all the duties relating thereto respectively including the collection and payment of interest and principal and the consolidation, division, conversion, cancellation and renewal of securities of the Government and the keeping of all registers, books and accounts and the conduct of all correspondence incidental thereto shall be transacted by the Bank at its offices in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and at any of its offices,

(3)
branches or agencies at which respectively the administration of any portion or portions of the public debt of the Government is for the time being conducted or interest thereon is for the time being payable and the Bank shall also keep and maintain such registers, books and accounts in respect of the said public debt as the Government may from time to time direct and shall audit all payments of such interest and act generally as agents in India for the Government in the management of the said public debt and shall conduct such agency subject to such orders and directions with regard to the general management thereof as may from

time to time be given to the Bank by the Government.
5. The Bank shall not be entitled to any remuneration for the conduct of the ordinary banking business of the Government other than such advantage as may accrue to it from the holding of the Government cash balances free of obligation to pay interest thereon, and such balances shall be maintained at an amount not below such minimum as may be agreed upon between the Government and the Bank from time to time.
Provided that if the Government wishes to remit funds outside the area within its jurisdiction except as otherwise provided for in this agreement the Bank shall be entitled to make a charge for such remittances at rates not exceeding those which the Bank charges to Banks referred to as "scheduled banks" in section 42 of the Act subject to a minimum charge of 4 annas for each remittance.
6. The Bank shall make ways and means advances to the Government if so required at such rate of interest not exceeding bank rate as may be fixed by the Bank from time to time, provided that the total of such advances outstanding at any one time shall not exceed the amount of the minimum balance prescribed under Clause 5 ard any subsidiary agreement provided under the clause and provided further that the advances outstanding shall be fully paid off at intervals not exceeding three months.
7. The Government shall employ the Bank as its sole agent for investments by Government either of Government funds or of funds managed by the Government and the Bank shall be entitled to charge commission for sales (but not for purchases nor for conversion) at the rate of 1/16 per cent. in addition to any further charges which the Bank may have to pay by way of brokerage, etc. The Bank shall collect interest and the maturity values of such investments on behalf of the Government without charge.

8. As remuneration to the Bank for the management of the public debt as aforesaid the Bank shall be entitled to charge to the Government half yearly a commission at the rate of Rs. 2,000 per crore per annum on the amount of the public debt as aforesaid at the close of the halfyear for which the charge is made. In calculating this charge the following amounts shall be excluded from the amount of public debt, viz. :-

(a) The amounts of loans discharged outstanding after one year from the date of a notice of discharge.

(b) The amount of stock certificates for Rs.50,000 and upwards held by the Government or by any officer or officers of the Government authorized in that behalf provided that such amount exceeds one crore.

And in addition to the charge of Rs.2,000 per crore per annum the Bank shall be entitled to charge to the Government a fixed sum of Rs.2,000 a year on account of the stock certificates referred to in head (b) of this clause and the Bank shall be also entitled to charge the public (but not the Government) all such fees and charges as are now or may hereafter from time to time be prescribed by the Governor General under the powers conferred upon him by the Indian Securities Act, 1920 (Act no. X of 1920) for duplicate securities and for the renewal, consolidation, division, or otherwise of all Government securities which the Bank issues.

Provided that loans not directly issued by the Government but issued under the guarantee of the Government shall not be included in the calculation for the purpose of this clause but shall be a matter for separate arrangement if the management of such loans is entrusted to the bank.

9. The bank shall maintain currency chests of its issue department at such places within the United Provinces, as the Government may with the previous sanction of the Central Government, prescribe and the Government shall provide sufficient accommodation for such chests as may be required for the deposit of notes or coin and shall be responsible to the Bank for the safe custody of the said chests, notes and coin. The Bank shall keep the said chests supplied with sufficient notes and coin to provide currency

for the transactions of the Government and reasonable remittance facilities to the public at the said places. The Government shall supply the Bank with such information and returns as the Bank may from time to time require as to the composition of the balances in the said chests and the

(5)
amount and nature of the transfers to and from the said chests. The Bank shall have access to the said chests at all reasonable times for the purpose of inspecting and checking the contents. The Government shall be responsible to the Bank for the examination and correctness of coin or notes at the time of deposit in or withdrawal from the said chests.

10. The Bank shall not be at liberty to close any of its offices or branches except on Sundays, New Year's Day, Christmas Day, Good Friday, and on any other day declared to be a public holiday by any notification published in pursuance of the Negotiable Instruments Act (Act XXVI of 1881) subject nevertheless and notwithstanding the provisions of that Act to any special orders or directions which may be issued by the Government and the Bank shall be responsible that no one of its agencies doing Government business for the time being existing shall be closed except on Sundays and on public holidays authorized by the Government within whose jurisdiction such agencies may be respectively situated.

11. The responsibility for all loss or damage to the Government which may result from any act or negligence or omission of the Bank or its agents in conducting the business of the public debt aforesaid or the payment of interest or discharge value thereon or the renewal, conversion, consolidation, sub-division, or cancellation of any Government security shall rest with and be borne by the Bank provided however that it shall not be incumbent on the Bank to verify signatures and endorsements on Government

securities which prima facie appear to be in order and in the acceptance of which the Bank shall not be guilty of any negligence and in such cases no liability shall be incurred by the Bank in respect thereto PROVIDED ALSO that in regard to the ordinary banking business at the offices, branches and agencies of the Bank of receiving and realizing money and securities for money on account of the Government and paying cheques, orders, draft bills and other documents whether negotiable or not in the Bank's capacity of bankers for the Government and whether such business be done by the Bank or by agencies on its behalf the responsibility to the Government shall be that of the Bank and such responsibility shall be that of a banker to an ordinary customer.

12. The Bank shall remit on account of the Government between India and London such amounts as may be required

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by it from time to time at the market rate of the day for telegraphic transfers, subject to the proviso that if a large transfer has to be effected in connexion with the flotation or repayment of a sterling loan or analogous operation, and if it is considered by either party to be inappropriate to apply the rate of a single day, an average rate based on a longer period may be fixed by agreement between the two parties.

13. This agreement may be determined by either party giving to the other party one year's notice in writing expiring on the 31st day of March, in any year, such notice if given by or on behalf of the Government to be addressed to the Governor of the Bank and to be served by leaving the same with the Head Office of the Bank or addressing the same to him at the Head Office of the Bank. by registered post and if given by the Bank to be served by leaving the same with or addressing the same by registered post to the Secretary to the Government in the Finance Department

and immediately upon the expiration of such notice this agreement shall absolutely cease and determine save as to rights or liabilities acquired or incurred prior to such termination.

14. In the event of any dispute arising as to the terms and conditions of this agreement, or as to the rights or obligations of the parties hereto such dispute or difference of opinion shall, in the event of the parties hereto failing to reach an agreement, be referred to the Governor General whose decision shall be final and binding as between the parties hereto.

15. Nothing in this agreement shall operate to affect in any way the obligations imposed either on the Government or on the Bank by or under the Act or any subsequent amendment or amendments of the Act.

16. The Bank shall be entitled to perform all or any of the matters contained in this agreement through such agency or agencies as may be prescribed by the Act or any amendment thereof or as may be approved by the Government.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF Mr. A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E., Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces in the Finance Department, by the order and direction of the Governor of United Provinces, has hereunto set his hand and the common seal of the Reserve Bank of India

(7)

pursuant to a resolution of its Central Board has been hereunto affixed in the presence of its subscribing officials the day and year first above written.

Signed by the said Mr.
A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E.,
Secretary to the Government
of United Provinces in the Finance Department, by the order and direction of the Governor of United Provinces

A. C. TURNER,
Secretary to the Government of
Finance, Department for and

on behalf of the Governor of
United Provinces in the pre-
sence of
United Provinces,
Finance Department.
SURAJ DIN BAJPAI,
Deputy Secretary to the Government
of the United Provinces.
The common seal of the
Reserve Bank of India was
affixed hereto in the presence
of Sultan Meherally Chinoy
and Devi Das Madhowji Tha-
kersey two of its Directors
and Sir James Braid Taylor,
KT. C.I.E., its Governor.
Common seal of the Reserve
Bank of India.
SULTAN CHINOY,
DEVIDAS MADHOWJI
THAKERSEY,
Directors.
J. B. TAYLOR,
Governor.

AN AGREEMENT made this seventh day of July one thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR OF UNITED PROVINCES of the one part and the Reserve Bank of India (hereinafter called "the Bank ") of the other part supplemental to an agreement (hereinafter referred to as the principal agreement") made on the 7th day of July 1937 between the parties hereto.
WHEREAS under clause 5 of the principal agreement it is provided that the Government of United Provinces (hereafter referred to as "the Government") shall maintain a daily balance with the Bank not below such minimum as

may be agreed upon NOW IT IS HEREBY MUTUALLY AGREED AND DECLARED AS FOLLOWS:

1. The Bank shall inform the Government by telegram of the Government daily balance with the Bank at the close of each working day.

2. The Government shall take steps by taking a ways and means advance from the Bank or by issuing treasury bills to ensure that the Government balance on each Friday is not less than a credit of thirty lakhs. If a reduction in the Government balance is to be anticipated before the following Friday, e.g. owing to the-beginning-of-the-month disbursements, etc., the Government shall also take steps to ensure that this balance does not fall below the said minimum by more than five lakhs.

3. The Government will not repay ways and means advances or invest any surplus of the Government balances unless the said balance exceeds a credit of thirty-five lakhs.

4. Ways and means advances may be taken and repaid on any day without previous notice by telegraphic or such other intimation to such branch of the Bank as the Bank may prescribe provided that such advances shall be for a minimum period of seven days and provided further that such advances shall be in minimum amounts of five lakhs.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF Mr. A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E., Secretary to the Government of United Provinces in the Finance Department, by the order and direction of the Governor of United Provinces, has hereunto set his hand and the common seal of the Reserve Bank of India

pursuant to a resolution of its Central Board has been hereunto affixed in the presence of its subscribing officials the day and year first above written.

Signed by the said Mr. A. C. Turner, I.C.S., M.B.E.,

Secretary to the Government
of United Provinces in the
Finance Department, for and
on behalf of the Governor of
United Provinces in the pre-
sence of
A. C. TURNER,
Secretary to the Government
of United Provinces,
Finance Department.
SURAJ DIN BAJPAI,
Deputy Secretary to the Government
of the United Provinces.
The common seal of the
Reserve Bank of India was
affixed hereto in the presence
of Sultar Meharally Chinoy
and Devi Das Madhowji
Thakersey two of its Directors
and Sir James Braid Taylor,
KT., C.I.E., its Governor.
Common seal of the Reserve
Bank of India.
SULTAN CHINOY,
DEVIDAS MADHO'WJI
THAKERSEY,
Directors.
J. B. TAYLOR,
Governor.

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REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

January 24, 1930.

No. 163/I(A)-54-1923-In accordance with rule 64 of the rules relating to settlement published with Government notification no. 855/I(A)-197-A, dated June 6, 1929, the Governor in Council is pleased to order the publication of the following papers regarding the final settlement report of the Lucknow district, for general information and objection. Any criticisms or opinions received within one month will be considered by Government.

FINAL SETTLEMENT REPORT, LUCKNOW.

EXCLUDING the city and cantonment areas, the district of Lucknow has an area of 955 square miles. The Gumti river. flows through the centre of the district from north to south-east, receiving several small tributaries on the way. The Sai river flows along the south-western border for a short distance. These two main physical features have necessitated several special assessment circle.

2. The rural population is slightly less than at last settlement. In 1901 it amounted to 5-29 lakhs, but fell at the census of 1921 to 4.80. It averages nearly 900 to the square mile of cultivation.

3. The principal landowners are Muhammadans and Thakurs, who hold three-fifths of the whole area between them. Both castes have lost ground, particularly the Thakurs, since last settlement, and many of the transfers have been to the Rastogi bankers and Kashmiris of Lucknow. The chief cultivators are Ahirs, Pasis, Thakurs, Chamars and Lodhs. There is a considerable percentage of the more skilled classes of cultivators, especially in and round Lucknow city. Under pressure of circumstances the Brahmans and Thakurs are beginning to do their own ploughing, and caste privilege seems to be disappearing to a large extent. On the whole, both zamindars and cultivators are in prosperous circumstances, although the great majority of the tenants have very small holdings, averaging less than 31 acres. On the other hand, there is a substantial proportion of tenants with much larger holdings.

More than a quarter of the district is owned by zamindars paying over Rs. 4,000 land revenue, the principal estates being those of Salempur, Itaunja, Sissendi and Sahlamau.

4. Cultivation has increased by some 21,000 acres and is still well above the area at last settlement, in spite of large acquisitions in the city and for the construction of the Sarda canal. Irrigation facilities have increased, especially as regards masonry wells, and the Sarda canal will in future protect the greater part of the district.

Rents have increased by approximately 60 per cent, and now average Rs. 10 an acre, and the price of land has trebled since last settlement. The

district is stable and progressive, cultivation is still increasing and is becoming more and more intensive, and rents continue to rise. Communications are excellent, and Lucknow city affords a ready market for all kinds of agricultural produce.

5. The revenue assessed at the summary settlement in 1858 was 6-8 lakhs. This was increased by a lakh at the first regular settlement which followed shortly after, and by another lakh at the second settlement in 1894, when the assessment was made at 47 per cent. of the assets. On several occasions remissions of revenue have been rendered necessary by special circumstances, but on the whole the assessment was fair and lenient and the revenue has been paid without difficulty.

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For assessment purposes, 25 circles have been used. These closely follow those framed at last settlement, except in pargana Lucknow, where the Settlement Officer has rightly reverted to the six circles of the first regular settlement. For reasons fully explained in the report, a somewhat elaborate soil classification has been found necessary. Irrigated Har I has been selected as the basic soil class. The rate for it varies from Rs. 11 to Rs. 21, but it is the main and most stable soil and it has been possible to deduce proper rates from the rents of adequate areas held by tenants of average skill and industry.

7. The area assessed is 360,837 acres. This is 11,000 acres above the actual cultivated area in the year of verification, but is 5,000 acres below the average, and 14,000 acres below the holdings area. It is certainly safe, and it excludes practically all the land of a precarious nature which is included in the holdings.

8. Owing to the prevalence of nazrana in most of the larger estates- the Salempur and Kasmandi Khurd estates are mentioned as exceptions to the general rule - additions to the recorded rents have had to be made in a consider-able number of cases, but on the other hand liberal deductions have been made.

for instability where the recorded rents are too high for safety. The total recorded rental of the ordinary revenue paying land is 24.15 lakhs, with a valua-tion of 225 lakhs and the Settlement Officer has accepted 23-8 lakhs for assess. ment. The great bulk of the holdings come under the class of non-privileged statutory, which constitutes 61 per cent. of the total holdings area. The assump-

tion areas have ordinarily been valued at 25 per cent. below the rates, and the accepted assets of the grain-rented area, which includes a considerable proportion
of really good land, are 16 per cent. below the valuation at rates.
The Settlement Officer has dealt generously with the very numerous, but very petty under-proprietary holdings.
9. The total net assets amount to 33.67 lakhs, on which revenue of 12.22 lakhs, or 36.3 per cent. has been assessed. This gives an increase of 25.8 per cent. on the expiring demand. Excluding the nominal revenue, the actual sum payable to Government will be 10.99 lakhs, which is an increase of 2.1 lakhs.
This amounts to 18.6 per cent, only of the additional assets since last settle-
The average incidence is Rs. 3.4 per acre assessed, as compared with an average competition rent of Rs. 12.83.
ment.
10. Although the assessments were made before the Settlement Bill became law, the concessions granted under the new rules have been given to the Lucknow district, and the settlement is for 40 years ending in 1968 and 1969.
11. The total cost of the settlement is 3.62 lakhs, and it has been carried out without waste of time and with marked economy. Rai Sahib Pandit Brij Chand Sharma is a careful and experienced officer.
He has been scrupulously
fair in his assessments and they may be accepted with confidence. He has written an accurate and interesting report, and his work merits emphatic commendation. He was ably assisted by Mr. Anwar Ali Faruqi, to whom was entrusted the bulk of the record work and who afterwards became Assistant Settlement Officer, and by Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra, Assistant Record Officer. The excellent work of other members of the staff has been acknowledged in the last paragraph of the Settlement Officer's report.
The report is recommended for the sanction of Government.
January 2, 1930.
J. C. SMITH,
Junior Member, Board of Revenue,
United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE FINAL SETTLEMENT REPORT OF
DISTRICT LUCKNOW.

THE district of Lucknow shows considerable divèrsity in its physical character. The principal drainage line is the Gomti, which passes roughly through the centre from north west to south-east. It is joined by five tributary streams, the largest being the Behta, which flows into it rather nearer Lucknow than the north-west border. All these streams join the Gomti in the upper half of its course through the district. The northern half is, therefore, better drained than the southern. The Sai river forms part of the south-western border and has only one tributary of any importance. The variety of the district is best illustrated by the natural qualities from which the 25 assessment circles originate. Rivers are responsible for 9, of which two are tarai and seven bhur circles. Proximity to Lucknow city gives one circle and combined with Gomti influence another. Predominant loam and clay soils are each responsible for tive circles, usar for two and jhils for one, while one circle is intermediate between sand and loam. There is thus every variety of natural feature and of soil. The population shows a decline of Rs. 20,000 since last settlement, but still reaches the high figure of 900 per cultivated and 500 per total square mile. Hamlets are numerous and the homesteads number 2.6 per square mile. Substantial proprietors own a considerable proportion of the whole area, 29 per cent. being held by landlords paying over Rs. 4,000 land revenue. The Rajas of Salempur and Itauuja pay respectively Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 43,000, the Rani of Sassendi Rs. 38,000, and the Nawab of Sahlamau Rs. 29,000, The percentages of the more important kinds of tenure are pattidari 30, single zamindari 21, taluqdari and joint zamindari 20 each, while bhaiachara is only .5 per cent. of the whole. Among the castes Thakurs who at last settlement headed the list of proprietors have now receded to second place with 29 per cent. of the whole, while Muslims own 31, Brahmans 12, and Kayesths 5.2 per cent. Muslims and Thakurs have both lost considerable ground during the period of settlement, their property having passed by dedication to religious institutions and to Vaishyas, Kashmiris, Kayesths and Kurmis. Among the cultivators Ahirs hold the first place with 17 per cent. of the whole, and Pasis the second with 14 per cent.; 15 per cent.; is held by castes of special skill, Lodhs having 9, Kurmis 4, and Muraos and Kachis 2 per cent. Among the high castes Brahmans and Thakurs hold together 18 per cent. Both have in recent years taken to handling the plough themselves. Cultivation is, generally speaking, of a good standard and the economic condition of the tenantry satisfactory. An economic census has been taken in selected villages during

settlement and shows that three-fourths of the tenants are either altogether a free from debt or indebted only to an extent which they can at once discharge. The average size of holdings is 5 acres, but 20 per cent. of the tenantry have substantial holdings, while 80 per cent. hold on the average 3 acres. The cultivated area has increased during the period of settlement by 21,000 acres, but the additions have been mainly in the inferior soils; 60 per cent. of the whole area is now cultivated. Future development is likely to be rather in the direction of afforestation than of more extended cultivation. Facilities for irrigation have developed substantially. The area actually irrigated in the present year of record is less than that of the year of record of last settlement, but the reason is to be found in the character of the seasons. Both masonry and earthen wells have nearly doubled during the intervening years, and now number 17 and 24, respectively, to each square mile of cultivation. Wells have continued steadily to replace tanks as the main source of irrigation. The proportion of well to tank irrigation at the first settle-

ment was 29 to 71, in the years 1329-33 56 to 44, and in the period 1334-38 66 to 34. This change makes for more stable irrigation which is not liable to fail when it is most wanted in years of drought. Of the cultivated area 42 per cent. has been classed as wet at the present settlement. With an average rainfall of 37 inches irrigation facilities are now reasonably good, and, with the advent of the Sarda Canal, the district will be fully protected from drought. Crops sown in the kharif cover 64 per cent. of the total area and those in the rabi 56 per cent. This gives a dofasli area of 20 per cent. of the whole, but in extent it has decreased by 30,000 acres since the previous settlement. This is due to a decline in the rice area which was unusually extensive at last settlement owing to the cycle of wet years which preceded it. Wheat occupies 37 per cent. of the rabi area and has increased by 8,500 acres, while the extensions under cane and maize

are 1,000 and 2,000 acres, respectively. Agricultural stock shows a substantial all-round increase. The recorded cash rents of combined statutory and non-statutory tenants show a rise of 60 per cent. since the previous settlement from R. 6-3 to Rs. 10.1 per acre. The incidences in the different kinds of proprietary

tenure are in taluqdari 8.8, in zamindari 9.9, and in pattidari 11 3. Concealment of rent is rare, but the practice of taking nazarana is popular especially with the Taluqdars among whom notable exceptions are the Raja of Salempur and the Taluqdar of Kasmandi Khurd. Grain rents still prevail in 19,000 acres, an area 1,000 acres less than that at last settlement. Of the grain-rented area 3,200 acres lie in superior soils. The share of grain taken by the landlords is generally half. The price of land sold by private negotiation has risen from Rs. 48 to Rs. 149 per acre during the period of settlement.

2. The revenue-paying capacity of the district, both physical and fiscal, is therefore high. The natural capacity of the land is shown by the percentage of the whole assigned to the principal soil classes, which is as follows:-

Har
I wet
19.4
GOD
601
II wet
13.8
**
"
97
III dry
13.5
39
IV dry
8.7
609
401
"
II dry
8.5
600
III wet
6.8
107
99
Tarai
480
600

400
5.1 fairly equally divided into 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class.
Goind I wet
Har IV wet
5.0
3.4
300
I dry
"
Matiyar I
II
"
3.2
3.2
607
2.7
600

The home lands cover 7 per cent., good wet loam, 25 per cent., fair loam 22 per cent., rice land 6 per cent., poor loam 20 per cent., sandy soil 12 per cent., and tarai 5 per cent. Fiscally the district is stable and progressive. The proprietary body contains many substantial landlords, and the tenantry is on the whole prosperous. Cultivation reaches a good standard, and communications both by rail and road are excellent, enabling the produce to be easily marketed. The recorded rents show a 60 per cent. rise and the price of land has trebled during the period of settlement. Agricultural stock has increased considerably, and protection against drought has much improved and will improve even more with the opening of the Sarda Canal. All the factors are, therefore, present which justify an enhancement of the revenue demand,

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3. There is little to relate about the fiscal history of the district. The expiring settlement was moderate and its distribution even, while the policy of

the liberal remissions of revenue in times of calamity has enabled the demand to be realised with ease.

4. The present settlement is based on a soil classification partly natural and partly artificial. The Settlement Officer has divided homeland from the outlying areas, and has sub-divided the homeland into kachhiana 1st and 2nd class, and goind 1st, 2nd and tarai. He has distinguished in the outlying matiyar in three classes and tarai in four classes, and has sub-divided the remainder of it into four classes of har according to soil and position relative to the home-steads. Wet and dry have been distinguished in all the main soil classes except matiyar and tarai where the rents do not recognize any distinction. The classi-fication is a good one. It accounts for all the main distinctions of rental values both natural and artificial and is easily intelligible without being too complicated. The division into assessment circles is topographical, and, as already mentioned, is based on distinctions of natural qualities. The Settlement Officer has in this matter followed the division of the previous settlement with minor variations except in pargana Lucknow, where he has reverted to the six circles of the first settlement in place of three adopted at the last. The division into assessment circles has passed the certain test of easy assessment. The evolu-tion of the rates follows the usual process of soil proportions and unit-value. The rates actually applied are tabulated in Appendix VIIC. They range between Rs. 1.1 per acre for the sand hills of the Bhur circles of pargana Mohana and Rs. 505 for the market gardens of Lucknow city. Har I wet may be taken as the basic soil class. The highest rate for it is Rs. 21-3 in the City circle of Lucknow pargana and lowest Rs. 11.2 in the Bhur circle of the same pargana. The modification of circle rates in particular villages has, generally speaking, been restricted to a variation of 12 per cent. up or down, and has, been rightly based on the quality of the soil, the character of the tenantry, and the density of population rather than on the level of the actual rents.

5. The assessment is discussed at length in the report, but the figures given in it in illustration of the manner in which the various tenures have been treated relate to the whole district. More representative perhaps are the figures for the area which pays revenue to Government and is not permanently settled. These will be found in Appendix VII-B (ii) and it is worth abstracting the parts which relate to the tenants' land. The figures are as follows:-

Exproprietary

Occupancy

Total ex-proprietary and occupancy

Statutory privileged

19
non-privileged
Non-statutory privileged
59
00
non-privileged
:
Recorded rent.
Valuation at
rates.
Accepted.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
12,015
12,824
12,000
16,980
31,297
20,811
28,995
44,121
32,811
:
78,493
79,582
76,957
20,16,606
20,28,743
19,80,915
28,425
2,62,545
26,442
2,71,510
26,798
2,63,253
Total
24,15,064
24,50,398

23,80,734
Total of statutory and non-statutory
23,86,069
24,06,277
23,47,923

(6)
The moderation of the assets of the cash-rented area is evident. The ex-proprietary rents are accepted as they stand. The occupancy area is valued at only two-thirds of the valuation at standard rates. For the most important class of tenant is the non-privileged statutory. The figure accepted for them is in spite of nazrana Rs. 35,500 below the recorded rental and Rs. 47,800 below the valuation at standard rates. The recorded rental of statutory and non-statutory tenants combined is Rs. 23,86,000, the valuation at standard rates is Rs. 24,06,000, while the accepted figure is Rs. 23,48,000. The Settlement Officer states that he has made additions for inadequacy amounting to 15 per cont. to the recorded rents of the mahals concerned, and for non-genuineness 24 per cent. It is clear, therefore, that, where the record-ed rents are high, he has made substantial allowance for instability and short collections. In the grain-rented area. the recorded rental is Rs. 1,41,000, the valuation at standard rates Rs. 1,22,000; while the accepted assets are Rs. 1,11,000, the last figure leaving a 16 per cent. margin on the valuation at rates. Out of a recorded sayar income of Rs. 98,244 the Settlement Officer has assessed revenue on only Rs. 15,012, of which Rs. 11,699 is in the khalsa. Under-proprietary rents deserve a word of special mention. The figures in Appendix VII (ii, show that the incidence of the recorded under-proprietary rents is only 2-6, while that of the figures accepted is 9.4. The pity is that these dues are called rents at all. The under-proprietor has, generally speaking, to pay to the proprietor the land revenue with the addition of 10 per cent. thereon. The incidence of 2-6, therefore, represents 2.4 as revenue and 2 as
10 per cent. addition. The accepted assets, on the other hand, are not the amount
which will actually be paid, but the figure from which the demand, which will actually be made, will be calculated. The accepted assets of this land are, therefore the assets which will give the revenue which the under-proprietor will

actually have to pay with 10 per cent. added. To ascertain, therefore, the actual amount which the under-proprietor must pay with assets at an incidence of 9.4, it is necessary to deduct 10 per cent. from 9.4 and to take 36 per cent. the revenue incidence of the balance. This will give the revenue on the accepted assets, and the actual payment by the under-proprietor will be the revenue plus 10 per cent. Applying this principle to actual figures we get the following figure-94-10 per cent. is 8.5 of which 36 per cent. is 3.1. The incidence of the sum which the under-proprietor must pay is, therefore, 3.4 instead of 2 6. 6. The total amount payable to Government, excluding assigned and nominal revenue, is as follows:-

Expiring	Proposed	Initial	Intermediate	Final enhancement..	Khalsa.	Permanently settled,	Total.
Rs. a. P.	Rs. ə. p.						
8,32,266 2 5	+3,292 5						
10,42,054 6 0	+ 4,157 80						
9,89,690 10 0	+3,890 00						
10,41,929 6 0	+ 4,157 80						
6							
Rs. a. p.							
52,969 6 0							
52,969 6 0							
52,969 6 0							
52,969 6 C							
Rs.							
a. p.							
8,88,527 13 6							
10,99,181 40							
10,56,550 00							
10,99 056 40							
2,10,653 6 6							
Initial enhancement							
1,65,022 2 6							

The revenue payable to Government falls just below 36 per cent. of the assets of the land for which it is paid. In the Khalsa the percentage of enhancement is slightly above 25 per cent., while if the permanently-settled revenue is also added the enhancement of the Government demand falls to 23.8 per cent. This enhancement is moderate in view of a 60 per cent. rise in the recorded statutory rents and the increase of 200 per cent. in the sale price of land and

of 100 per cent. in the prices of agricultural produce. The additional assets which have accrued since last settlement and the revenue assessed on them are as follows:-

Assets.
Revenue.
Last settlement
Present settlement
Increase
Rs.
21,03,530
Rs.
9,86,569
33,67,233
12,21,899
12,63,703
2,35,330

The percentage of the additional assets assessed as additional revenue is thus only 18.6.

7. The incidence of the proposed revenue on each acre of assessed area is Rs. 3.4. It is of interest to compare this incidence which that of the rents paid by tenants-at-will. The figures are as follows:-

Incidence per acre of tenants of sir
Rs. 1,23,664
Acres 7,925
1
Rs. 4,36,593
= Rs 15 60
Ditto

Ditto
sub-tenants
tenants of sir and sub-tenants combined
00
Acres 35,742
= Rs. 12 22
Rs. 5.60,257 = Rs. 12 83
Acres 48, 667
per cent. of the valua-
The incidence of the proposed revenue is only 21.8
tion of the district at the incidence of the rents, paid by tenants of sir, 27.8 per cent. of the valuation at the incidence of sub-tenants' rents, and 26.5 of the valuation at the incidence of the rents paid by tenants of sir and sub-tenants combined.

8. The cost of settlement has been Rs. 3,61,570. The initial enhancement of the demand is Rs. 1,68,000. The whole cost of settlement will thus be recouped in a little over two years after the imposition of the new demand. The term of settlement proposed is for 40 years to conclude at the end of June, 1968, for tahsil Lucknow, and a year later for tahsils Malihabad and Mohanlalganj.

9. The proposals for the new revenue are moderate for such a progressive district as Lucknow. The assets have been calculated on a safe basis, and a low percentage of them has been taken. An enhancement of 25 per cent. is reasonable in the circumstances of the tract. The enhanced revenue could be paid comfortably even if there were no prospects of further development. With the Sarda Canal stretching to every quarter of the district the new demand should prove unusually light. The settlement as proposed may confidently be recommended for final sanction.

10. Rai Sahib Pandit Brij Chand Sharma came to Lucknow with many years of settlement experience behind him. He has put his knowledge to good use, and kept the balance even between the revenue payer and the State. He has assessed with reasonable caution a demand which will be fair to both parties and has conducted the operations with energy and skill. His assistant, Mr. Anwar Ali Faruqi, has also made a promising start in his first essay at inspection and assessment. Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra's work as Assistant Record Officer has also been good. It is satisfactory to note the cordial relations between the Settlement Officer and the District Officer and the efficient performance of the Settlement Office.

H. A. LANE,

Settlement Commissioner.

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(8)
Final report of the settlement of the Lucknow district.
Physical descrip- THE district of Lucknow is an irregular quadrilateral lying north-west and south east with a steady slope south-eastwards. It has an area of 955 square miles excluding the city, and cantonments, and comprises three tahsils and seven parganas. It is bounded on the north-east and east by Sitapur and Bara Banki, on the south-east by Rai Bareli, on the south-west and west by Unao and on the north-west by Hardoi. The boundary with the surrounding districts is purely conventional except for short distances in the south-west and the south where the Sai forms a broken boundary with Unao and in the east centre where the Gumti separates it from Bara Banki.
Communication.
The district is an "open champaign" unrelieved by rocky ridges or high eminences. It is very diversified in physical features, which are determined by the chief drainage lines. The main arterial drainage line is the Gumti, which with its affluents the Akhaddi, the Jhingi and the Behta on the right bank and the Kukrail and the Reth on the left, drains the greater portion of the district in the north, the east and the south-east. The Sai with its tributaries the Nagwa and the Bankh, drains the south-west of pargana Bijnor and the south-eastern half of pargana Nigohan.
The banks of the Gumti are generally steep and are marked by high sand-hills and scour. But in tahsil Malihabad and in pargana Lucknow the banks recede leaving narrow belts of lowlying kh idir which close to the city is very fertile. Further inland away from the Gumti Bhur tract the sandy uplands are lined by narrow belts of excellent level loam. From the good loam belt in pargana Mahona, the level gently slopes away eastwards. The south-east of that pargana on either side of the metalled road to Kursi is crossed by large user plains, where the Kukrail takes its rise and runs southwards to fall into the Gumti close to the city. The north-eastern portion of pargana Mahona is a lowlying clayey tract abounding in jhils and patches of dhak jungle of varying sizes. These jhils give rise to the Reth, which runs into l'ara Banki eventually

to fall into the Gumti. From the good loam central belt in pargana Malihabad, the level falls south-westwards. The west centre of the pargana is a somewhat lowlying and ill-drained tract of usar intermixed with patches of stunted dhak jungle. The extreme west and the south of pargana Malihabad are traversed by the Behta whose course is marked by ravines. The Ghazi uddin Haidar canal, which cuts across the centre of pargana Kakori from west to east, following very nearly the line of the watershed between the Behta and the Nagwa divides the pargana into two distinct tracts. The northern portion consists of a good light loam characteristic of the valley of the Gumti, while the southern is a part of the extensive lowlying ill-drained matiyar plain occupying the south-west of the district and embracing the centre of pargana Bijnor, the north-eastern half of pargana Nigohan and the great bulk of pargana Mohanlalganj. This tract is distinguished by the existence of large usar plains and numerous jhils dotted all over. The jhils get deeper in the south-east of pargana Bijnor where the Bankh nila begins to form which ultimately finds its way into the Sai across pargana Nigohan. With the fall of the level in tahsil Mohanlalganj the jhils become more numerous and more extensive and give rise to the Loni, which falls into Gumti near Salempur.

2. Means of communication as might be expected are excellent. Lucknow is a railway junction of the first importance, recently embellished by a fine station. It lies on the main line of the East Indian Railway and the mail from Calcutta to Peshawar runs daily through Lucknow. There are daily services to Cawnpore, Bombay, Allahabad and Fyzabad. The Rohilkhand and Kumaun Railway running northwards links up the district with the submontane districts of Oudh and

Rohilkhand, while the Bengal North-Western railway running eastwards links it up with the densely populated trans Ghagra districts and with Nepal. The railway lines radiate in all directions and parallel to these run the metalled roads to Sitapur, Malihabad, Cawnpore, Rai Bareli and Fyzabad. In addition, there are metalled roads to Sultanpur and to Kursi. The only portions somewhat difficult of access are the north of Malihabad and the east centre of Mohan-
lalganj, but even these are fairly well-served by unmetalled roads.

3. The district has 5 towns-Kakori, Bijnor, Malihabad, Amethi and

Towns, markets

Nagram. They are more or less in a decaying condition and are really places of and trade.
historic or pious associations rather than centres of economic importance, but Malihabad is famous for its safed and disehri mangoes and trade in grafted mangoes and mango grafts in this town is of more than local importance. There are several large villages with a population of 1,000 persons each, but they are merely overgrown agricultural estates.
Markets are held at no less than 46 places either weekly or twice a week for the sale of ordinary country produce. Their utility consists in catering to the day-to-day wants of the villagers and beyond that these bazars have hardly any economic importance. Trade in agricultural produce is rather shy of Lucknow and favours Cawnpore, but the recent abolition of the octroi duty might place Lucknow in a more favourable position to suck in trade of the surrounding country.
The cattle markets at Banthara and Ain in tahsil Lucknow which are local centres of cattle trade are well known in the neighbourhood and attract dealers from such distant places as Kosi and Hissar.
4. The population of the district at the various censuses is shown in Appendix V.
Despite the two widespread famines, the rural population reached its zenith during the decade ending in 1901, but has declined during the last two decades owing to the ravages of the plague and the malaria and influenza epidemics of 1908 and 1918 respectively, resulting in a net loss of about 21,000 or 4 per cent. since last settlement. This loss, however, is by no means serious. For despite the decrease, the number of sites has increased by 217 and the spreading of population leads to extension in the cultivated area and conduces to intensive cultivation. There are 45 abadis per square mile of the average cultivated area and all but very small villages have more than one abadi, the average being 2.6 per village. The rural population is entirely agricultural and is scattered about in small abadis, which as a rule are fairly prosperous looking. Moreover, the density per square mile of cultivated area as shown in the following table is still fairly high for Oudh :-
Population.
To square mile of total area.
To square mile of cultiva ted area.
Last settlement. Present settlement. Last settlement. Present settlement.
497
502
926

877
Twelve years'
average.
839
5. The 960 towns and villages of the district are subdivided into 2,211 mahals, the distribution of which over the different proprietary tenures is given in Appendix VIIIA. Single zamindars just hold about 21 per cent. of the total area and are followed closely by taluqdars and joint zamin lars with 20 per cent. each. Small coparceners-both perfect and imperfect pattidari taken together-hold 30 per cent. The constitution of the proprietary body, therefore, shows a goodly proportion of well-to-do substantial proprietors.
Proprietary te-
tenures.

Page - 349
348
Losses and gains
of proprietors.
Cultivating castes
(10)
The entire revenue assigned mahals comprise 3 per cent, of the total area with another 1 per cent. included in a partly khalsa and partly revenue assigned mahals. The revenue-free and the revenue-assigned mahals are for the most part in the possession of the relations of ex-King Wajid Ali Shah and are practically confined to tahsil Lucknow. Some of the conditional life muafi have been resumed after the death of certain wives of the late king.
6. The areas held in proprietary right by the different castes are given in Appendix VIIIB.
Muhammadans occupy the first place among the proprietors with Thakurs a close second. Both Muhammadans and Thakurs are still the largest land owners in the district-the two holding together about three-fifths of the total area. Both of them have lost heavily since last settlement and money-lending Rastogis of Lucknow and Kashmiri Brahmans have gained at their expense Kayasthas have also strengthened their position. The larger proprietors are fairly well off. The losses have been chiefly among the petty and impoverished proprietors, who are for the most part indebted. Alienations of large properties are rare. At last settlement Muhammadans and Thakurs had already lost about 7,000 acres and 45,000 acres respectively. Since then, their position has

further weakened and their gradual displacement by money-lending Mahajans is ominous. A note worthy feature is the expansion of the area dedicated for charitable purposes A tendency is noticeable among Muhammadans to dedicate their property for the benefit of their descendants (waqf-all-aula) with a view to prevent alienations.

A list of the leading proprietors is given in Appendix VIIIC. About 29 per cent. of the total area of the district is in the possession of substantial proprietors paying over Rs. 4,000 as revenue and the increase in the new revenue in their case is a moderate one of only 20 per cent.

7. The areas in the cultivation of the different castes may be studied in the following table:-

Consolidated statement of cultivating castes of district Lucknow.

Occupancy			Statutory.		Non-statutory.	
Castes.	Area.	Incidence.	Area.	Incidence.	Area.	
Muhammadans	762	21*9	5.2	18,249	6.5	3,157
	517	5.925	10.7	11.2	26,615	8°3
	2'6	17'8	7.8	486		

18,433
4,618
985
Brahmans
60
5.0
9.2
13.9
7°4
8.8
4,600
2122
12°2
5.0
13.8
8°5
1,907
9,490
5,244
939
Thakurs
5.3
8°5
16,028
54.4
8.8
3'8
13'8
4.8
48.1
38,608
9.8
Ahirs
00
67
1.9
4.4
48,522
19'5

5,787
3,988
9.2
1,260
9.4
15.2
20°3
3.7
*9,624
17.8
57
Kurmis..
1'6
6.3
9,706
3.9
1,486
192
13.8
8.9 11.9
1.0
1,538
4.6
12,979
3.8
17
Lodhs ..
75
5
6.3
26,266
10'6
3,253
1,696
10.1
8.6
10'6
87
172

˚5
81,404
9.2
3
Chamars
*1
2.0
26,487
10°7 10.5
2,554
6.7
3,402
9.7 17.4
2
32,448
9.5
Pasi
.2
88
6.0
41,462
16.7
9.3
4,042
10.7
4,067
8.8 2017
20
1
49,599
14.5
Morai and Kachhi..
7,703
3.1
890
15'2
805
372
14.5

2°3
1.6
1'1
9,260
2'6
Others
193
44,292
6,972
5.8
10'1
9.7
5'5
17.8
18'3
3,510
17.9
2,432
10°3
58,399
17.0
3,503
Total
5.3
100
248,610
100
87,993
10.0
9.8
100
19,601
100
88,849
343,058
100
100
Incidence,
Grain rented area.

Sir and khudkasht
area.
Total.

(11)
Among the tenant body Ahirs, Pasis, Chamars and Lodhs are the most numerous. Ahirs hold 17 per cent. of the holdings area and are followed closely by Pasis with 14 per cent. Chamars and Lodhs occupy over 9 per cent. apiece, while Kurmis hold less than 4 per cent. and Kachhis and Muraos about 2 per cent. Ahirs, Pasis and Chamars are average cultivators, while Kachhis and Muraos are cultivators of special skill and industry and devote themselves entirely to vegetable and tobacco cultivation. Kurmis and Lodhs are excellent husbandmen, most industrious and painstaking. These three castes taken together occupy about 16 per cent. of the holdings area. The district, therefore, is fortunate in having a fair proportion of excellent cultivators. Thakurs and Brahmans occupy 10 per cent. and 8 per cent. respectively. Most of the Thakurs and Brahmans have now descended from their high pedastal and economic pressure has driven them to handle the plough, which they till recently disdained to do. Their cultivation can now scarcely be styled as slip-shod or careless. Muhammadans, Brahmans and Thakurs are practically the only three castes who hold substantial areas as occupancy tenants. Kachhis and Muraos pay the highest rents chiefly because they have the best lands in their possession.

8. Lucknow as an agricultural district may not bear comparison as a Style of cultiva-
tion.
whole with some of the fertile western districts of the Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions, but there is no doubt that cultivation in some parts, specially in the homelands, which comprise 27,000 acres is of a very high order and will not suffer in comparison with the best of the fertile western districts. Homelands are very highly cultivated with tobacco, garden crops, spices and drug, and cultivation in the Superior Dumat and the Usar circles and in the City circle of Lucknow is generally excellent.

9. A detailed enquiry into the average size of holdings and indebtedness of tenants was held in tahsils Malihabad and Mohanlalganj. A fairly large number of holdings and tenants were dealt with in this enquiry. It was found

that three-fourths of the agriculturists were well off or fairly well off and only one-fourth were badly off or very badly off. There is a noticeable rise in the cultivator's standard of living as a result of the enormous rise in the prices of agricultural produce which has benefitted him directly.

The average size of an agriculturist's holding is just less than 5 acres. This approaches a fair economic standard, but the majority of tenants, namely, just over 80 per cent. cultivate more than half the area with on an average of 3.35 acres apiece.

ment.

Condioion

tenants.

of

*G. O. no. 3993/ IA-197, dated August 5, 1925.

no. 3147/ IA-197, dated May 15, 1927.

10. Cultivation has increased considerably. Despite the large acquisi- Cultivated area.

tions for the Sarda canal and for the Lucknow Improvement Trust for building schemes as well as the expunction of five villages (Bibipur, Manoharpur, Garhimadarpur, Mawayanazul and Karehta) under orders of Government from the village list, the cultivated area shows a rise of 3,551 acres since last settle- The year

of record was a year of unusually heavy rainfall, which injured *G.

the tarai as well as the upland bhur and the cultivated area, therefore, was on the low side. The 12 years' average cultivated area shows a still higher rise of *G. O. no. 5171/

20,963 acres since the last settlement. Of the total area of the district 3.5 lacs of acres or just above 57 per cent. is under cultivation as against 56 per cent. at the last settlement. Just over 20 per cent. has been classed as unculturable and just over 18 per cent. as culturable including the old new fallow. In a district in which the unculturable area is so large owing to the existence of usar and jhils and roads and railways and in which the areas of the old and the new fallow are bound to be extensive owing to the presence of a large area of infertile bhur too poor to repay continuous cultivation, the proportion of the

IA-197-25, dated October

330
Irrigation.
(12)
cultivated area is by no means low. When we take into consideration the 12 years' average cultivated area 60 per cent. of the total area is under cultivation a proportion as high as can reasonably be expected under the special circumstances of the district. The Gumti ravines and the usar where babool is the only tree which seems to grow, afford a wide field for afforestation. The problem is worthy of consideration by the Forest department. Extensive plantations of babool are likely to add materially to the wealth of the district
11. The irrigated area of the year of verification shows a decrease of 23,000 acres since last settlement. At that time 33 per cent. of the cultivated area was actually irrigated, whereas only 26 per cent. is returned as irrigated in the present year of record. The decrease is more apparent than real and is due to the unusually heavy rainfall of recent years. During the inter-settlement period, facilities for irrigation have considerably increased as the following table would show :-

Number of wells per square mile of cultivation.		
Settlement of 1862.	Settlement of 1894.	Present settlement of 1924.
Wells.		
Regular	Last settlement.	Present settlement.

ment.
ment.
Masonry
Earthen
::
8,045
6,700
4,952
6,680
9,243
12,979
average of 29 years
1304 to 1333 Fasli.
18
යත
9
17
12
24
The number of masonry wells in use at this time has trebled since the first regular settlement and is close upon double of what it was at last settlement and kachcht well irrigation is also now more extensively practised than at any time before. That the increased facilities for irrigation have resulted in an actual extension in irrigation, the following table would show :-
Period.
Total irrigated area
from all sources.
Last settlement
Average of 5 years 1305 to 1309 Fasli
Average of 5 years 1324 to 1328
Average of 5 years 1329 to 1333
Year of verification
94
91
114,665
112,207
0 9
118,476
93,079

91,782
The irrigation figures of the last quinquennium are vitiated by a cycle of wet years, but the penultimate quinquennium shows an advance of 3,800 over the last settlement figure.
At the first regular settlement the need of protection against drought by extensive construction of wells was emphasized. Construction of wells has been whole-heartedly encouraged by a lavish distribution of taqavi, with the result that well irrigation has steadly increased while irrigation from tanks has as consistently declined as the following table shows:-

	Irrigated area.	
	Wells,	Others.
First regular settlement	29°2	70.8
Last settlement	36.0	64.0
Period.	61.7	82.8
Average of 5 years 1305 to 1309 Fasli	66°1	33.9
Average of 5 years 1324 to 1323	56.3	43.7
Average of 5 years 1329 to 1333		

35
:
:

(13)
351
The percentages in the last quinquennium are affected by the unusually heavy rain fall of recent years. During that period tanks being full of water, tank irrigation was preferred as being more economical. But the penultimate

quinquennium shows that two-thirds of the irrigation is now done from wells both masonry and non-masonry as against less than one-third at the first regular
settlement. Wells are now the chief source of irrigation but irrigation from some of the big jhils, which hold considerable water and of which there are several in the district is by no means inconsiderable.
Owing to rotations of crops and vicissitudes of the seasons the area actually irrigated in any one year would hardly be satisfactory for assessment purposes. At this settlement, therefore, a field irrigated in any two out of the five recent normal years has been taken as "wet". The "wet" area as calculated at this settlement is shown in the following table:-

Wet arca as worked out at this settlement.				
Percentage.				
Years.	Total cultivated area.	Wells.	Others.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5
42	69			
Actual irrigated I area of the year of verification.				
දෙස	6	7	8	9
Year of verification 3,49,877				

98,295
49,625 1,47,920 28.1
14°2
42°3
91,782
N. B. The area of revenue-free and Government property plots is excluded from this statement.
99
The "wet area as calculated is 61 per cent. above the area actually irrigated in the year of record. The district is fairly well protected. More than two-fifths of the cultivated area would at first sight seem to be protected against drought, but this percentage is pulled down by the disturbing figures of the Tarai and the Bhur circles where irrigation for various reasons is scarce. When these circles are omitted, at least half the cultivated area would work out to be "wet" and as such protected against drought.
This irrigation supplemented by a fairly large rainfall which the district receives the average of 31 years, 1895 to 1925 both inclusive, being 36.88 inches would seem to be ample for local needs. But the advent of the Sarda canal would further extend the facilities for irrigation.
12. The kharif occupies about 64 per cent. of the total cultivated area and the ribi about 56 per cent. or in other words the kharif is in advance of the rabi by 14 per cent. Kharif in this district has always been the principal harvest. This is due partly to the fairly large Gumti Bhur area, which grows bajra and the small millets and partly to the growing importance of the city of Lucknow. Pargana Lucknow has a fairly large population who follow cultivation only as a subsidiary occupation and favour the kharif in preference to the rabi, as the former interferes less with their primary occupations in the city and supplies plenty of fodder for cattle. Moreover, the cost of labour is rising and the rabi requires more labour than kharif. Appendix VI compares the crop statistics of the year of record with those of the last settlement. Despite the actual increase in the total cultivated area, the area under both the harvests has fallen off-under the rabi by just under 22,000 acres and under the kharif by just over 13,000 acres, with the resultant fall in the dofast area of just less than 33,000 acres.
This is a direct result of succession of abnormally
wet years, which caused floods in the Gumti and damaged both the kharif and the rabi.
Crops

(14)
For the purpose of studying closely the progress made in cropping, it is necessary to study the crop statement of the last settlement. The striking feature at that time was as Mr. Hooper observed "the great increase in the area under rice and the coarser grains on which the people chiefly subsist ...The increase in the production of the commoner food grains appears from the statistics to have been obtained by a great extension of the system of double cropping
The extension in double cropping was the direct result of
the cycle of wet years, which culminated in the very wet year, 1894. A series of favourable monsoons led to an abnormal increase in rice and gram as the following abstract from the last settlement report shows and the enormous increase in the dofusli area was the inevitable result:--
"
Settlement of 1894
Ditto
1862
00
Increase
00
: :
Gram and
peas.
Rice.
Dofasli.
69,852
90,005
1,08,215
44,5 5
34,497
31,369
25,287
55,508
76,846
Movement of
rents.

The area under rice has now declined by 32,000 acres since last settlement though in the kharif rice still leads with 25 per cent. of the total kharif area. With the reversion to normal seasons a marked decline in rice was the natural result. It will, however, be noted that the areas under rice and gram are still just under 23,000 acres and 20,000 acres respectively. Following the example of the last settlement coarser grains juar, bajra and the millets on which
the people chiefly subsist show considerable increases and there is a satisfactory rise of 948 and 2,038 acres in sugarcane and maize respectively.
In the rabi wheat takes the lead with 37 per cent. of the rabi area and shows an increase of 8,558 acres. This is a commercial crop and the increase is to be attributed to the stimulus of the high war prices.
The double cropped area was at last settlement 31 per cent. of the cultivated area- percentage which was considered high for the provinces generally.
With the decline in rice, which has carried in its train the fall in gram and with the tendency to concentrate on the commercial crop of wheat, the fall in the dojasli area which has gone down to 21-6 per cent. is not at all surprising. The dofasli area is even now 2 times of what it was in 1862, the first regular settlement. The apparent fall since the last settlement, therefore, does not in any way indicate deterioration in cropping.
13. The system of lump rents prevails, but a fairly large area is held on field rents and differential rates are found varying according to the quality of the soil. This has been an invaluable aid to the working out of the standard rates. Even these lump rents have been arrived at after taking into consideration the different qualities of the soils composing the holding. In grain rents division half and half is the most usual practice and kankut is not in favour. Zabti rents are extremely rare. Even the juar and sugarcane are sown in grain rented lands, the produce rab or grain is divided half and half. Straw is not usually divided with the grain but in the newer agreements of tenancy a stipulation about the division of straw is sometimes found. Grain rents are found not only

in poor precarious soils, but in superior soils as well The following table shows the movement in rents since last settlement:
Last settlement.
Incidences of rent per acre.

Present settlement.
Description.
Statu-
Occu- tory and
pancy, non-sta-
tutory.
Total
Non- statu-
pancy.
Occu- Statu-
Shikmi.
tory.
statutory and Shikmi.
tory. non-sta-
tutory.
Per-
centage
of rise
in rents
of statu-
tory and
non-sta-
tutory
tenants
since
last
settle-
ment.
Khalsa
4.4
6°4
8.3
5.5
10°2
9.7
10.1
11.9
57.8
Permanently settled

4.9
5.6
8.5
3.5
8.4
7:4
8.2
10.9
46°4
Revenue assigned ..
5.0
6.5
11.9
5.0
11.2
9°0
11.0
14 4
69.2
Revenue free
4.1
7.4
10°6
11°1
13°4
11.5
13.3
15°1
79.7
Total
4.4
6.3
8.8
5°2
10°1
9.6
10 1
11.9
60°3

Rents of statutory and non-statutory tenants taken together have risen by about 60 per cent. over the district as a whole, but there are inequalities in the rents prevailing in the different proprietary tenures as reflected in the following table:-

Name of district.
Lucknow
Total statutory and non-statutory.
Taluqdari.
Zamindari.
Pattidari.
Total.
Area. Incidence. Area. Incidence. Area. Incidence. Area. Incidence
62,659
8.8 101,817
9.9 74,952
11 3 239,428
10.0

Taluqdari rents are on the whole low. They are largely not genuine, being vitiated by nazrana, though there are some taluqdars like the Raja of Salempur and Khan Bahadur Muhammad Yusuf Khan of Kas mandi Khurd who have screwed up their rents to an unusually high pitch. In the bigger estates-both taluqdari and zamindari-nazrana at the rate of one to two years' rent is largely levied at every enewal of a lease, though no uniform underlying principle is clearly discernible, the amount realized largely depending on the vagaries of individual landlords. Concealment also takes the form of extra realizations by the proprieters over and above the recorded rent, but is on the whole rare. On the other hand rack rents are also fairly common. The heavily involved coparcenary bodies have tried to retrieve their position by screwing up their tenants' rent to an inordinate pitch. But the proprietors have in a large number of cases disclosed true rents and between the extremes of concealment and rack renting, there is a wide range of genuine rents, which has rendered the task of selecting the standard rates easy.

1894
1924-25
14.
Years.
Cow and

cow-
buffaloes.
Bull,
bullocks
and
buffaloes
used in
ploughs.
Calves
and
heifers.
Sheep
and
goats.
Ploughs. Carts.
89,414 181,186
58,092
67,969
57,018
97,599 131,779 1,030,909
117,694
63,902
4,336
6,93 6
Cattle.

(16)
The number of cattle under each head has increased since last settle-
ment as also the number of ploughs and carts.
The increase is very marked
under young stock and under sheep and goats. The former specially, augurs well for the future. The following table shows the number of bullocks per plough and plough duty :-
Year.
Number of bullocks per plough.
Plough duty.

1894
1924-25
2°30
2.06
6.08
5.47
A disproportionate increase in the factors on which these figures are based has resulted in a slight decrease in the number of bullocks per plough and also in the plough duty, but there are still more than 2 bullocks to a plough and the plough duty is fairly high for Oudh though not as high as in some of the western districts of the Agra province where cattle are stronger. The indigenous breed of cattle is poor but sturdy foreign breeds are largely imported.
Early
ments.
settle-
First regular
settlement.
CHAPTER II.
FISCAL HISTORY.
15. No records are available to give an idea of the fiscal history of the district as a whole before annexation. Soon after annexation a summary settle. ment was made, but the records of this settlement were destroyed in the cat - astrophe of 1857 and nothing is available to indicate the amount of the revenue fixed at that time. On the restoration of order, a second summary settlement was made in 1858. This was in the nature of a preliminary proceeding to break ground for a regular settlement and was intended to last only for a few years. The demand fixed for the whole district as now constituted was Rs. 6,81,824.
16. The preliminary work of the first regular settlement was the demarca- tion of villages, which was commenced in February 1862 by Mr. Kavanagh and was followed by a khasra survey which was completed at the end of the cold season of 1863-64 under Capt. Boulderson. Preparation of records was carried on and claims to different proprietary and under-proprietary tenures were care- fully investigated. Pargana Kakori was the first pargana taken up in 1864 and assessed by Mr. Capper. On his going away on long leave the settlement was entrusted to Mr. G. B. Maconochie, who completed it in 1869. On his depar- ture Mr. Butts wrote the final report in 1871.
:9
Mr. Capper's method of assessment" seems to have been the application of certain rates, which he would find by experience to the various soils returned

by the amins and a comparison of the estimated assets thus procured with fore-obtained returns of the village. Mr. Maconochie's method may briefly be summed up in his own words:" After dividing the pargana to be assessed into convenient chaks, following as far as possible natural divisions in soils and capabilities generally, I divide the soil in each village into two main divisions; I, the goind or fully manured soil; II, the har or slightly manured and outlying land generally, sub-dividing the har lands into ; 1, dumat, which is usually considered the best class of land; 2, matiyar; 3 bhur. By this I get 4 classes of soil which I again sub-divide into irrigated and unirrigated. The rents were analysed by dividing the holdings into three classes; (1) sir land and land held at lower rents than the cultivators' rents; (2) no rent of every description; (3) land held by mere tenants-at-will, giving amount of land and the rent paid by each class. "
The rents of resident and non-resident tenants were also

separated. The average rate paid by tenants-at-will was taken as the village rate and from these village rates chaks and pargana rates were deduced by the simple
process of addition. Mr. Macon ochie then proceeded to check the rates by the capabilities of the village or population, soils, irrigation and fully manured land. The final touch was then given by a visit to the village and the modifications suggested by circumstances were made. From this description it is clear that circles, and chaks were formed on topographical lines.
But as "Both officers disputed apparently the existence of
a natural average
rate-that is, a general rate, which the farmers and landlords would prima facie apply
and which would vary with the nature of the soil or the
position of the land in the village", they were led into a soil classification on natural lines, which did not take into account the position of the land with respect to the village site, a factor which in Oudh has always been considered in arriving at average rent rates. The soil classification therefore was obviously defective and the result of it was that "land growing pan and melons was classed as matiyar equally with land growing a precarious crop of rice and land

growing poppy and garden crops was classed as dumat equally with experimental
cultivation on usar plains. Mr. Butts himself suggests the refutation of the theory of both the assessing officers :-" There may be no rates but, the farmer and the cultivator talk in rates. So much a bigha for land near the village, so much for the land farther off
In observing the uniformity in the rates, I
have always been referred to the position of the land in the village with respect to homestead, and this probably lies at the bottom of all rents
" Mr.
Maconochie's method was a skilful one and with the present day modifications it is still in vogue, but the basic defects in soil classificatiou disturbed the rates and Mr. Butts found it difficult to justify them.
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of 15 per
cultivat-
time cal-
The demand fixed at this settlement was Rs. 7,79,854 an increase
cent. on the summary settlement jama giving an incidence of 2.46 per
ed acre and 1.5 per acre of the total area. The demand was at that
culated to be "at least half-a-lakh under half assets" and was considered by the Chief Commissioner to be not only moderate on the whole but fairly even in its incidence." At the beginning it was realised without difficulty specially as the years before 1870 were particularly favourable for Oudh, but subsequent experience proved that the demand was undoubtedly a full one. With the advent of a succession of unfavourable seasons in 1871-72, 1877 and 1880 considerable difficulties were experienced in realising the revenue and in spite of numerous transfers (temporary as well as permanent) made by landholders to pay off their liabilities, a large part of the demand remained unrealised. At the same time, the collection of revenue was not distinguished by elasticity. A more generous policy in the matter of collections would have enabled the landholders to tide over the years of distress without the necessity of borrowing.
Expiring settle-
17. Lucknow was one of the three districts of Oudh in which the experiment of entrusting the settlement operations to the Deputy Commissioner
ment.
in addition to his normal duties was tried at the last settlement. No

survey or revision of records was undertaken. The existing village maps and papers were considered sufficiently accurate to form the basis of assessment without correction. The settlement operations commenced in November 1893 and were brought to a close in November, 1896. The opera. tions were thus certainly characterised with rapidity. Pargana Lucknow was assessed by Mr. Mulock, Deputy Commissioner with the help of Mr. Molony, Assistant Settlement Officer; pargana Malihabad and Mahona by Mr. Darrah, Deputy Commissioner; and parganas Bijnor, Kakori, Nigohan and Mohanlalganj by Mr. Molony under Mr. Darrah's supervision. The inability of Mr. Butts to justify the rates of the first regular settlement and "to draw any conclusions

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from the rates" led Messrs Mulock and Molony at last settlement to discard +he system of soil classification on which those rates were based. In pargana Lucknow they made a fresh soil classification based on the conventional system and divided the soils of the pargana into Goind, Manjhar and Palo, but in the rest of the district the admittedly defective soil classification of the first regular settlement had to be retained as there was no time to revise it " an inevitable result of combining the office of the Settlement Officer with that of the Deputy Commissioner.
"3
Assessment circles were formed on topographical lines and, from my own knowledge, I can confidently corroborate the testimony of Mr. Hooper that villages seem to have been judiciously grouped; and the circles follow broad distinctions of soil, position and class of cultivation." Circle rates for different soils were worked out, but the differentiation based on irrigation, which was recognised in the standard rates of the first regular settlement was dropped for reasons, which I have not been able to discover from the published reports. These rates, however, were used very rarely. The different assessing officers employed different methods of assessment. "In pargana Lucknow Mr. Mulock almost invariably applied to the assumption areas village or local soil rates, which appear to have been derived from the field rents recorded by the patwaris.
It was doubted, however, whether these rates represented the rates actually paid;

their application resulted in very high valuations and in two out of the three circles, into which pargana Lucknow was divided, the assumption rates exceeded
the recorded cash rate for ordinary tenants. Mr. Mulock also included cash rate for ordinary tenants. Mr. Mulock also included in sayar some unassessable items like rent of land taken for brick-kilns, but all these inaccuracies were corrected by the Settlement Commissioner. Mr. Darrah, on the other hand, largely accepted the nominal rents on assumption areas. This resulted in low valuations and introduced serious inequalities. Mr. Molony's method was more judicious. "He relied chiefly on rates graded in accordance with the soil classification at last settlement, which after inspection of the village he selected as representing the rates paid by similar cultivators for similar land in places adjacent.", and he valued the nominally rented, rent-free and grain rented areas, which were inferior, at specially low rates and his results were generally fair.

The underproprietary land seem to have escaped very lightly. The recorded underproprietors' rents are really revenue plus a certain small percentage thereon, and these low rents were largely accepted for purposes of assessment. The result was that when the underproprietors' rents came to be fixed, the old rents of 1867 has in most cases to be retained. Consequently, these rents are generally low, and in many cases only nominal. To quote an instance which by no means is a solitary one; an underproprietor with a holding consisting of about
6 acres is paying only Re. 1 as rent, whereas he is realizing Rs. 67 from his tenants.

The area assessed was also somewhat on the high side and included uncultivated land in holdings, which should not have been assessed. But his uncultivated land assessed was found to be included in underproprietary holdings and when rents on these holdings were fixed mistakes were discovered, the valuations
corrected by excluding unassessable uncultivated area from assessment and the revenue reduced. Three-fourths of the total area assessed was at that time held by ordinary tenants at cash rents, which " were found to be recorded with great accuracy
", so that rates were required for the valuation of a comparatively
small area.

These rates, as has already been described, were in 4 parganas
selected by judicious discrimination and in the remaining three parganas valuations were revised and corrected by higher authority. The assumption rate

for all classes worked out a little over 71 per cent. of the accepted cash rate. The final valuations, therefore, were certainly not excessive, The total revenue demand including revenue-free, revenue-assigned and permanently settled villages was Rs. 9,86,569, which took 47 per cent. of the assets giving a rise of 26.42 per cent. on the expiring demand and incidence per cultivated acre of 2.85 which represented very small advance on the expiring incidence of 2.46. Excluding the nominal demand of revenue-free, revenue-assigned and permanently settled villages, however, the revenue actually payable to Government was Rs. 8,83,592 giving an enhancement of only 22-54 per cent. The burden of this moderate enhancement was lightened by a system of progressions and the final demand was to be reached after the expiry of 10 years. Owing to defects of method, mistakes and inequalities crept in the assessments, but these were largely corrected on objection and appeal. The final demand though full and unevenly distributed was not after modifications excessive. Soon after the settlement in 1901-02 the demand was realized without any difficulty before the end of July. During the currency of the settlement, revenue on the whole has been realized with ease and the settlement has worked satisfactorily.

18. As shown in the various tahsil reports the purchasing value of land and the staple food crops of the district have more than doubled since last settlement. Rents have risen and are still rising. With the rise in rents, improvements in irrigation and extension in cultivation the pressure of the revenue demand is becoming progressively lighter than before.

19. The district has been fortunate in the absence of widespread calamities. Liberal remissions and suspensions of revenue have been sanctioned at times of calamity and the collection of revenue has been characterised by elasticity. Taqavi has been unstintedly given to relieve agricultural distress. The district was visited by a severe and widespread famine soon after the last settlement in 1897, during which revenue amounting to Rs. 1,29,000 was suspended and a sum of Rs. 2,66, 678 was remitted. This calamity was closely followed by another similarly severe famine in 1900, but the figures of suspensions and remissions given at

that time are not available. There was extensive damage by floods in 1904-05 wheat, gram, barley, half the poppy and the whole of arhar crops were destroyed,
necessitating a remission of a large sum of Rs. 2,05,906. The district was visited by a drought in 1907-08. The autumn harvest failed and though the distress was never keenly felt here, yet a large amount of Rs. 2,04,604 was remitted and taqavi was also liberally distributed. The Gumti floods of recent years have necessitated suspensions of Rs. 18,962, Rs. 2,665 and Rs. 7,172 in the year 1923-24, 1924-25 and 1925-26 respectively.
Rise in land
values and prices.
Agricultural
calamities.
CHAPTER III.
operations.
20. The current settlement was due to expire on June 30, 1926, in tahsil
Preliminary
Lucknow; on June 30, 1927, in tahsil Mohanlalganj and on June 30, 1925, in tahsil Malihabad. In anticipation of the new settlement Mr. Muhammad Anwar Ali Faruqi, Deputy Collector, was posted to this district as Special Land Records Officer on May 17, 1923. He looked into the state of records and found that the maps were bad and a number of villages required re-survey and most of the rest map correction. His report on the condition of the maps and records was submitted to the Board by the Deputy Director with his office no. 823/II-13, dated December 28/29, 1923. In his letter forwarding this report, Mr. Ruttledge observed "that the failure to have verification done at last settlement resulted in a somewhat inaccurate settlement." It was, therefore, decided to have the khewat and the khatauni attested, the latter on the abbreviated system of attestation sanctioned in G. O. no. 1488/1-A.N., dated May 9, 1923. The

Forecast.
Soil classification.
(20)
preliminary work of the settlement was started under Mr. Faruqi's supervision, and the patwaris were as usual trained and when in July, 1924, the district was formally declared under record operation, he was appointed as Assistant Record

Officer with the Deputy Commissioner as Record Officer. Survey and revision of records were, therefore, carried on under the district authorities and under the instructions of the Deputy Director of Land Records, who took a great deal of interest in survey and examined its accuracy by throwing chak lines personally on the spot. As many as 159 villages were re-surveyed. From what I have seen, the work of map correction and preparation of records has been done with
great care and accuracy.

According to the programme fixed under Board's order no. 653/Sett.-640-C., dated July 1, 1924, 1924-25 (1332F.) was the year of record for tahsil Lucknow and the following year 1925-26 (1333F.) for the other two tahsils. Accordingly survey, map correction and preparation of records were carried on in tahsil Lucknow in the former year and in the other two tahsils in the following cold weather. The record work of tahsils Lucknow and Malihabad was completed by Mr. Faruqi and that of tahsil Mohanlalganj by Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra, who was appointed as Additional Assistant Record Officer for a temporary period
extending from October 30, 1925 to January, 1927, when he was transferred to Ballia. Owing to the Legislative Council turning down the settlement budget for reasons which it is unnecessary to expatiate upon here, the appointment of the Settlement Officer was delayed, and the revision was already overdue, when the district came under settlement operations on October 1, 1926, under Government notification no. 6625/A-54, Department Revenue (A), dated September 28, 1926. I was appointed as Settlement Officer under notification no. 4255/II-520, dated October 7, 1926, and took over charge on October 9, 1926.

Under G. O. no. 3394/1A-541-1923, dated August 20, 1926, sanctioning the programme of settlement operations in this district, the year 1926-27 was the year of inspection for tahsil Lucknow and the following year for the other two tahsils. After finishing off the record work, Mr. Faruqi was appointed as Assistant Settlement Officer towards the beginning of October, 1927. Tahsil Lucknow was inspected and assessed by me in the first year and pargana Malihabad and half of pargana Mahona in the second year. The other half of pargana Mahona and tahsil Mohanlalganj were inspected by the Assistant Settle-
ment Officer in the second year. The programmes laid down for both the record and the settlement operations were, therefore, strictly adhered to.

21. The customary forecast had been prepared by the Deputy Director of Land Records and was originally forwarded to Government with the Board's letter no. 247/Sett.-640C., dated February 23, 1924. But the Land Revenue

Amendment Bill (Settlement Bill) was still in the melting pot. The proposed Bill provided certain concessions for the zamindars-notably the reduction of the percentage of assets to be taken as revenue from 50 to 40 and the limitation of enhancement in revenue to 33,1/3 per cent. Government, therefore, issued instructions in G. O. no. 5337/1A-308-25, dated May 25, 1925, for the purpose of revising the forecast in the light of the provisions of the new Land Revenue Amendment Bill. The Director of Land Records, therefore, revised the original forecast and his revised forecast no. 2259/II-357 of 1926 was submitted to the Government along with Board's Order no. 270-C., dated July 17, 1926, and published in the Government Gazette (notification no. 3257/1A-1923, Revenue (A) department, dated August 10, 1926), for general information.

22. On my arrival in the district, the first problem that I had to tackle was the question of soil classification. From what has already been said, it will

be readily admitted that it was impossible to adopt the old obsolete soil classification, which dated as far back as the first regular settlement and failed to bring out the differences in cultivation and rental values of the various soils. No soil classification based entirely on natural soils can adequately bring out the difference in cultivation and rental values. At the same time an entirely conventional system in a district like Lucknow would land one into difficulties. Abadis frequently lie on the sandy and scored edge of the upland or on the edges of usar plains. And in these cases better soils always lie away from the abadis. It would be difficult to find Goind, which would be superior in value to the average Manjha and demarcating Goind, on the conventional system would only disturb the rates. Moreover, under the present-day conditions, with the improvement in irrigation, the impetus of rising prices, and sense of security engendered by the new Oudh Rent Act, cultivation is tending to become intensive. Cultivators are more prone to carry manure to the outer-most zone and to invest capital and labour wherever irrigation is available. The availability of irrigation, therefore, found in the Palo zone at once shifts the position of a chak

and the land round pucca wells in the outer-most zone can now hardly be held as third class stuff. These considerations have led me into a soil classification which combines the features of both the conventional as well as the natural soil classification. The soils of each village have been classified on the merits into

cha'cs of similar natural quality or similar advantages or both. As at the first regular settlement, I have also divided the lands of a village firstly into two main classes-goind and har, dividing the latter not into the natural soil classes of dumat, matiyar and bhur of the first regular settlement, but into four classes, har I to har IV into which all gradations of dumat (loam) light and stiff and bhur have easily been fitted on the basis of their values. Ektasli rice lands and rice lands which are primarily devoted to rice cultivation though a scratch rabi crop is sometimes raised, have been separated and have been designated matiyar and divided into three classes, matiyar I to matiyar III. Goind has been divided into two classes. The ordinary goind in which cultivators grow vegetables by rotation has not been demarcated as kachiana. This includes super-fertile, highly manured and well irrigated land used for tobacco, potato and ponda-cane cultivation. In the city and suburbs of Lucknow where this kind of high cultivation is found in abundance, kach hiana has been divided into two classes. Class I includes kachhiana in villages lying within the municipal limits where facilities for manure and irrigation are abundant and a ready market is available; and class II includes kachhiana outside the municipal limits, where cost has to be incurred in transporting manure and octroi duty had till recently to be paid when the produce was brought to the market. Betel-leaf plantations in tahsil Lucknow were separately demarcated, but in the other two tahsils were included in kachhiana.

Distinctive khadir soils in the valley of the Gumti have also been separately demarcated under the designation of tarai and divided into four classes, tarai I to tarai IV. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish khadir from the upland soils. There is always a high sandy ridge marking the edge of the upland above the valleys of rivers and the principle I have kept in view for demarcating the khadir soils is to classify all the lowlying land in the valley below the slopes, which has at any time been the play ground of the river as tarai. A separate class for fulez or melon beds has not been found necessary, as melons in this district are not exclusively confined to sandy tracts along the immediate banks of a river. They are sown in any village in stiffish soil where irrigation is available. Following the precedent of Muttra, the crop and irrigation marks on the village maps have been used as aids to soil classification and despite the

inaccuracy of the record of irrigation these aids have been found on the whol

to be useful. The following are the classes which have been adopted:
1. Bhitapan.
2.
Kachhiana,
As described above.
}A
3. Goind I is land of good quality lying round the site receiving natural manure and generally sufficient irrigation.
4. Goind II is land of indifferent natural quality or receiving insufficient irrigation, but lying round the village site, or land lying round a hamlet provided it is above har I in quality.
5. Har I is land which lies ordinarily outside the Goind belt; as a rule it is a soil of good natural quality on a level surface well worked and manured with adequate sources of irrigation.
6. Har II is (a) land of good natural quality but far from the village site or deficient in facilities for irrigation; or (b) land of inferior natural quality but with special advantage in being near to the site or possessing good facilities for irrigation.
7. Har III is (a) sandy or stiff soil of poor quality at a distance from the site with no irrigation facilities or insufficient irrigation facilities; or (b) land on the borders of an usar plain, mixed with usar patches and definitely inferior from this cause.
8. Har IV is the poorest soil in the village found on undulating sand hills and in scored ravines. It includes experimental cultivation in the midst of usar plains or very precarious land liable to oversaturation or prolonged submersion.
9. Matiyar I is superior rice land with facilities for irrigation, growing good transplanted rice, which is secure from damage either from flooding or lack
of water.
10. Matiyar II is (a) land with deficient facilities for irrigation or without such facilities which grows insecure late rice or (b) superior early rice land with facilities for irrigation which as a rule grows a scratch crop of gram or peas.
11. Matiyar III is early rice land growing only a single crop of rice which is entirely dependent on rainfall.
12. Tarai I is rich alluvium on a level surface in the bed of the Gumti.
13. Tarai II is average alluvium often on a slope.
14- Tarai III is sandy uneven soil or somewhat lowlying land liable to suffer from reh infection or excess of moisture.
15. Tarai IV is very poor sandy stuff on undulating sand hills or liable to

suffer from oversaturation or excess of reh.
Soils which required a distinction based on irrigation were further sub-divided into "wet" and "dry", areas being taken as explained already. The khadir soils in which water is very near the surface and the matiyar soils in which facilities for irrigation have been taken into consideration at soil classification do not require this distinction. The physical character of both the "wet" and "dry" soils where the distinction has been observed is the same.
23. I confess that the soil classification is a little elaborate though not too elaborate, but in these modern days of roster operations when enhancement of rent is controlled by the state it is safe to be as accurate as possible; for com-minution of holdings has proceeded apace and it is by no means universal to find
all the holdings containing all the varieties of soils. No pains have been spared in endeavouring to secure as great an accuracy in soil classification as possible and as many cultivators as we re available have been consulted. As in Saharan-pur, I have never passed the soil classification done by the Munsarims without personally plodding" on foot, map in hand" through every chak in every village, and the Assistant Settlement Officer has done the same.

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24. The area demarcated under each soil class and the proportions they bear to the total holdings area will be found in Appendix VIIA. Home-lands including kachhiana occupy a little over 7 per cent. of the holdings area, good level loam fairly fully irrigated about 25 per cent., and loam of fair quality about 22 per cent. Inferior loam comprises about one-fifth and poor sandy stuff along the Gumti high bank about one-eighth. About one-sixteenth is taken up by rice lands, and one-tenth of this area grows excellent transplanted rice. 5 per cent. of the total holdings area is classed as tarai, and one-fifth of this comprises fertile tarai on a level surface. Goind has been rather strictly marked, nothing but really superior soil above 16 annas in value lying round the village site being included in this soil class.
25. Assessment circles have been formed on the basis of topography. The last settlement circles being eminently suitable have with minor variations been adopted. But the conditions are very varied in pargana Lucknow, and only in this pargana

have I found it impossible to adhere to the last settlement circles and had to go back to six circles which was the number of chaks formed at the first regular settlement by Mr. Macon ochie, though they were amalgamated by Messrs. Mulock and Molony to form only three circles at last settlement.

The influence of the Gumti has been recognized in framing the two Tarai circle (nos. I and VI) in parganas Mahona and Lucknow and the four Bhur circles (nos. I, II, V and III) in parganas Malihabad, Mahona, Lucknow and Mohanlal-ganj respectively. Both the khadir and the bhur are precarious. Excessive rain is equally injurious both to the tarai and to the upland bhur. The kharif is liable to suffer from flooding in the khadir, but the rich stiff alluvium free from water-logging produces excellent wheat in ordinary years. In the bhur tract the population is low, the cropping is inferior, bajra and the small millets predominate and irrigation is scarce.

At places, however, in pargana Lucknow the bhur has been considerably improved with the application of manure and irrigation. Pucca wells begin to appear, the population tends to rise and the cropping improves. Conditions are sufficiently distinct to necessitate a separate Inferior Outer circle III in this pargana.

With the increasing distance from the river and the considerable improve-ment in the quality of the soil the precariousness of the Gumti tract gives place to more stable cultivation. The drainage is effective, the population rises and cultivation becomes more intensive. Competition for land leads to higher rents, and with the ample facilities for irrigation and easier access to market better crops are raised. The fertile loan belts along the Sitapur road in pargana Mahona, along the unmetalled road from Malihabad to Mal in the former par-gana, along the roads to Bara Banki and Kakori in pargana Lucknow, and along the Sultanpur road in pargana Mohanlalganj form the four Dumat circles (Los. III, II, IV and I) in the parganas named.

In the outlying hare of the two usar tracts in tahsil Malihabad reh infection is conspicuous and cultivation is bald with usar patches, but when not injured by reh and specially round the abadis it is excellent. Pucca wells in these tracts being most numerous, irrigation is extensive and the cropping is good. The Lucknow safeda melons are a speciality. The Mahona Usar circle has an advantage over its confrere in the other pargana, in that the former has easier access to the city market to which it is closer. These conditions have been recognized in the two Usar circles (nos. III and IV) in pargana Malihabad and Mahona respectively. The Behta in pargana Malihabad causes certain amount of damage by ravining portions of villages along its banks and at its junction with the Gumti damage by scour is considerable. The general soil is

Assessment circles.

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Soil proportions.
Unit values
(24)
ligh loam of a fairly good quality which when not injured by the Behta ravines is very carefully tilled and bears excellent crops. This is the Behta circle of pargana Malihabad (no. IV).
The abundance of jhils and patches of dhak jungle affects cultivation considerably in the north-east of pargana Mahona and keeps the rents sufficiently low to necessitate a separate Jhil circle (no. V) in that pargana.
The influence of the Behta on pargana Kakori, of which it forms a broken northern boundary, is almost negligible, and the soil to the north of the Ghazi-ud-
din Haider canal is good dumat fairly fully irrigated and well cultivated. This forms the Dumat circle (no. I) of pargana Kakori.
The great south-western matiyar plain with its sluggish drainage produces reh along the edges of depressions as a result of oversaturation. The soil is a stiffish heavy loam, alternating with extensive shallow rice depressions. Rice is the predominant crop, but the water level being high, kachcha wells can be made with ease and pucca wells are numerous, and with the ample facilities for irrigation the soil produces excellent rabi crops also. The distinctive physical features of this tract have been taken into consideration in forming the five Mati-
yar circles (no. II) in the five parganas of tahsils Lucknow and Mohanlalganj.
The south-west of the district is influenced by the Sai which lightens the soil of 27 villages in pargana Bijnor and of 20 villages in pargana Nigohan and is responsible for the two Sai circles (no. I) in those parganas. Sand tends to predominate in these tracts, irrigation is scanty and the cropping is comparatively poor. The north-eastern portion of pargana Bijnor beyond the Rae Bareli road which follows the line of the watershed between the Gumti and the Sai lies on the high bank of the former river and consists of fair light loam degenerating into sand on the slopes of ravines and on the edge of the high bank. Proximity to the city and cantonments raises the rents, and this tract requires a separate circle to itself (the Gumti circle III).

The suburban portion round the city which forms the City circle I, pargana Lucknow, has an importance of its own and has for a long time past been in a high state of development. It is very highly cultivated with garden crops and spices and commands an abundant supply of manure, plentiful irrigation and a ready market for its produce. Competition, therefore, is keen and rents rule high.

26. For the purpose of working out standard]rates the usual mathematical processes were employed. The tentative values given to the various soil classes were finally accepted after checking them with the single soil and field rented incidences. The actual soil proportions determined by these incidences followed closely the tentative values adopted at the soil classification, and the soil proportions finally selected agreed closely with the actual soil proportions, rexcept where adjustments had to be made to avoid overrating of weaker soils in order to arrive at a figure conformable with what experience and local inquiries suggested. The best soil after the homelands, i.e., Har I "wet", was taken as the basic soil and reckoned as 16 annas. From this starting point I worked upward and downward to assign values to the other classes. The system of valuing different soils in terms of annas was found to be useful as the cultivators at the time of soil classification readily understood the differentiation in terms of nnas.

27. For the purpose of determining the pitch of rents prevailing the usual system of unit values was employed. The unit values are only index numbers. A unit value is the value in decimals of a rupee of one-sixteenth of an acre of Har I soil as demarcated at the soil classification. The recorded cash rents of

statutory tenants were analysed by separating them under the following three heads:-

(a) Those whose rents have not been enhanced for 10 years or over, and, therefore, are liable to immediate enhancement.

(b) Those whose rents have been enhanced within the last 10 years by agreement between the parties or by order of court.

(c) Those who had been admitted to tenancy for the first time within the last 10 years.

The unit values were worked out for each village. Rents of tenants of specially superior skill like Kachhis and Muraos and also of tenants belonging

to special castes who enjoy rental privilege were excluded from this analysis. Villages with inadequate, concealed, abnormal or rack rent were then excluded and a standard unit value for each circle was selected on the basis of genuine, adequate and stable rents paid by substantial tenants of average skill and industry in the selected villages. As a rule people in this district have avoided courts as a medium for obtaining enhancement in rents and have preferred to enhance them by mutual agreement. Consequently enhancement by order of courts have been extremely rare. The measure of the enhancement that the proprietors may expect and the tenants should agree to must be the rents, which have been enhanced by mutual agreement between the parties during the last 10 years and have stood the test of time. On this principle, the enhanced unit value, as a rule, provided the basis of selection for the standard unit value in most
of the circles. The standard unit value after selection was tested with the help of the record of collections and by a comparison with the shikmi unit values. The standand rates both for assessment and enhancement purposes must be based on the recent rents, which year in and year out can be realized by the proprietors from their tenants without hardship to the latter. The unit values of the recent rents, therefore which are affected by high war prices were discounted by suitable percentage for unrealizability and instability to bring them down to the level of stable collections and were then compared with the standard unit values. The standard unit values multiplied by the selected soil proportions give the standard rates which will be found in Appendix VIIC. By far the best test of the suitability of the rates will be furnished by a comparison with the single soil incidences given in the various rent-rate reports.

28. The next question was to determine the existence and extent of rental privilege in favour of special castes who had for a long time past been enjoying a concession in rents. The conclusion drawn at last settlement that "the difference in favour of high caste tenants was barely 11 per cent." (or less than 2 annas a rupee) was based on a comparison of the average incidences of rents paid by Brahmans, Thakurs and Kayesths with the incidences of other castes. For a detailed discussion of the subject I must refer to the Lucknow rent-rate report. It is sufficient here to note that the privilege is now rapidly disappearing, and where it still exists, the extent of it is not uniform in favour of all the three castes. It was, therefore, necessary to determine the extent for each caste in each village where the privilege still lingered. The amount of the concession was generally fixed on the basis of the difference between the respective caste unit values and the ordinary tenants' unit values on the total

Rental privilege.

area of each village. A concession varying from 2 to 4 annas was allowed to Brahmans in 251 villages, to Thakurs in 202 villages, to Kayesths in 120 villages and to Saiyids and Pathans in one village each. The specific villages in which the privilege has been allowed together with the extent of the privilege in favour of each caste are given in the various assessment reports. The extent and the existence of this privilege has also been noted in the assessment volumes.
for the guidance of enhancement courts.

Assessment.
Village rates.
Assessed area.
(26)
29. In spite of the Legislative Council throwing out the new Land Revenue Bill, Government considered it advisabls to incorporate in the rules the concessions to proprietors originally provided in that Bill. Lucknow is one of the first district which have come under assessment under the revised settlement rules, and the Settlement Officer was directed in Government Press Communiqué Revenue (A) Department, dated October 7, 1926 to keep view the particular concessions allowed by the rules. The assessment of the district has presented many unusual problems which are inseparable from the existence of a large city like Lucknow which was till not very long ago the seat of the late Nawabi Government. The disappearance of that Government has given rise to an extremely complicated nature of proprietary tenures in and around the city.
30. In a district so diversified as Lucknow one of the most difficult questions was the modification of rates. Circle rates have had to be freely modified to suit the agricultural and economic condition of individual mahals. In the majority of cases modifications are restricted to 12 per cent. both upward and downward. The soil classification being based on the merits of individual villages, rates as a rule, have been modified for all the soils and modifications for specific soils are rare. Obviously, it would be very dangerous to modify rates on the basis of unit values only, in a district where both non-genuine and rack rents largely prevail. Rates, therefore, have not been modified merely on the basis of high or low unit values, but after a careful study of the economic conditions of a particular village, e. g., character of tenants, the system of cropping, the facilities for irrigation, the quality of soils and the density of popula-

tion, which is a very important factor affecting rents.

31. Another difficult problem was about the area to be assessed. The area shown as assessed in the district aggregate is 365,289. Additions have been made as below:-

-

Description.

Addition for grafted mango groves

Addition for land thrown out of cultivation.

Cultivated area built upon after last settlement

Area in acres.

Valuation.

..

7,170

16,958

80

495

2,085

54

1,226

Additions for land formerly cultivated but now built upon have been made mainly in the Nazul villages which have been assessed to a nominal revenue. Grafted mango groves have been assessed as agricultural land, not on the value of their produce, Old fallow and country mango groves not assessable under the rules and areas in excess of the normal cultivated area have been excluded from

assessment, Where the cultivated area plus new fallow in holdings exceeds the normal cultivated area allowance for unstable cultivation has been given by excluding the assets of the excess at the lowest soil rate. But where the cultivated area plus new fallow in holdings falls short of the normal cnltivated area, no addition for the shortage has been made. A large area of 6,171 acres with a valuation of 24,499 has thus been excluded for unstable cultivation and this deduction far exceeds the additions made. The Bhur and the Tarai circle villages in pargana Mahona which enjoyed a long spell of prosperity during the inter-settlement period are at present in a deteriorated condition. Great caution has, therefore, been exercised in selecting areas for assessment in these villages,

and the complication of a short-term settlement on the basis of the 12 years average figures has been avoided by accepting low areas for assessment. Not in-

frequently the low actual cultivated areas of the year of verification have been

3.65
(27)
accepted. The area actually assessed works out to 360,837 acres and may be compared with the cultivated and the holdings area in the following table :-
Description.
Area in acres.
rea actually assessed
Average cultivated area of 12 years preceding the year of verification
Actual cultivated area of the ear of verification
Holdings area
363,837
366,270
349,877
374,842
The
The area actually assessed exceeds the low cultivated area of the year of verification by 10,960 acres, but falls short of the holdings area by 14,005 acres and is 5,433 acres below the average cultivated area of the past 12 years. area actually assessed, therefore, is safe and stable. And when it is remembered that the average cultivated area of the past 12 years is itself on the low side as the deodecinial period includes at least one lean year 1326 F. the caution exercised in accepting areas for assessment will be readily endorsed. It will not be out of place to mention here that a large super-fertile area in the heart of the city has been excluded from the record and settlement operations under G. O. no. 5215, dated October 24, 1925. This area was never assessed before. Details about its exemption will be found in the correspondence ending with G. O. no. 1117/1-155 B., dated 14, 1897. Mr. Mulock at last settlement calculated 46,721 as the assets of this area of 3,326 acres and anticipated a revenue of Rs. 23,340. At this time, the revenue would obviously have been considerably higher.
April
Treatment
32. (a) Ex-proprietary and occupancy.-These areas are very small being in each case less than 1 per cent. of the total cultivated area plus new fallow in hold- cash rents.

ings or what for convenience sake I might call as assessable area. The recorded rents have been compared with the valuations less the statutory deduction of per cent. or 12 per cent. respectively and also less the amount of rental privilege where allowed. It is probably not legal according to the strict letter of the law to allow this concession to exproprietary tenants, and all I can say is that I have erred on the side of leniency in allowing the privilege to them.
The bulk of the occupancy tenants who can legally claim the privilege are in Oudh really old ex-proprietors and I do not see why the new ex-proprietors who are now included under the designation of ex-proprietary tenants should be deprived of the concession. But the amount involved is so small (734) that it really means no loss to the State. On the whole, the ex-proprietary rents are generally fair, the valuation (13,616) being only less than 7 per cent, above the recorded rent (12,767) which has been accepted.
The occupancy rents on the other hand are extremely low and in some cases only nominal, the valuation (35,452) after allowing 2,144 for rental privilege being 90 per cent. above the recorded rent (18,688). An addition of only 23 per cent. on the whole has been made to these low rents and a figure of 22,945 has been accepted, which is 35 per cent. below the valuation. As a rule, low rents have been brought up to a valuation subject to the statutory limitation on enhancement of rent and also subject to the maximum addition of 20 per cent, under the recent instructions in the two tahsils of Malihabad and Mohanlalganj assessed in the second year.
(b) Statutory. The privileged statutory tenants occupy just over 3 per cent. of the assessable area. The recorded rents are very fair as concealment in their case can hardly be expected. The valuation (95,231) after allowing 22,590 for rental privilege is only 3 per cent. above the recorded rent (91,989), which has practically been accepted on the whole,
of

(28)
The valua-
The non-privileged statutory tenants hold the largest assessable area over 61 per cent. and contribute over 66 per cent. to the total net assets.
tion (23,57,283) is only one per cent. above the recorded rent of 23,32,177. The excess is obviously due to the prevalance of non-genuine rents in the bigger estates. In spite of the additions made for inadequacy and non-genuineness, the

accepted valuation of 23,04,488 is 27,689 below the recorded rent and 52,795 or over two per cent. below the valuation. The totals, however, do not give a correct idea about the real state of affairs. As a matter of fact large allowances have been given on the recorded "unenhanceable" rents for instability, un-realizability and rack-renting and additions for inadequacy in " enhanceable" rents and for non-genuineness have been made very cautiously. In view of the fact that inadequate rents might not be enhanced up to full valuation, I had a sliding scale in tahsil Lucknow for making additions for inadequacy, and never raised the inadequate rent s to the maximum statutory limit, unless the valua-tion was at least 50 per cent. above the recorded rent. In tahsils Malihabad and Mohanlalganj, however, in accordance with the recent instructions of the Board of Revenue, additions for inadequacy have been restricted to 20 per cent. In cases in which the recorded inadequate rent gave a fair increase in revenue even very low rents were accepted. On the whole district the addtion for inadequacy works out to 15 per cent, as shown below:-

Number of mahals.	Recorded rent.	Accepted assets.	Difference.	Percentage.
443	2,00,708	2,31,306	30,598	15°2
60				

Large areas are awaiting enhancement and overcautious restrictions on additions for inadequacy tend to pull down the figures very low. This over-caution is certainly very safe for an assessment for 10 years and provides for possible future contingencies, but in actual practice I have no doubt whatever that the proprietors will immediately be able to obtain a very much larger enhancement in "enhanceable" rents.

One hundred and twenty-two mahals have been treated as non-genuinely rented.

These are found chiefly in tahsils Mohanlalganj and Malihabad and an addition of 24 per cent. on the whole has been made as shown below for non-genuineness.

In spite of the fact that rates do already make an allowance for instability and

unrealizability an allowance from 5 to 10 per cent. on the valuations has been given in accordance with the recent instructions as a precautionary measure:-
122
Number of mahals.
Recorded rent.
Accepted
Difference.
Percentage.
rent.
97,285
1,20,647
23,361
24.0
(c) Non-statutory.-The non-statutory tenants both privileged and non-privileged, hold about 9.5 per cent. of the assessable area and contribute 10.4 per cent. of the total net assets. The net valuation after giving an allowance of 7,663 for rental privilege works out to 3,61,884 which is not materially different from the recorded rent of 3,57,612, being only 1-2 per cent. above the latter, but an amonnt of 3,50,435 which is 7,177 or 2 per cent. below the recorded
rent has been accepted. As regards allowances for instability and addition for inadequacy or for non-genuineness these rents have also been treated in the same
manner as the statutory rents,

367
(29)
33. These areas have under the rules been assessed at standard rates or a modification thereof less 25 per cent.
(a) Sir and Khudkasht.-The proprietors hold in their own cultivation 6.9. per cent. of the assessable area as sir and 1.9 per cent. as khulkasht. As a rule. full 25 per cent. proprietary allowance has been given for land regularly culti vated by the proprietors themselves and only in a few rare cases of wealthy landowners or speculative purchasers was it found necessary to reduce the full allowance. The actual amount of proprietary deduction is 38,417 and 13,677 which works out to 16 per cent. and 23.3 per cent. of the valuation of sir and khudkasht respectively.

(b) Grain-rented.-Just over 5 per cent. of the assessable area is held on grain rents. This area lies in all soils superior as well as inferior, and it predominates in the poorer soils in the Bhur and the Tarai circles. The record of grain rents being generally unreliable, this area has been treated very tenderly. The various assessment reports bear ample testimony to the overcaution exercised in valuing this area, specially in the poorer soils in which two-thirds of the valuation has generally been accepted and full valuation extremely rarely. And in several cases I have gone as low as half valuation. The twelve years' average graia incidence has also been taken into consideration. The accepted valutaion (1,04,365) on the whole is 16 per cent. below the valuation at standard or modified rates.

6

(c) Favoured area.-Under this are included relations of proprietors, their karindas and sepoys, patwaris, both old and new, and their relations and the like.

They hold about 3 per cent, of the assessable area but in many cases this area as classified by patwaris is favoured' only in name, the recorded rent being well above the valuation. In such cases in order to be on the safe side, allowance for unrealizability has been given, while inadequate rents have been brought up to

valuation subject, in several cases, to a maximum of 33 per cent The accepted valuation (96,680) is only 10 per cent, above the recorded rent of 87,681.

(d) Rent-free and unrented.-The area under this head is 3.6 per cent. of the total assessable area. The valuation is 87,449, but an amount of 76,624 or 12.4 per cent. below the valuation has actually been accepted. In order to enable the proprietors to treat the village servants leniently only half valuation has been accepted in service tenure.

34. Under-proprietary holdings in this district consist of specific plots. The nature of tenure on which these under-proprietors hold is not always the same in all cases. At the first regular settlement an inquiry into the different proprietary and subordinate tenures was begun " before the statutory laws on the subject (the Sub-settlement Act of 1866 and the Rent Act of 1868) were passed." Consequently all the different kinds of subordinate tenures, e.g., sirdars, chakdars

and the real under-proprietors seem to have been separately recorded, but "by the Rent Act of 1868 the definition of an under-proprietor was extended so as to include anyone having a heritable and transferable right for which he was liable to pay rent" and when the Oudh Land Revenue Act was passed, Deputy Collector Rai Hazari Lal was deputed to prepare a list of under-proprietors under

section 56 (c) of the Act. "As the sirdars and chakdars all had transferable and heritable rights they were transfer red in a body as were the holders of muafi land and groves, who were admitted by the zamindars to have transferable
rights. Thus the register contains (a) all the under-proprietary originally so classed (except sub-settlement holders); (b) all the chakdars; (c) all the sirdars; (d) some of the holders of muafi; (e) some of the holders of groves."
." At last
settlement it was doubted by Mr. Gray whether the chakdar could come under Assumption
aroas.
Under proprietary

the definition of an under-pro pietor because "he held a small parcel of land on separate tenure acquired by purchase or grant. As Mr. Butts says (vide para-19
graph 72, part II of the first regular settlement report) the chakdar was rarely assessed but when he was assessed he had to pay his proportionate share of the
total revenue assessed on the village. Obviously, therefore, he is a miscellaneous plot proprietor and in the modern days would be recorded as the holder of haqi-
yat mut-farrika and assessed separately to his share of revenue. The under-proprietors of Kakori town wanted to reopen the whole question and to get themselves recorded as plot proprietors. It was, however, impossible to go back on the records, which has obviously been prepared under full legal authority and granting their request would have necessitated overhauling of the record of the whole district at a time when record operations have practically been finished.
At present there are 14,563 under-proprietary holdings comprising a total area of 17,443 acres or less than 3 per cent. of the total area of the district and giving on an average 1-2 acre per holding. Out of this, an area of only 13,825 acres has been assessed. Following the precedent of the last settlement the under-proprietary area in the town of Kakori, in Kasmandi Kalan pargana Malihabad, and in Dulapur Husenabad, pargana Mohanlalganj, has not been assessed. These under-proprietary holdings are in the nature of chaks "granted

during the time of Muhammadan Kings in the vicinity of large towns for groves or pleasure-houses or gardens and were always held rent-free". (Vide paragraph 85, part I of Mr. Butts' report of the first regular settlement). The under-proprietary area in the first mentioned town was exempted from assessment under G. O. no 4315- IA-495-1927, dated November 12, 1927, Revenue (A) department. The exemption of this area means a loss of Rs. 3,526 to the coffers of the State.

The under-proprietary area has under the rules been treated as assumption area and valued at 25 per cent. below the standard or modified rates applied to the village. Full proprietary deduction has been given except on sir sub-let and also allowance for pucca wells at the difference between "wet" and "dry" rates. The accepted valuation Rs. 1,31,253 looks apparently very high being three times the rent (Rs. 41,195) paid by the under-proprietors to their superior proprietors. But as already indicated these under-proprietary rents at last, settlement were not treated adequately in assessment. That this area has been treated very leniently will be borne out by the following table:-

Ordinary villages	Permanently settled.	Total.	Tenures.	Rents realized by the under-proprietors.	Valuation at village or standard rate which has been accepted.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Statutory					
99,772					
63,772					
8,432					

4,703
1,08,204
68,575
Non-statutory
13,729
12,004
2,107
1,290
15,836
13,294
Total
1,13,501
75,776
10,539
5,993
1,24,040
81,769
The accepted valuation of the cash-rented area in under-proprietary is 34 per cent. below the cash rents actually realized by the under-proprietors from their cash-paying tenants. The assets of the under-proprietary area are 131,253 and the revenue assessed is Rs. 47,757-8 giving the same percentage of the assets (36.4) as that taken for the mahals. In

addition, there are a host of miscellaneous property holdings assessed to a revenue of Rs. 2,835-15 which falls at the rate of 35 per cent. on the net assets of 65,249.

35. The following table shows the incidence of the accepted valuation of different tenures for the whole district :-

Valuation
Tenures.
Underproprietary
Exproprietary
Occupancy
Statutory:-
Privileged

Non-privileged
Non-statutory :-
Privileged
Non-privileged
Sir
Khudkasht
DO
90
Grain-rented
DO
Favoured
Rent-free and unrented
: : :
::
::
:
Incidence.
9.5
8.1
6.8
8.3
10.3
8.7
10.2
7.9
..
6.9
5°4
80
8.2
5.9
96
Total
9.4
incidences,
The incidence of the privileged statutory tenants is about 20 per cent. lower than the incidence of the non-privileged statutory tenants and the incidences of privi leged and non-privileged non-statutory tenants agree closely with the corres-ponding incidences of the statutory tenants.

The incidence of the accepted valuation of sir is 23 percent. below the incidene of the non-privileged statutory tenants, while the incidence of Khudkasht is still lower. Very low incidences of the grain-rented and rent-free area bear out what has already been shown, that these areas have been very leniently treated. The incidence of the under-proprietary area appears to be high, but this tenure has a very high proportion of superior soils. The proprietors never fail regretfully to stress the point that the best lands of the village are in the possession of under-proprietors.

Sayar income,

36. The bulk of the recorded item of sayar income is unassessable. It includes (specially in the neighbourhood of the city and large towns) large amounts realized by the proprietors from owners of brick-kilns for digging earth for preparing bricks and ground rents for houses and building plots, sale proceeds of kankar and mangoes. All such items have been omitted from assessment. The amount accepted consists of income from all such natural sources as fish, tar trees, thatching grass, palm trees, grazing dues, dhak jungle and saltpetre. Great caution has been exercised in tapping this uncertain source of income. An amount of 15,012 has been accepted out of the recorded sayar income of 98,24. The rule usually followed was to accept only half the 12 years' average recorded income from assessable sources The increase from sale proceeds of mango groves has invariably been omitted. As the land under country mango groves is exempt from assessment under the rules, it seems inconsistent to assess the sale proceeds of the fruit of such groves. Grafted mango groves having been assessed as agricultural land, the sale proceeds of these groves recorded as sayar income have not been taken into consideration. The value of this concession regarding the assessment of grafted mango groves can hardly, by any stretch of reason, be littled or minimized when it is remembered that in the town of Malihabad alone the accepted valuation for 352 acres of such groves is only 6,009 against the 12 years' average recorded sayar income of 27,500.

Improvements.

37. Improvements mainly consist of masonry wells belonging to the proprietors and under-proprietors and a large amount of 80,365 has beenallowed for such improvements, usually at 10 per cent, on the estimated cost of a

Revenue,
(32)
33
well. In cases, however, in which the "wet area irrigable from such wells is insignificant and the assets have not been raised by the construction of such improvements to an appreciable extent commensurate with the outlay or where the well is used as an insurance against drought, the allowance has usually been given at the difference between "wet" and "dry" rates.

38(a). The net assets thus calculated amount to 33,67,233 for the whole district, and the revenue both nominal and payable to Government comes to Rs. 12,21,899-6 which is 30.3 per cent. of the net assets and gives an increase of 25.8 per cent. on the expiring demand of the year of verification. Out of this amount, the revenue actually payable to Government both from khalsa and the permanently settled villages is Rs. 10,99,181-4 giving an increase of Rs. 2,10,653-6 or 23.7 per cent. over the expiring demand. A certain amount of revenue is also likely to be reduced in appeals and in the process of revising unduly high under-proprietary rents and also on account of the acquisitions for the Sarda canal subsequent to the year of verification. The increase will work out to be much the same as at last settlement (22.54 per cent). In cases in which information was supplied by the canal authorities in time before my departure, the new revenue on the land acquired for the canal was worked out and noted in the assessment volumes, but there are many more cases which will require the attention of the Deputy Commissioner. The increase anticipated in the forecast was Rs. 2,55,000 and the sanctioned revenue as actually worked out is 17 per cent. below that estimate. Details of the nominal demand on the permanently settled, revenue free, revenue assigned nazul and Government pro-
perty villages are given in Appendix II. The bulk of the permanently settled villages lie chiefly in tahsil Mohanlalganj, a few in parganas Bijnor and Lucknow and belong to the Sisendi, Maurawan and Gopalkhera estates. The Government property mahals which have not been assessed before have not now been assessed
even to a nominal revenue. Both the revenue and the cesses have heen remitted on Government estate villages entrusted to the nazul or Improvement Trust. It would, therefore, have been useless to assess them even to a nominal revenue.

Only those nazul mahals have, therefore, been assessed to a nominal revenue which contain under-proprietary areas. The revenue-paying Government villages and villages belonging to the Municipal Board have been treated as

khalsa.

(b) Percentage.-The resultant percentage of the assets taken as revenue is well below the ordinary percentage of 40. It is only in mahals where a nominal revenue had to be fixed that as a rule the full percentage has been taken. Percentages in the other mahals have been carefully and cautiously selected. In the interest of excessively subdivided coparcenary bodies or of the heavily involved proprietors or where a heavy malikana is payable, I have never hesitated to go as low as 30 per cent., even though special sanction to the low percentage has had to be obtained.

The following table will show how leniently the coparcenary bodies and specially those who have to pay a heavy malikana have been treated in assessment :-

Tenures.	Accepted valuation incidence.	Revenue rate per acre assessed.	Percentage of col. 3 on 2.	Percentage of increase.	Remarks.
Taluqdari	9.2	3.3	35.9	#D	25°4
Zamindari	9.4	3'4	36°2	35°4	
Pattidari Sub-settled in Taluqdari	9.4				

3.2
34.0
24.9
Tenure other than Perm imently
9.1
3.0
33.0
22.9
settled.
Permanently settled
8.8
3.5
39.8
21.0
Sub-settled estates in Permanently
8.2
2.8
34 1
14.8
settled villages.

Figures speak for themselves and comment is unnecessary.
Taluqdari and permanently settled estates seem to have been fully assessed before.
(b) Incidences.-The proposed revenue both nominal and actually payable to Government falls on the cultivated acre at the rate of 3.5 and on the assessed acre at the rate of 3.4, representing an advance of about 25 per cent., over the corresponding incidences of 2.8 and 2.7 of the expiring demand. The rental incidence of the corrected rent roll on the accepted area is 9.4 and the incidence of the proposed revenue per assessed acre is only 36 per cent., of this rental incidence. It is obvious, therefore, that the sanctioned revenue is very moderate and errs, if anything, on the low side.
(d) The net assets of the temporarily settled Ichalsa villages leaving the proportionate kehalsa assets of the partly kshilsa and partly revenue assigned villages are Rs. 28,97,280. Under the old rules a 50 per cent. asssessment would

give a revenue of Rs. 14,48,640, but as a result of the limitations imposed by the new Settlement Rules and otherwise the sanctioned revenue on the entire khalsa villages (Rs. 10,42,054-6) falls short of this amount by Rs. 4,06,586 or by 28 per cent. A 50 per cent. assessment would have given an increase of Rs. 6,16,374 over the expiring demand of the entire khals villages, but the sanctioned revenue of these villages gives an increase of Rs. 2,09,788 only. In other words Government takes only 34.3 per cent. of the actual increase to which under the old rules it would have been legitimately entitled-obviously a huge sacrifice on the part of the state in the interests of the zamindars.

(e) Progressions.-The increase in revenue has been further moderated by means of progressions and a revenue of Rs. 52,631-4 has been postponed for the first five years. In only a solitary instance of undue hardship, a second progression has been allowed. As a rule no progressions have been allowed where only a nominal revenue has been fixed.

(f) The 12 years' cash rental incidence of the district is 8.8-just 15 per cent. below the cash rental incidence of the year of verification (10.3). The former is obviously on the low side, as it includes low rents of past years and over and above this, it is based to a considerable extent on non-genuine and inadequate rents. It is, therefore, very safe to take this incidence for purposes of our calculations. If we value the 12 years' average assumption areas including the under-proprietary and the grain-rented area at this incidence, we will have a valuation of Rs. 7,63,646. Ad ling this to the average cash rents of the past 12 years Rs. (27,34,127) we will have Rs. 34,97,773 which exceed the amount of the net assets as calculated by Rs. 1,30,540. The margin of safety, therefore, is very large and the assets have been very liberally calculated.

(g) The area assessed at last settlement was 357,464 acres (vide paragraph 9, page 7, Mr. Hooper's review of the last settlement report). From this must be excluded the assessed area of the 5 villages which have been expunged from the village list after the last settlement and we have 356,824. The arei nov assessed exceeds this area by 4,033 acres. The extension in cultivation has taken place in the poorer circle-Bhur and Tarai-and mainly in the poorer soils, Har !II, Har IV and Har IV. For purposes of calculations we may take the Har IV soil to be mainly responsible for the extension. The rates for this soil in the different poorer circles vary from 2.4 to 4-7 and the average works out to 3.4 per acre. The assets of the extension in cultivation would then work out to about Rs. 13,700 and would

give a revenue of about Rs. 5,000. The increase in revenue, therefore, is mainly due to the rise in rents, very little of it being due to the extension in cultivation.

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Subsettled mahals.
Subsidiary occupations,
372
(34)

39. At the first regular settlement" out of the taluqdari villages, some 51 villages and fractional parts were held in sub-settlement. Owing to lapses, however, the number has now gone down to 48 in addition to some fractional shares. The decrees which created these sub-settlement rights have been qnoted from the last settlement volumes for facility of future reference. In the bulk of the mahals, rents on the basis of these decrecs were fixed at the time of assessment, but the Assistant Settlement Officer is now revising them in the light of the changes in the sanctioned revenue.

40. (a) Distribution. At last settlement mahalwar revenue was distributed on pattis on the basis of fractional shares. That method was good enough for old days, when allowance for improvements and proprietary cultivations were rare, but now when Government policy has developed in the direction of greater generosity to the small peasant proprietor and in the direction of encouraging improvements, that method is out of date. At this settlement, therefore, the distribution has been done on the basis of net assets as calculated at assessment. This is the only just and equitable method to secure the advantage of the concessions for proprietary cultivation and improvements, to the proprietors who actually deserve them. In rare instances, in which the proprietors were unanimous in desiring some other method, their wishes were duly respected and the distribution done accordingly. Some difficulty was caused in allowing for unrealizability uniformly in the pa'tis, the percentage allowed in assessing the mahal. With a view to avoid in equalites in the distribution, therefore, the method employed was to work from the valuation at village rates both upward and downward to the accepted valuation. I am glad to be able to note that the

work has already been finished.

(b) Fixation of underproprietry rents.-Fixation of underproprietary rents under section 79 of the Land Revenue Act has been a task of unusual difficulty, but no trouble has been spared in endeavouring to fix them on an equitable basis.

Owing to the apathy of the underproprietors in responding to the notices under settlement rule 71 calling upon them to file copies of decrees under which they hold, immense trouble has had to be undertaken and a large staff employed at the cost of the State involving labour and expense, which ought to have reasonably fallen on the underproprietors themselves. A responsive apathy on our part was obviously undesirable in the interest of justice and equity. A form was devised for the purpose of collecting at one place all the material which forms the bassis of fixation of these rents. For facility of comparison of the present plots with those given in the decrees passed at the first regular settlement, a double fardmutabikat had to be prepared. This comparison has necessarily been a slow process. The Deputy Commissioner's record room has had to be ransacked to obtain copies of the decrees from the Haqiyat files. The terms of these decrees were noted on the form devised, and the old revenue of the underproprietary plots and the rent which might be expected on the basis of the proportion which the new revenue bears to the old have been worked out by different methods. For this purpose constant reference to the last settlement volumes was unavoidable. Lastly, the mess by which these rents were fixed at the last settlement and the resumption of muafi cases creating the newer under proprietary rights were invariably examined, and a suitable rent was then fixed having regard to the rules now in force. Owing to the insufficient treatment accorded to these rents at last settlement a large enhancement is in some cases inevitable, but as the Board have observed in their review of the settlement report of pargana Mohanlalganj, the irregular procedure of the last settlement cannot now be ignored, and attempts must be made to prevent sudden and severe enhancement of these underproprietary rents. Cases of undue hardship, therefore, are now receiving attention at the hands of

the Assistant Settlement Officer. Rents on the bulk of the under-proprietary holdings were fixed before my actually giving over charge, and the rest of this

work is expected to be finished before the office is finally closed.
(c) Re-allocation of patwari circles, - Re-allocation of patwari circles, preparation of muafi registers and list of groves exempt from assessment and Mauza
Registers, Pargana Books and Pargana Registers have been finished. Owing to an intermediate revision of patwari circles extensive changes have not been found necessary. Proposals regarding tahsil Mohanlalganj were published for objections and have already been submitted to higher authority, while those regarding the other two tahsils are being published now and will be submitted before the end of February 1929.
(d) Nazul city survey.-Some of the mohallas forming part of the city were surveyed during the operations of the first regular settlement and a khasra and map of each mohalla were prepared showing details about the abadi land. The map was prepared on a scale of 2 inches to the chain and was "coloured topographically to show every tenement and plot of land with character and ownership of each." That detailed survey, however, did not "include the whole of the city lying within the jurisdiction of the city authorities." There were villages lying to the north of the left bank of the Gumti, which either wholly or in part were included in the city, but were omitted from the survey. Mr. Harrington
Mr. Harrington "adverted to the advisability of utilizing a well-trained establishment for the purpose of securing a record and map, such as the authorities in charge of the city lands and tenements ought to have." But the Financial Commissioner vetoed the scheme on the ground that he could not propose that Government should sanction any expenditure on any object which, however desirable in itself, would not bring any return to the State."
houses.
It
66
For want of a proper record of this nature in the villages referred to above, the Nazul department had been experiencing difficulties and sustaining loss in establishing its title to unoccupied land in the abadi and in collaboration with the Court of Wards, it got a record of rights prepared in the year 1917 for four villages, Qutubpur Khalispur, Irada tnagar, Baraulia, and Birhana. The work was carried out under Mr. J. B. Smart, a Deputy Collector, who was invested with the powers of an assistant record officer. This record has lost much of its importance in view of the Hon'ble Judicial Commissioner's decision published in XXIV, Oudh Cases, in which it has been held that land occupied by houses in the city of Lucknow

was the
property of the owners of the
was, therefore, deemed
necessary to compile the record afresh in the light of this decision, for the purpose of guarding against future encroachments on nazul land and for dealing
with intestate properties and also with a view to avoid unnecessary expendi ture that might have been incurred on defending claims based on the Judicial Commissioner's decision. The importance and utility of a duly attested record was too apparent for the nazul to let slip the opportunity of the settlement operations without taking full advantage of it. The Nazul department proposed the scheme of a city survey of seven entire villages (Birhana, Baraulia, Qutub- pur, Khalispur, Irada tnagar, Rahimnagar, Mahnagar, Mawaia and Sheikhapur) to
which an eighth village Rappur Khadra was subquently added and of portions of four villages (Bhadewan, Harchandpur Kanuara, Jiamau and Madhi Madar- pur) and undertook to defray the cost of the scheme. Government sanc- tion was duly obtained and the work was entrusted to the Settlement Officer. Special rules for this survey under section 234 of the Land Revenue Act were framed and were published by Government in notification no. 3036/I-A - 197- 1925
Revenue (A) department Miscellaneous dated August 16, 1927. Through the kindness of the Survey of India department the services of a theodolite surveyor

Costs.
Prospects of th
new settlement
(36)
and a computor were obtained and the whole scheme was put under the imme- diate charge of Pandit Kamta Prasad Avasthi, who was appointed Special Naib. Tahsildar and was invested with the powers of a Tahsildar for making local inquiries. Mr. Anwar Ali Faruqi, Assistant Record Officer, was entrusted with the work of attestation and supervision, and the survey was started about the end of February, 1927 on a scale of 64 inches to a mile. A khasra abadi show- ing details of ownership of, and subordinate rights in, tenements and other parti--

culars has been prepared in the form sanctioned by Government in notification Revenue (A) department no. 3331/1A-197-1925, dated September 7, 1927.

The difficulties of a city survey are too patent to need any detailed description, and the complicated nature of the work in which accuracy is of the utmost importance makes progress necessarily slow. During the 18 months that I have been in charge theodolite survey of all the 12 villages under the scheme has been finished and the detailed survey and khanapuri of six villages (Bir hana,
Baraulia, Qutubpur Khalispur, Iradatnagar, Sheikhapur and Rahimnagar Mahnagar) which contain an area of about 1,000 acres of abadi land and over 10,000 properties has been completed and 25,500 khewat khasra slips have been
attested. The remaining field work of the scheme is expected to be finished by the end of March, 1929. But the distribution, attestation and final disposal of the slips now remaining, which are estimated to be about 45,000, must take another financial year. The immensity of the task was hardly foreseen when the scheme was initiated. But the perseverance with which the work has been pushed on will be realized when it is noted that Mr. Smart took about 4 years in getting through only four villages under his charge. The number of disputed cases up to date has been only 596, out of which 422 have been decided by compromise between the nazul and the public. The work is marked by a singular absence of friction, and it is gratifying to note that it is meeting with general satisfaction and is proving a source of profit as well to the nazul. A sum of Rs. 6,000 has already been realized by way of compensation for encroachments disclosed by the survey out of a total expenditure of Rs. 25,700 incurredup to date.

41. The total cost of the settlement and record operations comes to Rs. 3,61,570 as shown in Appendix X or Rs. 379 per square mile and will be recouped in 2 years. It is just a little less than what it was at the long drawnout proceedings of the first regular settlement, but since then much water has flowed down the Gumti and cost all round has more than doubled. The work has been carried out as economically and expeditiously as circumstances permitted. The cost is high mainly owing to the postponement of the settlement and carrying out of the record operations practically separately from settlement proper, but also to a certain extent owing to the exigencies of life in a large city. Moreover, this is one of the first settlements in which the new provision of patwari's allowance has been in force throughout the period.

A

42. So far as can be judged from conversation with a few leading pro-

prietors of the district and a few
few others of the neighbouring tahsil in
Hardoi, the new revenues on the whole seem to have been well received.
The new settlement, however, has opened with unfavourable seasons.
cycle of "wet" years had deteriorated the Gumti valley and the over-
looking bhur, but the deterioration was very fully taken into consideration
at assessment. The year 1334 Fasli, in the cold weather of which actually
the settlement operations were started, was a favourable one. Government
ordered under Settlement rule 67 the realization of the rabi kist of 1335
Fasli in parganas Kakori and Bijnor, and in spite of the damage by excessive
and untimely winter rains to a superb rabi crop, the like of which

had not been known for a long time past, a large part of the demand in
the two parganas in which alone the new demand has so far come into force
was
realized. Government has not yet brought into force the new demand in the
remaining parganas owing to the unfavourable khuraf of 1336 Fasli, which has
necessitated suspensions of Rs. 96,426 for the whole district. There are
reasons to believe that the zamindars have already started enhancing rents
with a view to ease off the burden of the increase in revenue.
Rents are every-
where rising, and a network of the Sarda canal will further revolutionize the
rents and the system of cropping at no far distant date and add considerably
to the prosperity of the district, incidentally lightening even the present
* demand. All this augurs well for the future of the settlement. No pains have
been spared in working out a fair assessment-fair for all the parties concern-
ed-the zamindar, the tenant and the Government. Whether the settlement
works fairly or otherwise time alone will show. Sanction for the new demand is
solicited for a period of 40 years to expire in June, 1968 for tahsil Lucknow and
in June, 1969 for the other two tahsils.
MISCELLANEOUS.
43. My thanks are due to Messrs. C. Y. Gwynne and T. J. C. Acton,
Deputy Commissioners, for the kind assistance they have always so ungrudg-
ingly rendered. Without their close co-operation, the task of bringing the
settlement to a speedy close would have been well nigh impossible.

The brunt of the record work fell on Mr. Mohammad Anwar Ali Faruqi, and laterly when he was promoted to the post of Assistant Settlement Officer he was saddled with the extra work of supervising the nazul survey scheme in addition to his ordinary duties of assessment. He has been fully up to task, has worked hard and well throughout, and the Board are themselves aware of the quality of his assessment work, which is careful and sound and is highly creditable.

Pandit Diwakar Nath Misra's work as Assistant Record Olicer was careful and his judgements especially were always lucid and clear.

Credit is due to Pandit Kamta Prasad Avasthi for his efficient and close supervision of the nazul survey scheme. He has never spared himself and the success and smooth working of the scheme is largely due to his tact and energy.

Babu Bijay Bahadur, supervisor kanungo, did particularly well as Survey Expert and was rewarded for his good services by the Deputy Director of Land Records by promotion to the post of Inspector of Kanungos.

The difficulties of office management were the usual ones, concomitant on the entertainment of a large, temporary and consequently irresponsible staff. In addition to the ordinary difficulties, however, there were some special difficulties also to be faced. Owing to the stoppage of settlements in the United Provinces Native States had absorbed a large number of experienced settlement officials and simultaneous starting of no less than seven settlements in the United Provinces, at a time when experienced settlement hands were scarce, put a premium on the abilities of inexperienced men. Despite the fact that in advance of my arrival I had selected a good staff of soil classifiers, none of them turned up, preferring cheaper places to expensive life in Lucknow. Had it not been due to the courtesy of Messrs. D. L. Drake-Brockman and Himmat Singh in supplying soil classifiers from the Jodhpur settlement, I should have been stranded indeed. The high cost of living in a large city tended to raise bickerings among the staff, which had to be allayed in various ways. All the difficulties have been surmounted, and I am glad to record that the office has worked smoothly and well and my thanks are due to the whole English and

Vernacular office staff, including the permanent staff- the supervisor and registrar kanungoes and the officials of the Deputy Commissioner's record room who have never failed to respond to the extra calls made on their time and

energy and have never grudged working against time at high pressure when the exigencies of work demanded a whole-hearted devotion to duty.

The Head Clerk, M. Yunis Ali, was entirely new to the work, he was called upon to perform. He applied himself to the task with untiring energy, picked it up quickly and acquitted himself well.

The Sadar Munsarim M. Muhammad Siddique had some previous office experience but was also new to the complexities of work in Oudh and though he foundered at the beginning, he was soon able to feel his ground and on the whole did well. On my arrival in the district the Second Clerk, Babu Sukhdeo Rai was the only experienced clerk in a responsible position. The bulk of the technical work including the preparation of the final report figures fell on him and he has discharged his duties creditably.

My Chief Reader, Babu Devi Sahai, is an intelligent and experienced official-honest and reliable and has worked with zeal and energy inspite of the impediment of his weak health, which compelled him to take leave towards the end of the settlement.

Lastly I must not forget Rai Sahib Babu Gopi Nath, Manager, Sisendi estate, whose help in analysing the rents of that estate was invaluable.

BRIJ CHAND SHARMA,
Settlement Officer.
February 12, 1929.

3
Increase
4
Decrease
1
Serial number.
2
Period.
Total area.
Revenue free.
Village site.
Covered with water,
Not culturable.
APPENDIX I. Comparative area statement.
Otherwise barren.

3
4
5
6
7
8
Total.
Culturable.
Fallow.
Former setttlement
60
617.641 718 12,634
26.289 87,157 126.080 23,196 47,492 55,118 19,730 122,340
120
5,444
6
Groves.
Waste.
Old.
New.
Total.
Flow.
Canals.
Lift.
Wells.
Irrigated,
Other sources.
Cultivated.
2
Present settlement (year of verifi-
cation).
611,341 *838 18,078
26,006 +80,680 124,764 24,581 60,157 30,707 21,305 112,169
44,579 47 203 91,782 257,207 348,989 461,158
98,29 49,62 147,920 201,069
3.5
(Cultivated
Acres.
2

Tru.t 3
Municipal Board 310
Uncultivated
Cultivated
231
* Includes
Uncultivated
79
Khalsa 151
Revenue free 374
64
Cultivated
· Uncultivated
Cultivated
Uncultivated
130
21
96
261
$ 113
6,300
283
6 477
1,316
24,411
10,171
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

1,385 12,6C5
1,575
3,216
:
:
Total.
Unirrigated.
Total.
Total of columns 12 and 19.
41,333 73,332 114,665 230,642 345,307 467,647
2.8
26,129
22,883
Cultivated
† Includes Government property 6,101
Uncultivated
26,565
3,682
Acres.
.. 264
.. 5,837
6,489
Incidence of revenue per
acre of cultivation.

377

Page - 379

Page - 380
Under-proprietor's
land.
Tenants land held in-
Cash.
Years.
Area.

Area.
Arca.
1
2
3
APPENDIX III.
Rent rolls and collections.
Kind.
Total
demand
columns
Rent-free,
unrented
Sir area.
and
3, 5, 7
and
8.
favoured.
Total area in
Shikmi.
holdings.
Uncultivated.
Arca.
Rent demand.
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
47

Acrcs.
Rs.
Acres.
Rs.
Acres.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
Former settlement
34
19,496
36,724
274,681 17,28,451
20,596
70,390
40,661 18,76,226
Rs.
Acres.
Rs.
11,680
24,257
14,704 345,307
20,107
34,817 ,306,357
Twelve years' average.. 20,149
41,587
311,483 27,34 127
19,576
1,05,571 1,34,923 30,16,208 26,02,099
12,729
21,447
12,877 366,270
31,991
59,012 6,92,778
Year of verification
00
17,443

41, 185
279,782 28,89,144
19,585
1,44,377
98,244 31,72,950 27,37,104
26,055
7,264
26,108
3,48,989 272,248
48,667 5,60,257
349
(43)

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APPENDIX IV.
Area table and attested rent-roll.
In the year of verification.
00
8
6
10
10
Cash paying.
Grain-rented.
Sub-tenants.
Number
Area.
Rent.
Description.
of
khatas.
Area.
Rent.
Area.
Rent.
Area,
Rent.
Last settlement.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
380
Remarks.
11
(44)
The area of all kinds of
plots is excluded from
this statement as
shown in the state-
ment I.
19,496
36,724
Under-proprietors as such
14,563
17,443
41,185
1,831
32,953
03
Exproprietary tenants as such
600
1,588
12,685
675
9,821
4,938
21,801
Occupancy tenants as such
99
1,347
3,501
18,688
1,610

26,202
Tenants with statutory rights
290,339
17,75,291
(Privileged castes
Non-privileged
Privileged castes
5,225
11,381
98
1,39,230
0.
Tenants without statutory rights.
Non-privileged
1,874
20,511
2,26,978
3,667
32,714
91,919
23,27,682
32,521
3,17,969
4,476
50,646
17,886
1,31,934
15,663
1,81,992
239
O
2,295
1,699
12,443
4.625
56,500
14,059
11,680
24,257

35,490
90,010
Sir
Khudkasht
583
1,749
Favoured tenures
399
Rent-free..
112
Unrented
865,414
19,61,464
00
94
7,089
26,055
7
7,925
1,23,664
4,722
7,264
17
4,977
12,087
87,680
60
90
3,688
47,962
00
: :
14,591
7,376
2,487
23,202
23,579
6,645
00

448
00
5,020
Total
2,38,308
3,56,652 29,30,353
19,585
1,44,377
43,667
5,60,257

Page - 382
Masonry.
Wells.
Earthen.
Old.
New.
Old.
New.
APPENDIX V.
Census and Agricultural statistics.
Depth to water.
Ploughs.
Plough cattle.
Present
Last
Present
Last
Present
Last
Settlement. Settlement. Settlement. Settlement. Settlement. Settlement,
At the census
of 1891.
At the census
of 1901.
Population.
At the census
of 1911.

At the census
of 1921.
Number of inhabited
gites.
4,952
9,243
6,680
11,433
17 feet
18 feet
57,018
63,902
131,186
131,779
501,135
529,192
504,613
47,937
2,284
2,531
Last
Present
Settlement. Settlement..

381

Average
Year.
1
2
Total cultivated area
khasra.
Wheat alone.
4
3
per
Wheat mixed.

Barley
mixed.
alone
and
Gram and peas.
Tobacco.
Others.
Rabi.
APPENDIX VI.
Comparative Crop Statement for the whole District Lucknow.
Total.
Rice.
Juar alone and mixed.
Former settlement
346,326 64,158 24,447 34,794 69,781 3,794
21,557
218,531 89,428
36,273 28,607
1,561
3,320
7,124 69,565
235,878
108,087
Bajra alone and mixed.
Urd, moong and moth.
Year of verification
*349,877
72,716 24,125 27,745
64,305
325 7,669 196,885 57,390
40,284
38,216 35,022
4,268 9,162 38,094 222,436 5,915
75,359
(2 acres Improvement Trust.
231
Municipal Board.
*Includes 130

Khalsa.
91
|261
99
Revenue Free.
(264
Government Property.
Kharif.
Oι
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
361,229 69,137 18,405 30,785 54,827
27 9,949
183,130 57,160 44,271. 45,950
35,970 4,435 9,499 56,973 254,258
5,046
81,2 5
Sugarcane.
Maize.
Others.
(46
)
382

Bhi Pan
..
Kachhiana I ..
Kachhiana II
Goind I+
Goind I
84
Goind II
Har I
A
Wet
Dry
Wet
Dry
Wet
Dry
..
..
Har II +
Dry
Wet
9.
::
1
:
Soils.
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:
:

:
:
:
:
:
:
Circle rates.
2
3
:
Rates applied.
Under-proprietors land.
5
Ex-proprietary.
6
APPENDIX VII-A.
Statement of assessments holdings area of the whole district.
Occupancy.
Tenants cash-rented area.
Statutory.
Non-statutory.
Privileged.
Non-privileged
Privileged.
Non-privileged.
7
8
9
10
10
Sir.
Khudkasht
Grain rented.
Assumption areas.
Favoured tenures.
Rent-free and unrented.
Total columns 4 to 15.
11
12

13
14
15
16
17
:
:
197
4
76
1
31
6
63
1,142
114
5
69
:
10
169
50
50
37
18
27
69
1,756
82
20
5
2
32
318
25
15
121
29
32

CO
1
4
234
1,640
137
368
553
10,081
171
1,520
2,408
394
392
692
365
18,721
174
10
18
37
502
23
161
173
40
51
24
99
1,312
284
36
39
125
2,543
29
308
337
89

127
134
63
4,114
65
11
2
31
283
5
49
70
15
84
28
25
668
8,903
468
1,109
2,306
43,910
681
5,618
7,670
1,345
2,144
2,213
1,311
7,268
658
98
110
413
6,861
175
923
1,130
337

419
465
513
12,102
560
26
51
239
4,862
65
99
602
460
108
167
10
154
7,398
221
4
12
55
1,703
5
234
102
65
64
35
90
2,590
Remarks.
(47)
3.83

1
Soils.

Circle rates.
2
3
Rates applied.
Under-proprietors land.
5
Ex-proprietary.
Occupancy.
APPENDIX VII-A.
Statement of assessments holdings area of the whole district.
Tenant cash-rented area.
Statutory.
Non-statutory.
Privileged.
6
7
8
Non-privileged.
6
Privileged.
5. Non-privileged.
Sir.
Khudkasht.
Har II
Wet
.
Dry
:
:
:
2,008
277
493
1,970
31,733
520
4,232
4,068
913

2,387
1,839
1,344
51,784
1,324
143
365
986
19,728
366
2,867
1,830
653
997
1,264
1,236
31,759
Wet
941
65
153
724
00
16,685
244
2,390
1,124
362
1,177
706
848
25,419
Har III
Dry
1,366
124
357
1,263
31,450

479
4,261
2,233
978
3,400
1,754
2,755 50,420
Wet
434
15
47
232
8,442
141
1,228
361
286
690
274
547
90
12,797
Har IV
Dry
448
65
119
1,050
18,157
262
2,974
1,330
702
3,837
1,210
2,276
32,430
Har IV
14

60
6
23
216
2,704
28
379
78
53
532
74
215
4,322
Matiar I
48
20
26
1,637
12
315
147
34
167
71
133
2,619
Matiar II
143
34
20
285
6,313
122
931
508
159
740
420
492

10,167
6 a
Matiar III
129
29
31
186
6,942
86
1,296
614
191
895
459
1,014
11,902
Goind Tarai
Tarai I
:
:
:
CT
:
2
17
93
7
44
:
72
Tarai II +
Tarai II
Tarai III
Tarai IV
:
:
:
:
:
190

21
8
9
32
129
2,592
46
645
237
108
143
56
56
70
4,254
S
37
540
33
107
42
39
109
14
40
:
:
:
:
998
73
6
44
83
2,739
36
571
229
126

372
62
142
4,486
66
10
60
163
2,951
61
805
619
122
282
104
127
5,469
78
2
4
93
2,498
67
498
144
115
299
55
131
3,984
Total
Cultivated
Uncultivated
:
14,168 1,517
3,299
10,596
920
80

205
743
..
2,13,697 3,381
13,616
30,220
24,787 7,048
286
2,986
1,287
231
17,885
1,709
11,205
12,074 8,49,877
883
2,019 24,965
Grain rented.
Assumption areas.
Favoured tenures.
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
Rent-free and unrented.
(48)]
Total columns 4 to 15.
Remarks,
384

Tenure.
Holdings area.
Rent.

Incidence.
Assessed area.
Recorded.
By circle rate.
APPENDIX VII-B.-I.
Statement of Assets of the whole district including plots..
Accepted.
Valuation.
Assessed area.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
13,825 1,31,651 13,825 1,31,253 9'5
1,568 13,616 1,568
12,751 8 1
3,356 35,452
3,356 22,945 6.8
11,103 95,231 11,103
91,999 8.3
227,313 23,32,177 10 3 2,23,838 23,57,283 2,23,838 23,04,488 10 3
Under-proprietary
09
Ex-proprietary
Occupancy
Cash-rented.
Non-sta- Statutory.
tutory.
Privileged
Non-privileg
15,088 41,195 2.7
1,597 12,767 8.0
3,501 18,658 5.3
11,339 91,989 8°1
Assumption Area.
ed.
(Privileged
3,667 32,521 8.8 3,525 30,419 3.525 30,710 8 7
33,206 3,25,091 9°8 31,396 3,31,465 31,396 3,19,725 10 2
25,299 2,38,807 25,299 2,38,713 94

58,657 8.1
Non-privileg
ed.
Sir
99
Khudkasht
80
26,074
7,279
7
17
00
Grain-rented
Favoured tenures..
Rent-free and un-
teated.
7.4
19,594 144,476
12,088 87,681 7°2
14,093
7,23 7 58,670 7,237
19,351 1,24,324 19,351
11,818 95,645 11,818
12,973 87,449 12,978
1,04, 365 5'4
96,680 8.2
76,624 5'9
Total
59
Accepted valu-
ation.
Incidence.
Sayar.
Addition for grafted
mango groves.
Addition for land thrown
out of cultivation.
Cultivated land built
after last settlement.

Total assets.
Deduction for sir and
khudkast.
Deduction for improve-
ment.
Deduction for unstable
cultivation.
374,842 30,86,609 8'2 3,65,239 36,00,012 36,528 34,88,910 9 6 15,012 16,958
2,085 1,226 35,24,191 52,094 80,365 24,499 33.67,283 9,71,715-12-2 11,66,305-
10-0 12,21,774. 6-0 12, 21,899-6-0
65/24 199/33.
Net Assets.
Expiring revenue.
Re. a. p.
Rs. a. p.
Initial.
Proposed.
Interme-
diate.
Final.
Rs. a. p.
Rs. &. P.

383

Tenure.
APPENDIX VII-B. II.
Statement of assets of khalsa with plots.
Recorded.
By circle rates.
Accepted.
Under-proprietary 11,299 29,383 2.6
••
Cash-rented.
Non-statu Statutor
tory.
Privileged.. 9,4 9

10,182 96,40I 10,182 96,224 9 4
Exproprietary 1,502 12,015 8.0 1,478 12,824 1,478
(Occupancy
3,093 16,980 5.5 2,964 31,297 2,964
78,493 8.3 9,324 79,582 9,324
12,000 8.1
20,811 7.1
76,957 8°3
Non-privi-
leged.
195,629 20,16,606 10 3 192,771 20,28,743 192,771 19,80,915 10 2
Privileged 3,105 28,425
9°1
3,022 26,442 3,022
26,798 8.9
Non-privi- 27,042 2,62,545 9.7
leged.
26,057 2,71,510 26,057 2,63,253 10°1
Sir
Assumption Areas.
Khud kasht
24,271
6,594
7
17
Grain rented..
19,236 1,41,070 7°4
Favoured tenures 10,402 76,274 7.3
Rent free and 12,361
unrented.
Total
08
23,934 2,25,256 23,934 2,25,162 9'4
6,555 52,798 6,555 22,785 8°1
18,997 1,21,797 18,997 1,01,853 5 3
10,194 83,180 10,194 84,165 8°3
11,415 76,799 11,415 67,807 6'0
Net assets.
Proposed.

386
Expiring
revenue.
Initial.
Inter-
mediate.
Final.
Rs. a
p.
Rs. a. P.
Rs. 8. p.
Rs.
a. p.
324,023 26,61,815 82 816,893 31,06,629 316,893 30,08,730 9*4 11,699 15,532
1,685
195 3,037,841 49, 471 69,395 21,695 2,897,280 8,32,266-2-5 9,89, 690-10-0
10,41,929-6-0 10,42,054-6-0
50
50)

Page - 388
Tenure.
Holdings area.
Rent.
Recorded.
Incidence.
Assessed area.
By circle rate.
Valuation.
APPENDIX VII B III.
Statement of assets of permanently settled.
Assessed area.
Accepted.
Accepted valua-
tion.
Incidence.
settle-
Sayar.

Addition for grafted
mange groves.
Addition
ΠOI
land
thrown out of culti-
vation.
Cultivated land built
after
ment.
last
Rs.
Rs.
Under proprietary
Exproprietary
1,866 5,905
3.2
1,799
Rs.
15,064
Rs.
Rs.
1,799
15,052
8°4
00
4
15
3.3
1
7
1
14
14.0
Occupancy
284
994 3.5
Cash rented.
Statuto-

Privileged
1,650 11,414 7.0
ry.
Non-
statu-
Non-privi-
leged.
Privileged
tory. Non-privi-
269 2,547
1,584 13,584
17,592 1,49,880 S 2 17,145 1,68,804 17,145 1,63,79
269
1,233
4.6
1,584
13.0 5
8.3
9.6
465 3,214
3,065 22,839
7.0
410
7'4.
3,171
26,630
410
3,195
7.6
2 848 25,261 610
leged.
2,843
Sir
612
603
5,907
608
5,007
9.8

Assumption area.
Khudkasht
Grain-rented
Favoured tenures
Rent-free
220
219
1,981
219
1,981
9.0
126
784 6.2
124
804
124
804
6.5
55
1,274 8,652
6.8
1,224
and un-
904
830
9,161
5,422
1,224
9,296
7.6
830
4,266
5'1
rented.
Total
28,062 2,03,695 7.3
27,051 2,53,082
27,051 2 43 793
9 0 1,926

50 808
* Actual payable to Government Rs. 52,369-6-0.
2,46,112
950
5379
1.591 2,39,192 *7, 270 *93,530 *93,750 *93,750
Total assets.
Deduction for sir and
khudkasht.
Deduction for improve-
ment.
Deduction for unstable
cultivation.
Net assets.
Expiring revenue.
Initial.
Intermediate.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
Rs.
(51)
Final.
Proposed.
387

Page - 389
Assumption area
Cash rented.
ry. (Non-privi-
leged.
Non- (Privileged
17 Statuto {Non-privi-
ry.
leged.
Tenure,
Holdings area.

Recorded.
Rent.
Incidence.
APPENDIX VII B IV.
Statement of assets of partly Khalsa and partly revenue assigned.
By circle rate.
Assessed area.
Valuation.
Assessed area,
Accepted.
Accepted valua-
tion.
for grafted
land
Incidence.
Sayar
mango grove.
Addition
for
thrown out of culti-
Addition
vation.
Cultivated land built
settle-
after
last
ment.
Total assets.
Deduction for sir and
khudk asht.
Deduction for improve-
ment.
Deduction for unstable
cultivation.
Net assets.
Under-proprietary
Exproprietary
56
79 1.4

45
356
45
356 7.9
22
247 7.7
31
299
31
263 8 5
Cccupancy
47
275
5*8
47
561
47
363 7.7
Statuto- (Privileged
Sir
Khudkesht
Grain rented
Favoured tenure
Rent free and unrented
1,669
15,797 9:4
1,656
15,251
1,65€
14,681 8.9
202
1,714 8°4
197 1948
197
1,880 9.5
71
69
629
69

629 9 2
189
189
1,402
189
1,402 7 4
25
224 9.4
25
194
25
183 7 3
36
196 5.4
35
260
85
260 7:4
69
65
374
65
35 5.5
Total
90
2,396
18,542
7.7
2,359
21,272
2,359
30,372 8 7
13
68
Expiring revenue.
Initial.
Proposed.
Intermediate.
Rs. a. p.

Rs.
a. p.
Rs. a. p.
Rs. & P.
Khalsa re-
venue
assigned.
Khalsa re-
venue
Khalsa re-
venue
assigned.
80
asigned.
3,292 5 6 3,890 0 0 4,157 8 J
20,453 376 110 785 19,182 1,776 10 6 2,140 0 0 2,342 8 0 2,842 80
Final.
(52)
388

Page - 390
Names of parga-
nas.
Circles.
Unit values.
Bhita pan.
Kachhiana I.
Kachhiana
II.
Goind I and
wet.
Wet.
Dry.
Wet.
Pry.
Wet
Dry.
Wet.

Dry.
Wet.
Dry.
Wet.
Dry.
Wet.
Goind
Goind
I.
II.
Har I+ Har 11+.
Har II. Har III.
Har IV.
APPENDIX VII C.
Circle Rates and unit values.
86
Kakori
II
9023 8
I
7821 8
Bijnore
II
90 23 8
III
86
: :
:::
::
20 6 17 2 13 8 15 5 12 0 13 8 13 8 12 9
21 6 18 014 4 16 212 6 14 4 11 7 12.6
12.0
8'6
9.9 11 7 8 1
9.5
9.9
6.9
3'4
6.3 7.2 4.5

::
8'6 6.0
3.4.
5°4 4.5 3.6
::
00
::
50
29.8
16 412 5 14 012 5 12 5 10 1
18 014 4 16 2 12 6 14 4 11 7 12'6
10.9 7.8
7'8
5.5
6.2 3.9
9.9 11 7 8 1
9.9
6.2
7°2
4'5
27.5
18.1
15.5
13.8
11 6 9 9
10'3
6.9
3.4
..
:::
5.4
6°2 3.1
4*5
3.6
6.9 4.3
:::
60
:::
..

::
: : :
::
::
:::
I L 33
50.5 37 2
29.3
25*3
21.3
17.3
18 614 6
10'6
8'0
13 3
10 6
5°3
80
20°0
II 90
00
III
88
29.5
Lucknow
IV
101
..
64
V
70
84
VI
85
00
I
79
19.0
30'6

::::::
18.0
16.2
14.4
13'6
11.7
9'96 3
7.2 4°5
15'4
4°5
3.6
16.4
14'8
13.1
10.7
9.0
5'7
3.3
2°5
80
8.2
4°1
80
eB
22.9
18.7
16 614 5 15'6 112.5
13 311'4 10 4 7.3
4°2
2.1 10°1
8.3
4.2
80
0 6
68
13.3
11.2
9.8
7.7

4.9
2'1
1°4
60
9°1
2 8
17.0
15°3
13 6
11'0
9.3
5.9
3'4
2.5
BB
10°5
17.0 12.7 11.0
13.3
8°2
12.0
7.4
2+
4.9
4°2
6°3
8.5 7.6 5'1
86
7.0
..
II
197
Malihabad
III 92
IV 36
34.9
2516
25.8
::::
16 6 12 6 14 2 11 1

12.6
9.5 9.5 7°1
4°7
3.2
20 4 15 5 17 5 11 6 15
5 13 6,
20.2
16.6
14.7
19-8
17°2
13.8
::::
00
6.3
17.1
13 6 10 7 10 7
8.7
4.9
2°4
7.8
5.8
12.9 11 0 11 0
8.3
6.4
9.2
7.4
5°5
12 0 10 3
10 3
7.7
3.9
2.1 8.6 6.9
4.3
::::
13'4 9.5 6°3
00
: : :
60

188
21 1
II 73
: :
17 614 115 3 13 2 14 1 9 7
114 8 8
.
8.8 6'2
4°4
14.6
13.1
11-7
9°5
5:3
3'6
11
Mahona
I[[90
21 6
19.0
16.2
14°4
11 7
9.9 8°1
4'5
60
60
CO
10'6
12°4
8.4
9.5
6°2 4.4
7.3 5.8
7.2 4°5
IV 102
29.6
2014
16.3

13 3 11 2 12°2
8°2
5°1
V 86
2016
..
17°2
15°5
13 3
11 2 9 5
9.5
6.9
5°2
I 80
22.4
Nigohan
1716
14.1
13'3 10 4
10 4 7 2 2°2
5.6
4°0
I [
85
44 6
...
TL 04
33.4
1 Mohanlalganj
II L'OL
ILL
87
:::
34.2
20'9
::
:::
17.6
15'8

11 111 4
11°18'8
6.8
6'2
4°4
20*8
13.7
16 6 13 5
14 6 11 4 11°4
8.3
4°2
2)*2
13°2
16 2 13 1
17 4 13 915 712 2 13 9 12 2
:::
13 110 1 10'1
11.3 7.3 7.8
7.1
5°2
8'1 5'0
3.0
::
: :
:::
6.1 5'1
8.6 6.9 5°2
7.2 5.6 4.0
7.9 6.2
80
:::
00
:::
4°4
10°4 5.2
86
8*1 7.1
6°1
5.0

4.3
: :
::
10°4
14.8
7°2 5.6 4'0
..
8.3 3.1
9.6 7035
Dry.
Har IV.
Matiar I,
Matiar II.
Matiar III.
(53)
Goind Tarai.
Tarai I,
Tarai II+.
Tarai II.
Tarai III.
Tarai IV.
387

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Percentage
00
396
Description.
Taluqdari.
Single.
(54)
APPENDIX VIII-A.
Zamindari.
Proprietary tenures.
Pattidari.
Joint.
Perfect.
Imperfect.

Bhaiyaehara.
Miscellaneous
property.
Revenue-free.
Resumed muafi.
Number of mabals
209
425
681
390
314
2
38
23
19
99
66
Dedicated.
Government pro-
perty.
Nazool.
Area in acres
120,652 131,054 124,822 83,546
98,525 3,866 7,134 9,140 3,605 16,632 10,38 1,981 611,341
11
=1
19.7
21°4
20°4
13.7
16°1
6 1.2
1.6
C
2.7 1.7
3
100
Resident ..
39

110
1,187 1,940
3,173
89 2,071
19
25
2
Number of
co-sharers.
Absentee ..
226
422
2,299
2,299 3,214
42 1,584
196
43
747
APPENDIX VIII-B.
Caste of proprietors.
Area held
Caste of proprietor.
at last
settlement.
Area held
at present
settlement.
Increase
since last
settlement.
Decrease
since last
settlement.
Percentage on
the total area
of area now
held by each
caste.
1. Muhammadan..

210,834
00
187,231
23,603
30°6
2. Thakur
214,407
3. Brahman
:
:
174,680
39,727
28.6
77,301
75,707
1,594
12.4
4. Kayasth
5. Vaish
27,845
32,006
4,661
5.2
18,884
30,861
11,977
5°1
6. Khattri
25,715
25,425
290
4.2
7 Dedicated
16,632
16,632
2.7
8. Kashmiri
11,784
20,886

9,102
8.4
9
Kurmi
80
9,121
12,677
8,550
2°1
10. Government property
11. Ahır
3,073
90
10,384
7,311
1.7
5,060
4,695
865
*7
12.
Murai
5,764
4,220
1,544
.7
13. Nanak Shahi
630
1,250
570
2
14. Nasool
00
1,981
1,981
8
15. Others
7,673
12,706

5,033
2°1
00
Total
617,641
611,341
6,800
100°0
8,655
10,259
Total.
2,211

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Serial number.
(00 (55)
APPENDIX VIII-C,
List of leading proprietors of Lucknow district.
Name of proprietors
Area
in
Old New
demand. demand.
Increase
or de-
&cres.
crease.
Percen-
tage of
increase
or de-
crease.
1 Qazi Rashid Ali Khan of Kakori
8,308 4,623 5,966 +1,343
+29°1
2
Rani Subhadra Kunwar of Sisendi ..
32,998

37,842 38,298
+456
+1.2
8 Nawab Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan, of Shesh-
mal, Lucknow.
2,129
5,298 6,120 +822
+14.9
Babu Tulshi Pat Ram of Golaganj, Lucknow
3,809
5,998
7,441 +1,443
+26.0
5
Maharaja Pateshwari Parsad Singh, Taluqdar,
of Balrampur.
5,417 12,532
14,724 +2,192
+17°5
6
Raja Mohammad Ejaz Rasul Khan, 0.8.I., of
Jehangirabad, district Bara Banki.
2,727
4,795
6,010 +1,215
+25°3
7
Lala Indar Prasad, of Raja Bazar, Lucknow
..
1,448
4,249
5,515 +1,266
+29*8
8
Nawab Mirza Mohammad Syed Ali Khan, of
Shish Mahal, Lucknow.
4,557
8,731
10,745 +2,014

+23 1
9
Bibi Jai Kishori of Hussainganj
1,723
3,110
4,120 +1,010
+32 4
10
Nawab Mohammad Ali Khan of Sehlamau
12,578
22,268
28,705 +6,437
+28.9
11
Pandit Iqbal Narain Bakhshi
3,983 12,913
17,957 +4,044
+29 1
12
Khan Bahadur Mohammad Yusuf Khan of
Kasmandi Khurd,
6,150 10,360
13 255 +2,895
+27.9
13
Kunwar Sher Bahadur Singh, Thakur, of
Bhatpurwa.
3,126 5,460
6,730 +1,270
+23 2
14
Rani Deo Kunwar Sahib of Bharawan
3,173
5,449 6,874 +1,425 +26°2
15
Pandit Raj Kunwar Bakhshi
2,637 4,867
6,060 +1,193
+24.7

16 Raja Ram Pal Singh Sahib of Itaunja
19,183 33,794 42,715 +8,921
+26.4
17
The
Hon'ble
Maharaja Sir, Mohammad
4,335 4,753 6,745 +1,992
+41 9
Ali Mohammad Khan, Khan Bahadur
K.C S.I., K.C.I.E., of Mahmudabad.
18
Raja Shankar Sahai of Maurawan, district
Unao,
14,612
13,184 13,184
19
Thakurain Sri Raj Kunwar of Raja Mau,
district Rae Bareli.
4,406
7,442
8,595 +1,153
+15°5
20 Raja Sayed Ahmad Ali Khan of Saleempore
21.262
41,474
50,809 +9,335
+20°1
21
Raja Barkhandi
Singh of Sheogarh, district Rae Bareli.
Mahesh Pratap
Narain
5,721 10,771
13,384 +2,613
+24*2
22
Shah Majid Husain, Shah Asraf Husain, Shah
Mohammad Ali and Shah

Ahmad Ali,
3,846
5,991
7,203 +1,212
+20°2
Taluqdar, Gauriya Kalan,
23
Shah Gopi Krishna Agarwal, son
Prashad, Sarai Malikhan, Lucknow.
of Ganga
4,012
5,216
6,362 +1,146
+21 9
24
Kayasth Patshala of Allahabad
4,501
7,767 9,547 +1,780 +229
Total
1,71,591 2,79,887 3,37,064 +57,177 +20°4
391

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APPENDIX IX-A.
Record Cases instituted and disposed of by the Assistant Record Officer and Assistant Settlement Officer.
Division.
District.
Name of officer.
Lucknow
Lucknow
Maulvi Mohammad Anwar Ali
Faruqi and Pandit Diwakar
Nath Misra.
392
On their merits.
Designation.
Class.

Cases
instituted.
Cases
disposed of
otherwise
Total. Balance.
For
For
plaintiff. defendant.
Total.
on their
merits.
Assistant
Officers.
Record
Record cases
5,294
3,292
1,096
4,398
906
5,294
Ditto
Ditto
Maulvi Mohammad Anwar Ali
Faruqi.
Assistant Settle-
ment Officer.
Ditto
15
2
1
3
12
15
Rent cases
100
38
39

26
64
36
Resumption of muafi
22
1
6
10
12
22
:
cases.
Fixation of rent of
pukhtedari and
under-proprietary.
693
468
468
225
Lucknow
Division.
District.
Lucknow
Ditto
Ditto
Total
Name of officer.
APPENDIX IX-B.
Settlement Appeals.
Class.
C. W. Gwynne, Esq., C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S.,
Deputy Commissioner, as Record
Officer.
Rai Sahib Pandit Brij Chand Sharma
Ditto
Appeals of record cases..
Ditto
Fixation of under-pro-
prietary rent.

Total
Pending at the
commencemont.
830
41
10
51
518
569
261
Instituted.
45
55
Total.
Confirmed.
Modified.
45
29
Decided.
Revoked.
:
Remanded.
Dismissed in
default.
cause.
For
any other
:
2
35
35
Total.
10
90
74
81
21
6
31

10
5
11
84
50
:
50
:
50
50
10
10
124
134
21
6
31
10
10
1
61
134
Balance,
10
10
(56)

Page - 394
Serial
no.
(57)
APPENDIX X.
Actual Expenditure of Lucknow Settlement.
Heads.
393
On
On
record. assessment.

Total.
1
2
3
Pay of settlement officer
Allowance of settlement officer..
Pay of assistant settlement officer
82,768
82,768
:
:
8711
8,711
10,446
10,446
4
Allowance of assistant settlement officer
1,600
1,600
5
Pay of assistant record officer ..
24,416
60
24,416
6
Allowance of assistant record officer
2,600
2,600
7 Quasi permanent establishment
2,790
14,401
17,191
8
Temporary establishment
85,861
89,755
175,616
6
Travelling allowance of record officer,

record officer, settlement officer, and
settlement officer.
assistant
1,969
2,829
4,796
assistant
10
10
Travelling allowance of establishment
2,664
1,579
4,248
11
Reproduction of field maps
10,072
481
10,553
12
Charges for the services of processes
772
1,067
1,889
13
Job work ..
7,266
1,526
8,792
14
Daily allowance of patwaris
13,917
4,627
18,544
15
Reward to kanungos and patwaris
1,970
1,500
8,470
16

Purchase and repair of instruments
148
148
17
Office rent
5,131
:
5,293
10,424
18
Clothings of peons
116
33
149
19
Miscellaneous
8,933
2,245
6,178
20
Purchase and repair of tents
836
00
51
887
21
Stationery charges
2,521
400
00
:
2,921
22
Hot and cold weather charges
672
1,878
08
2,550
28

Carriage of tents
8,115
1,940
5,055
24
Extra tour establishment
940
771
:
1,711
25
Purchase of office furniture
00
8,046
1,002
4,048
20
Rates and taxes
145
80
178
823
27
Postage and telegram charges
815
ce
625
o e
1,440
28
Pay of menials
430
659
1,088
Total
176,145
[181,364
357,509
Anticipated expenditure during February, 1929

GRAND TOTAL
00
176,145
4,061
185,425
4,061
861,570

Page - 395
92
With the Compliments of the
Hony, Gen. Secy.
394
I 14-423
Inaugural Address
BY
H. H. THE MAHARAO RAJA SAHIB
BAHADUR OF BUNDI
National Heritage Preservation Society Of Bajasthan
BUNDI
RAJASTHAN (INDIA)
DEC. 5, 1948.

Page - 396
395
History is as often written in sectures and art
relies as in books. And Rajasthan is abounding in
such. To preserve them is to preserve History.
congratulate (Maharaja of Bundi on the interest
taken by him in this behalf.
B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
4. 12. 48.

Page - 397
396
I

am very glad to be able to inaugurate this Society, and still more glad that it should have come into being.
Here in Bundi, we have a rich heritage of history, and the time has been when we have been well-known for our fine workmanship in many of the Arts. In any case, there would have been good reasons to establish a Museum in Bundi.

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In these last few months, largely due to the knowledge and skill of Mr. Roy, and the enthusiasm of a small group which has worked with him, the need for a Museum in Bundi has become more pressing. Mr. Roy has done fine work at Lakheri, Patan ard Nainwan, on the old town that has at last been re-discovered, and on the magnificient sculptures that have been lying, sometimes hidden and sometimes in the open
These discoveries are of very great interest and value to Bundi. I ut, fro.n what I have learnt in these past few days, it seems more than likely that they will prove of great interest and value on a far wider scale. It may well be that these discovèries, and the research to woich they will give rise, will throw completely new light on our Rajputana history in its earliest days.
It is especially fitting, therefore, that this should be the time when a museum should be opened and I am particularly glad that the initiative should have come from members of the Bundi public, I hope that the group that has formed this society will succeed in spreading its enthusiasm to many others in Bundi, so that the museum, when it is opened will become a living part of Bundi, and not as often happens with a museum, a building which everyone knows from outside, and very few from inside.
I understand that it is the aim of the Society to open, in conjunction with the Museum, an Arts School. Of this, too, I am very glad. In the past fifty years, the old arts of Rajputana have been slowly dying. Workmen who take real pride in the quality of their work are hard to find. But the skill is still there, if it can be found and encouraged.

Page - 399

318
It has always been my aim to encourage any fine workman that can be found in Bundi. I assure you all that I shall watch the Arts School that you mean to form with great interest, and I shali give any encouragement that is within my power to all fine workmen that the School may produce.
I should like to congratulate those of you who have formed this Society, and to urge the people of Bundi to share in your work. Today, at the start of a new era in Indian History, there is a temptation to look only forwards. We have a proud and fine past, and while looking forward to
that past. It has much to teach us.
the future let us not forget
The beautiful sculptures,
collected in these rooms are one more proof of that.
I should like also to assure you of my very real interest in your work, and to say that it is my intention to be the Patron of fact as well as in name.
your Society in
May the National
Heritage Preservation Society of Rajasthan, which I now inaugurate, be of true service to Bundi, to India and to Knowledge.

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399
AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY
This Society has been founded with the sole object of preserving the manifold relics of the traditional art and culture of Rajasthan as is manifest in the sculptures and paintings discovered by our Scoiety recently. It shall also strive to collect and record folk songs, ballads and stories.
Our immediate aim is to establish a museum in the historic and ancient city of Bundi, as well as an Art School in order to revive the dying arts and crafts, which were once the pride of India and the highest artistic expression of the people of Rajasthan.

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EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
President
Vice President :
Hony. General
Secretary
Secretaries
Shri Harilal Thakore, B. A.
18
M. L. Sabbarwal, M. A., B. Sc.
Nitya Nand, vaidya vachaspati.
Man Mohan Thakore, M. A.
00
99
Bal Gangadhar, M. A.
Jogendra Sahai Saxena, B. A.
Treasurer
Dinanath vashishtha, B. A., B. T.
39
Members
98
Capt. Lajpat Rai Dutt
Ganesh Dutt Mehta, M. A., B. T.
98
99
Dr. Laxman Puri
S. Indar Singh Sachchar
Ram Vallabh Vyas
Mod Singh Divya
Revati Raman Chaturvedi
99
"Magan Lal Parashar

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401
STAFF
Hony, Curator of the
Museum

99
Assistant Curator
Librarian and incharge:
of the manuscripts
Officer-in-charge
of the Exhibitions
Hindi Department
39
Shri Sudhansu Ray Artist
Late Rural Craft
Surveyor, University
Museum, Calcutta
99
Jogendra sahai saxena
B. A., Sahityalankar
Jagdish Chaturvedi
Rao Udai Singh
Magan Lal Parashar
Sahityaratna
Shri Anand Printing Press, Bundi,

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Proceedings of the Meeting 402
of the
Standing Finance Committee
31st March, 1948
Vol. XXIV-No. 6
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1948
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Provision of temporary Technical and Domestic Accommodation for the RIAF Depot and No. 1
Ground Training School at Jalahalli (Bangalore) .
Provision of Domestic Accommodation only for Officers, Warrant Officers, S. N. C.
Os., and Airmen at Poona
MINISTRY OF WORKS, MINES AND POWER-
Reconsideration of the multi-purpose schemes for the Narbada, Tapti and the Assam Valley Development
MINISTRY OF FINANCE-
Enlargement of the scope and functions of the Standing Finance Committee and the method of the composition of the Committee
Scheme for permanent settlement of Sterling Balances
The exercise of stricter control by the Finance Ministry over expenditure
Re-arrangement of Budget Heads and Demands
1
3
+10 1010

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE
Held at New Delhi on Wednesday, the 31st March, 1948
The Committee met in Committee Room No. 53 in the Council House. The following were present:-
THE HONOURABLE SHRI R. K. SHANMUKHAM CHETTY.
SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN GHOSH.
SHRI U. SRINIVASA MALLAYYA.
SHRI BIKRAMLAL SONDHI.
SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI.

SHRI BANARSI PRASAD JHUNJHUNWALA.
DIWAN CHAMAN LALL.
SHREE M. ANANTHASAYANAM AYYANGAR.
SHRI BISWANATH DASS.
HAJI ABDUL SATTAR HAJI ISHAQ SAIT.
The Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty took the chair at 5-15 P.M.
2. The following officers represented their respective Ministries:-
MR Y. N. SUKHTHANKAR, Secretary
MR. P. R. PURI, Roads Transport Adviser
MR. R. S. BAHL, Assistant Secretary
MR. R. K. RAMADHAYANI, Joint Secretar y
GROUP CAPTAIN R. H. D. SINGH
MR. B. K. GOKHALE, Secretary
RAI BAHADUR A. N. KHOSLA, Chairman,
C. W. I. N. C.
MR. RAM GOPAL, Joint Secretary
MR. R. NARAYANASWAMI, Joint Secretary
MR. K. BHAWANISHANKAR RAO, Addl., F. A.,
Defence.
MR. M. V. RANGACHARI, Deputy Secretary
J
MR. S. RAMAYYA, Deputy Secretary, Finance
MR. A. KAUL, Assistant Secretary, Finance
Transport.
Defence.
Works, Mines & Power.
Finance.
MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT
Secretary, S. F. C.
Asstt. Secy., S. F. C.
3. Memorandum regarding reorganisation of passenger transport in Delhi Urban
and Suburban areas.
72-Capital Outlay on Industrial Development
passenger
I. Concise statement of the proposal and the reason therefor.-The transport facilities in the urban and suburban areas of Delhi fall seriously short of the present demand for them and have been the subject mat ter of severe

criticism in the Press and the Legislature and by the General Public.
The need for improvement in the services need not be elaborated. In the field of transport it is the policy of Central Government to reduce the scope of private monopolies as far as possible. It is, therefore, proposed that Government should take over the operation of passenger transport services in the urban and sub-
urban areas of Delhi at the earliest possible date. With that object in view, it is proposed to buy out the G. N. I. T. Company and to pay, in lieu of goodwill and loss of business, compensation amounting to not more than three times the average.
profits of the Company during three financial years ending 1946-47.

II. Are the propos ils in respect of a new service?—Yes.
III. Have the proposals or any part thereof been already considered by the Standing Finance Committee? If so, with what results?-No.
IV. Have the proposals been considered by the Standing Committee of the Ministry
and, if so, with what results?-No. The G. N. I. T. Company was for sometime considering the proposal to participate in a joint undertaking with Government to run
the transport services, Government having the majority share. The company has,
however, intimated only recently its unwillingness to participate in such a concern
and wants that its interests should be bought over completely. It was not therefore
found possible to place the proposals before the Standing Committee for the Ministry
of Transport (other than Roads).
V. Financial effect of the proposals.--On the assumption that the company will have to be paid compensation for the loss of business, the assets will be valued ac-
cording to the estimates prepared by the company, and the services will be operated
as they are at present, the position will be as follows:-

Expenditure.
Non-recurring
Recurring
Income.
Gross earnings
Less.-
(1) Recurring expenditure
(2) Depreciation
Net profit
Rs. 46, 00,000 (vide Annexure 'D'j*
Rs. 38,81,610 (vide Annexure 'E')*
Rs. 54,05,285 (vide Annexure 'F')*
Rs. 38,81,610
Rs. 11,50,000 (vide Annexure 'G')*
Rs. 3,73,675†
8 per cent. approximate on Capital.

The services at present provided by the G. N. I. T. Company are not considered to be adequate and more vehicles will have to be put on the road on the existing routes. To connect new colonies that are springing up all round the main city, new routes will have to be opened up to provide a really efficient, and adequate service.

It will be necessary to purchase more vehicles and to improve and modernise maintenance and equipment. More lands and buildings will have to be acquired. All this is estimated to entail a further non-recurring expenditure of roughly Rs. 64 lakhs as detailed in Annexure 'B.'*

VI. Is the proposal final and complete in itself or will it involve further expenditure in subsequent years? If so, what is the nature of further commitments ?-Yes.

VII. Has any expenditure already been incurred in respect of the proposals in anticipation of the approval of the Standing Finance Committee? If so, how much and for what reasons ?-No.

VIII. In what manner is it proposed to meet the expenditure?-It is proposed to ask for supplementary grant for the year 1948-49 under head 72-Capital Outlay on Industrial Development'.

IX. Supplementary information, if any, required to elucidate the proposals fur-

ther.-Kindly see Annexure 'C'.
* Not printed.
† The income-tax payable on Rs. 3,73,675 which would in any case accrue to Central
Government would be Rs 1,63,483 leaving a net additional revenue of Rs. 2,10,192 which
amounts to 4 per cent. approximately on capital.

1406
[MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT]
OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE
The Committee while approving in principle the scheme made the following observations:-
The Transport Ministry might go ahead with the negotiations for the acquirement of the G. N. I. T. Company. The service might be run departmentally for some time, no long-term commitment being made with the existing staff. The Committee was not in favour of the permanent running of the service by the Department and desired that the Transport Ministry should come back with an alternative scheme and with a complete memorandum on the subject within a period not exceeding six months.
MINISTRY CF DEFENCE
4. Proposal regarding provision of temporary Technical and Domesti Accommodation for the R. I. A. F. Department and No, 1 Ground Training School at
Jalahalli (Bangalore),
OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE.
The Committee approved the scheme subject to the remark that the new quarters to be built for N.C.Os. and others should be permanent quarters, as it was stated that permanent quarters could be built at double the costs proposed for temporary quarters. The Committee felt that the cost of a permanent N. C. O. quarter should not exceed Rs. 9,000 and quarter should conform to the new austerity standards laid down for residential buildings.
5. Proposol regarding provision of Domestic Accommodation only for Officers, Warrant Officers, S N. C. Os, and Airmen at Poona,
OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE
The Committee while approving items (ii) to (vii) of para. 1 of the memorandum made the following observations regarding construction of 31 quarters,

Class II-B for married officers:-
The cost per quarter was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 34,000 which was on the high side. This should be re-examined by the Defence Ministry and they should come back with a revised estimate and plans in conformity with the reduced standards which were now being applied to these buildings.
There would be a special meeting of the Standing Finance Committee in which both the Civil and the Defence Ministries would discuss the new type designs, specifications etc. of residential accommodation for various categories of officers, Civil and Military, with cost thereof including furniture scale which would be the standard in future.
MINISTRY OF WORKS, MINES AND POWER
6. Memorandum from the Secretary, Standing Finance Committee, regarding reconsideration of the multi-purpos> schemes for the Narbada, Tapti and the Assam
Valley development.
The undersigned is directed to forward herewith a copy of a letter dated the 23rd
March 1948 from Shri Biswanath Das to the Honourable the Finance Minister [Annexure] regarding reconsideration by the Standing Finance Committee of the multi-purpose schemes for the Narbada, Tapti and also the Assam Valley Develop-
ment. The item has been included in the agenda for the ensuing meeting of the Committee to be held on the 31st March 1948.

[MINISTRY OF WORKS, MINES AND POWER]
ANNEXURE
Copy of a letter dated the 23rd March 1948, from Shri Biswanath Das to the Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Finance Minister.
I am sorry that the Standing Finance Committee have again rejected the de-
mand for continuance of the investigation of the Multi-purpose Development Schemes
for the Nerbudda Tapti and also for the Assam Valley Project. You are aware of the fact that the Central Waterboard Commission are very soon constituting a com-
mittee to meet with our desire to have all the papers regarding these multi-

purpose
schemes examined by the said high-level expert Committee. Mr. Gokhle, the Sec-
retary to the Ministry, specifically stated that this report would be available by early May this year and requested that preliminary investigations be allowed to be
continued.
The Bombay, C. P. and Assam Ministries are said to be very keen for the early investigation of these Schemes. They are equally, if not more, responsible people
like ourselves. The Honourable Gadgil is also equally keen for the investigation of these projects. Examination of these schemes by a high level committee as desired
by us should have been thought enough for the purpose and the activities should
have been allowed to be continued till the middle of June as Mr. Gokhle finally ap-
pealed to be done. I have no hesitation in saying that the Bombay, C. P. and especially the Assam representatives will be upset over the decision. In the result this investigation work will be delayed by one year, money already spent uptil now
will be a loss and the adjustment of the staff engaged on this work will be a further
loss.
Dr. Savage and other American specialists, visited Cuttack. They were áll in praise of the high-quality work turned out by Indian Engineers and had special praise for Mr. Khosla. Regarding the Tapti and Nurbudda Schemes, the Bombay Engineers are also associated and they cannot be said to have no experience of Dam
Constructions since the Sukkur Barrage was constructed only a few years back.
I
Since there is a meeting of the Standing Finance Committee on the 29th, may request you to bring this question back to the Committee for reconsideration. I deem this as necessary lest we will be accused of being a stumbling block on the path of progress.
OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE
In order to meet the existing commitments and to carry on the work in hand till the Ad-hoc Committee of expert Engineers report on the schemes, the Committee agreed to sanction 10 per cent. of the proposed cost of the

preliminary
investigations.
MINISTRY OF FINANCE
7. Enlargement of the scope and functions of the Standing Finance Committee and the method of the composition of the Committee.
OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE
The following suggestions were approved by the Committee.
The Standing Finance Committee after the Budget is voted would start a detailed examination of selected grants each year so that in five during the life of the Assembly, the whole administration on the side would come under review. New items of expenditure would be examined by the Committee according to the existing procedure. with the Defence Estimates would be taken up for examination. years, i.e., expenditure continue to To begin

D
[MINISTRY OF FINANCE]
$408
The Defence Ministry should send in advance to the Members of the Standing Finance Committee a memorandum explaining the organisation and working
of the Department. One of their Financial Advisers would help the Standing Finance Committee in these meetings and record the proceedings.
It was also suggested that a non-official member of the Standing Committee of the appropriate Ministry might attend the meetings of the Standing Finance Committe: 23 a Liaison Member between the Departments whose proposals were under examination of the Standing Finance Committee.
8. Scheme for permanent settlement of Sterling Balances.
OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE
It was likely that our Delegation would leave for U. K. about the middle of May. It might be possible to give a picture of the whole position about the 10th May to the Members of the Standing Finance Committee in a special meeting.
9. The exercise of stricter control by the Finance Ministry over Expendit 13.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE
Deputy Secretary (Budget), Ministry of Finance, was instructed to prepare a note on the whole subject showing the present methods of financial control exercised by the Finance Ministry over not only Government Departments but also autonomous and semi-autonomous institutions and other bodies receiving grants. This would be discussed at a future meeting.
10. Re-arrangement of Budget Beads and Demands.
OBSERVATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE
During the discussion it was brought out that the budget documents were not sufficiently explanatory. The improvement probably lay in the direction of enlarging the explanatory memoranda and following the lines adopted in Madras
and Bombay. A small Sub-Committee of the Standing Finance Committee would discuss the matter with the Deputy Secretary (Budget) and make concrete suggestions as to what changes, if any, should be made in the presentation
of the Budget to the Legislature.
CIPD-S8-274 M of Finanso-27-8-48-

94
(There is no Religion higher than Truth)
THEOSOPHICAL FREE TRACTS
पठन
25th June 1948
No. 13
THE INIQUITY OF VIVISECTION
We write to draw attention to a great and growing evil, a menace not to the animal world alone but also to humanity. Especially because India is increasingly following, blindly as far as most of her people are concerned, in the lurid track of Western biological science and was only recently announced as starting, with Government approval, the

manufacture of a vaccine against tuberculosis, the time seems ripe to examine the facts and the implications of the practice of vivisection.

The term has a wider accepted application than cutting or operating on a living animal, as its derivation connotes. It includes any painful experimentation upon living animals in the supposed or alleged interest of science.

Cruelty to Animals Act!) brought from the Secretary of State for the Home Department the reply that in that year experiments had been performed on 231 cats and 620 dogs without anæsthetics and on 2,111 cats and 411 dogs with

U. S. Naval Medical Scheel

We thank the U. S. Naval Medical Centre, Bethesda, Maryland, for the use of the above block, which has appeared in Newsweek for 8th March 1948. (See p. 2)

The average layman is as serenely unaware of the extent of the practice as he is of the cruelty involved. b

An inquiry in the House of Commons on October 24th, 1947, as to the number of experiments performed in 1946 (allowed under the anæsthetics. These figures, it will be noted, cover only species of animals

often made pets. They do not include rats, guinea-pigs, rabbits, mice and other laboratory animals which are very largely used, nor do they include monkeys, of which thousands have been exported from India. It was admitted in the Simla Assembly a few years ago that research laboratories were the probable destination of most of the 22,544 monkeys exported from India in 1936-37, and as recently as 29th April 1948 an Associated Press despatch reported priority being sought for rail shipment of 300 Rhesus monkeys from the United Provinces to Calcutta. They were to be shipped from there to a Hanover firm in the U. S. Zone of Germany for medical research in connection with infantile paralysis and malaria.

It was estimated in a recent popular article that laboratories in the U.S. A. spend a million dollars annually for research animals. The four medical schools of Chicago alone were allotted 9,000 of the city's unclaimed, unlicensed dogs in 1943, and a defender of vivisection complained in The Scientific Monthly for December 1947 that the

number was "actually not sufficient.
99
SOME OF THE TORTURES
2
10
Nothing can exceed the cold-blooded matter-of-factness of the accounts of vivisection practices in medical and scientific journals, and increasingly in popular magazines, though some attempt is made in the latter to gloss over the agonies involved, and what Dr. R. Fielding-Ould, M.D., M.R.C.P., M.A., described last year as "the damnable cruelties daily taking place in the secret shambles of the vivisectors."

In one experiment reported in a medical journal, a number of monkeys had been inoculated with rabies and the account described how they gradually developed such symptoms as shrieking continually, tearing the flesh off their own arms and having convulsions which threw them bodily across the cage.

It is difficult to concede that a sadistic tendency is not at the root of many vivisection experiments, or that it is not fed by all. Because through parents' carelessness a young child had now and then got hold of kerosene and drunk it, an elaborate experiment was carried out in the U. S. A., involving the torture of many guinea-pigs and rats, studying the effect of varying doses of kerosene by mouth and by various types of injections. The net result was the discovery that," as damage continues as long as kerosene remains in the gastroenteric tract, it should be removed

"The nobler a man is, the more objects of compassion he hath."-BACON

This Newsweek for March 8th, 1948, carried the gruesome illustration

reproduced on p. I of
"a tight-fitting Lucite
cap...clamped on the
bared brain of an experimental monkey." This
experiment was made at the National Naval
Medical Centre, Bethesda, Maryland, and the text
explains that "by injecting dyes into the monkey,
researchers can look through the 'window,' watch
the dyes flow through the brain, and check on
the animal's circulation. The grim and tragic
expression on the victim's face defies description.
The whole top of the animal's skull had been
removed.
39
In an experiment reported in War Medicine for
February 1944 "it was found that shock could be
regularly produced in dogs by a controlled muscle-
crushing procedure with minimal loss of blood."
"
A simplified standard procedure for the
production of traumatic shock in mice and the
evaluation of therapy," described in U. S. Public
Health Reports, 24th September 1943, "involves
the application of tourniquet-like bands to the
legs. With this technique the maximum mortal-
ity is reported to result from two to three hours
of application when untreated."
advance!
as quickly as possible
in cases of kerosene
poisoning, which any-
one with a modicum
of commonsense could
have told them in
That worry adversely affects the heart and
other organs has so long been common knowledge
that the prolonged and cruel series of tests in
which it was demonstrated, and the rationale of
the process determined by the Director of the

Institute of Experimental Medicine and Surgery at the University of Montreal, would be difficult to defend. An article condensed in Science Digest from Maclean's Magazine for June 1947 describes how he used 15,000 rats in 10 years of experiment. With ingenious tipping platforms to worry his rats, revolving cages turned by motor to keep the rats running in the cage an hour at a time to exhaust them, and cold chambers to subject them to exposure, he found he could induce the so-called degenerative diseases experimentally.

Learning that "the stress and strain caused an upset in part of each rat's glandular system, and tracing the progressive damage from the pituitary gland to others and to the circulatory system, seems an unnecessarily circuitous route,

cruelty aside, when the elaborate cycle can be prevented in the case of man by eliminating causes of or susceptibility to worry, as by gaining peace of mind.

Bernard Shaw attacked Pavlov, the vivisector who discovered "conditioned reflexes" in dogs, as a scoundrel. According to his biographer, Hesketh Pearson, he declared that Pavlov's book on the subject described how Pavlov had...cut half their brains out, and pierced their cheeks and dragged their tongues through them to study their salivation.... And from twenty-five years of this sort of thing all that the world learned was how a dog behaved with half its brains cut out, which nobody wanted to know.

Apparently Shaw's protest fell on deaf ears, for we learn from a paragraph in Science

News Letter for 19th
December 1942, apro-
pos of recent experi-
ments, that
64
3
411
Were not the main facts about diet known
before the hundreds and thousands of wretched
laboratory animals paid with their sufferings and
with their deaths, sometimes by slow starvation,
that we might be able to call the nutritive ele-
ments "vitamins"?
In our Theosophical Free Tract No. II, we
presented in some detail "The Case Against
Vaccination." We shall not, therefore, go again
here into the failure of vaccination for smallpox,
which is no longer compulsory in Great Britain,
though it unfortunately is still in parts of India.
We believe with the late A. R. Wallace, O.M.,
F.R.S., that "
a condition of health is the one and
only protection we re-
quire against all kinds
of disease, and to put
any product of disease
whatever into the blood
of a healthy person is
to create a danger far
greater than the disease
Nothing hardens or debases human nature
so quickly or so hatefully as the killing of pity
in the heart of man, woman or child."
by leaving intact a tiny isolated blob of pituitary
gland and hypothalamus to maintain the water and
sugar balance of the body, it was possible to discover
that animals lacking 95% of the brain can walk, jump,
claw and right themselves.
Is that information worth to society the price

to the experimenter's character, to say nothing of the sufferings of his victims ?

WHERE ARE THE RESULTS?

-HAMILTON FYFE

itself."

The failure of diphtheria immunization has been spectacular-and tragic in its results. In Germany it was made compulsory in 1940 and the number of cases jumped from 142,685 to 236,000 two years later. It was made compulsory in France, in the second and third years of life, after having been widely practised before. The incidence per 100,000 jumped from 35.9 in 1939 to 118.7 in 1943. Dr. J. Tissot, Hon. Professor of General Physiology at the National Natural History Museum, Paris, declared last December that vaccination with diphtheria toxin had inoculated serious diphtheria upon about 150,000 children in France since 1940, and killed 15,000 of them.

It is often not realized that the serums and vaccines which millions take unthinkingly in blind submission to medical orthodoxy's current fad,

What is there to show for the mounting toll of animal torture and human debasement? When Faust sold his soul to the Devil he got at least that for which he had bartered it away. The vivisectors who claim exemption from the laws of human decency and demand ever increasing facilities and funds for their sadistic pursuits-what have they got to show for their activities? They are in much the same position-and their recommendations should be valued accordingly-as the woman, always free with her advice on child care, who declared "I ought to know how to bring up children; I've buried six!" This infamous practice of vivisection has been going on so long that it is surely not unreasonable to ask what the perpetrators have to show for it.

involve great suffering of animals in their production. A physician wrote in a popular article in The Sunday Pictorial of 14th October 1945:-

It is said that these experiments are merely the prick of a needle.... The initial act is no doubt only a prick but the animal who has been injected is kept alive often for days until it has developed peritonitis and died in atrocious pain.

The torture of any animal is bad but the fact that smallpox-vaccine preparation involves cruelty to the cow should be more widely known by Indians, too many of whom are ready to bow to any Western medical superstition that is urged upon them.

In a striking article in The Nineteenth Century as long ago as 1929, Beatrice E. Kidd wrote of the vested interests concerned in the immunology cult :-

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asserting triumphantly that this boon to the human race cost "only thirty dogs." But how do they account for the fact that since the introduction of this "wonder drug" the mortality from diabetes has been rising in a medically "advanced" country like the U.S.A.? Between 1933 and 1944, the last

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"

"Kill not-for Pity's sake-and lest ye slay
The meanest thing upon its upward way.
-The Light of Asia,

So long as bacteriology is the means of livelihood

of thousands and is subsidized by the government, and the makers of vaccines and sera pile up their huge profits, so long will hundreds of thousands of animals, prisoned in our laboratories, be sent to a doom which men and women of sympathetic imagination must needs contemplate with horror; and so long will their sacrifice be quite fruitless.

Take that scourge of humanity-cancer. In spite of several decades of futile sacrifice of thousands of animals in the laboratory, there have been no resulting suggestions of a cure, and deaths from this dread disease are on the increase. In the U.S.A. it has become the second greatest cause of death. Common-Sense About Cancer, approvingly reviewed in The Medical World a few years ago, suggested that orthodox medicines themselves may be one of the main causes of cancer, essentially a disease of civilization.

Dr. Monkton Copeman, F.R.S., said that, "notwithstanding the enormous amount of time, money and energy which have been spent on cancer research all over the civilized world, they were still as ignorant as ever as to the cause of the disease.

It was of this problem of cancer that Dr. Beddow Bayley, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., wrote in Cancer: The Failure of Modern Research :-

...until the complete futility and moral unjustifiability of animal experimentation is more generally recognized, there is little likelihood that lines of thought and experience so entirely foreign to the mental outlook of those who uphold the practice of vivisection, but essential to the true comprehension of the problem, will be found acceptable.

Insulin for diabetics is a discovery to which the defenders of vivisection point with pride, year for which statistics

are available, deaths
from diabetes rose from
21.4 per 100,000 to 26.4.
Dr. R. Fielding-Ould,
M.D., M.R.C.P., M.A.,
wrote in The Animals' Defender for June 1947
that "during the last thirty years the infliction
of intense torture on unknown myriads of sentient
animals has not resulted in the discovery of a
single remedy of acknowledged and generally
accepted value in the cure of disease." Dr. Bant-
ing's experiments on living dogs, he declared in
The Sunday Pictorial article cited,
have not added one whit to the knowledge we had fifty
years ago when Dr. Abram, Professor of Medicine in
the Liverpool University, was treating diabetic patients
with pancreatic extract, which is now known and
boosted by the manufacturing chemists as insulin.
The hackneyed demand based on the assump-
tion of beneficial results from vivisection, "Would
you spare the life of an animal and let your own
child die?" is shown by the barren record of vivi-
section to be completely irrelevant.

ANIMALS AND MEN DIFFER

Is it not obvious that man's possession of a
self-conscious mind puts him in a different class
from animals as to susceptibility and resistance
to and overcoming of disease? Lord Moynihan
once wrote in The Lancet :-
The material of the human body is neither the
same, nor subject to the same influences, as that of
animals nearest to man...and above all, the mind of
man is infinitely complex in comparison with that of
the most intelligent of animals.
Many physicians have challenged the appli-
cability of laboratory experiments on animals to
man.
Dr. Andrew S. MacNeil, for example, wrote
in The Medical World for 5th February 1943-

The inadvisability of medical men relying on laboratory pronouncements, arrived at as a result of

experiments on animals or animal tissues, is clearly shown by the dictum that alcohol depresses cardiac muscle.... Animal experimenters found, as a result of experimentation on animals, that digitalis raised the blood pressure and, as a consequence, it was not used for some years on human beings...that the blood pressure is raised by digitalis was found, clinically, to be incorrect in the case of human beings....You cannot make any true analogy from animals to men.

Dr. L. A. Parry declared before the British Medical Association: "The practice of vivisection is futile, harmful and immoral."

Dr. John Forbes, Medical Registrar of Guy's Hospital, once said in The Lancet, apropos of the indiscriminate application to human beings of quasi-scientific animal experiments:-

It is a practice unfortunately on the increase as the habit of bedside observation declines and reverence for non-clinical research grows. There is but one

Human experimentation with frequent dire and sometimes fatal results of which the human subjects are not adequately warned, is involved in the Lempert Fenestration Operation for the relief of deafness, according to Dr. Emanuel Josephson, M. D., who wrote on "Human Vivisection" in the December 1947 Aryan Path.

Nor do we refer only to the terrible experiments in the Nazi prison camps. Those the rest of the world set down to a warped mentality.

But experimental inoculation of human subjects was unashamedly demanded in a book published in English over a decade before the Nazis came

to power, in which condemned criminals were suggested as suitable subjects. And both injection and starvation experiments are reported to have been actually made on helpless children in institu-

criterion of the value of any therapeutic procedure, tions, in free dispensaries and hospitals, and even does it, however attractive in theory or successful with guinea-pigs, really work with patients?

It was admitted by the experimenters in a series of tests of the effects, on the circulatory and nervous systems of dogs, of exposure for several hours daily to carbon monoxide fumes, that the experiments did not permit any conclu-sions as to the potential reactions of the human body to the same conditions. (American Journal of Medical Sciences, October 1944)

AND SO TO HUMAN VIVISECTION!

The recognition of the futility of animal vivisection for light on human ailments is bound, so long as the "health at any price" mentality prevails, to lead to clamour for human subjects on whom to experiment. We do not refer now to the heroic men and women who voluntarily submit to tests for the benefit of the race. The cases where medical researchers in their zeal for knowl-edge that will help humanity submit their own bodies to pain are relatively few. All honour to those who do so sacrifice their comfort, as was done by twenty-six physicians, medical students and nurses who in 1944 in San Francisco volun-teered to have their arms and legs pierced with drills and needles for the construction of a "pain map, to enable doctors to locate undiagnosed aches and pains.

in elementary schools.

The hopelessly insane and the feeble-minded are sure to occur to the vivisectors as suitable material, if they have not already done so, and

from there it is only a step to the superannuated, which all of us may be some day. There is already alarm at the growing burden represented by the increasing proportion of the population that falls in the advanced age group and requires support by the rest of society.

ALTERNATIVES TO VIVISECTION

We have seen that clinical observation, now largely outmoded, is held by some even among Allopathic physicians to be of infinitely greater value than vivisection, even from the point of view of results alone.

Sanitation and proper nutrition are better protectors against disease than anything preventive medicine can offer.

Naturopathy, Homoeopathy, Ayurveda, Osteopathy, Chiropractic and related systems all offer alternatives to vivisection and have to their credit many cases of successful treatment. While the vivisectors were fruitlessly working on infantile paralysis in their laboratories, Nurse Kenny was perfecting and applying her technique for its cure, against the resistance of orthodox medicine. It was the same medical orthodoxy which not

many years ago was opposing also Sir Herbert Barker's manipulative surgery, since triumphantly vindicated.

If we must tolerate biological research for a time, the technique of growing cultures on fertilized eggs is infinitely preferable to vivisection. Its possibilities should be thoroughly explored before the biologists declare animal experimentation necessary for their research.

But the recognition is growing of the fact taught by the great sixteenth-century physician, Paracelsus, that the whole nature of man must be

taken into account, and not only his physical body. It is the patient that has to be treated, not only the disease. He wrote:-

Those who merely
study and treat the
effects of disease are
like persons who imag-
ine that they can drive
the winter away by
brushing the snow
from the door.

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As long as experiments involving the most revolting cruelty are mentioned casually in success stories, as long as vivisectors are heaped with honours proportionate to the results they claim, so long may we expect human morals and human relations to be on the down grade. The public is morally responsible for condoning vivisection and to share in the responsibility is to share also in the reaction certain to visit all offences against the unity of Life. The public should inform itself as to what it is condoning, by reading such publications as The Animals' Defender, organ of the National Anti-Vivisection Society (92, Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1) and The Abolitionist, that of the British Union for

"Compassion...is the Law of LAWS--eternal Harmony...the light of everlasting right, and fitness of all things, the law of Love eternal. "
-The Voice of the Silence

Psychomatic medicine, tracing physical ailments to their roots in thought and emotion, is on the right track.

THE MORAL ISSUE

From the moral point of view the case against vivisection is overwhelming. Convinced that this is a universe of law, we believe with Cicero that "No cruelty is useful." Society at its peril exempts the unconscious sorcerers of the vivisection laboratories from the moral laws upon which it itself depends. Robert G. Ingersoll wrote in December 1876 :-

Brain without heart is far more dangerous than heart without brain.... It may be that the human race might be physically improved if all the sickly and deformed babies were killed and if all the paupers, liars, drunkards, thieves, villains and vivisectionists were murdered. All this might, in a few ages, result in the production of a generation of physically perfect men and women, but what would such beings be worth-men and women healthy and heartless, muscular and cruel-that is to say, intelligent wild beasts?

the Abolition of Vivisection (47, Whitehall, London, S. W. 1)

There is a hue and cry for a short time when a particularly heinous experiment comes to public knowledge, as when some American experimenters some twenty years ago dropped dogs from a high cliff to produce the effect of shock. It was no worse than the secret tortures in the laboratories, but it aroused considerable public resentment at the time. Today there is a strong movement of protest against vivisection in the United States, and restrictive legislation has been introduced in several States, though not yet passed. Vivisection should be made everywhere a criminal offence.

It has been claimed that man alone has a soul and that therefore animal vivisection in the supposed interest of man is justified. Madame

Blavatsky wrote in 1886:-
...verily when the world feels convinced-and it can-
not avoid coming one day to such a conviction-that
animals are creatures as eternal as we ourselves, vivi-
section and other permanent tortures, daily inflicted
on the poor brutes, will, after calling forth an outburst
of maledictions and threats from society generally,
force all Governments to put an end to these barbarous
and shameful practices.

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AN IMPORTANT LETTER
We reproduce below the full text of a letter on vivisection from the pen of the much-abused American
freethinker Robert Ingersoll, who wrote it in December 1876 to Philip G. Peabody of Boston. It has been repeatedly
published. We take it from the May 1931 issue of The Aryan Path :-
My dear Friend.-
Vivisection is the inquisition-the Hell-of
Science. All the cruelty which the human-or
rather the inhuman-heart is capable of inflicting,
is in this one word. Below this there is no depth.
This word lies like a coiled serpent at the bottom
of the abyss.
We can excuse, in part, the crimes of passion.
We can take into consideration the fact that man
is liable to be caught by the whirlwind, and that
from a brain on fire the soul rushes to a crime.
But what excuse can ingenuity form for a man
who deliberately-with an unaccelerated pulse-
with the calmness of John Calvin at the murder
of Servetus-seeks, with curious and cunning
knives, in the living, quivering flesh of a dog, for
all the throbbing nerves of pain. The wretches
who commit these infamous crimes pretend that
they are working for the good of man; that they

are actuated by philanthropy; and that their pity for the sufferings of the human race drives out all pity for the animals they slowly torture to death. But those who are incapable of pitying animals are, as a matter of fact, incapable of pitying men. A physician who would cut a living rabbit in pieces--laying bare the nerves, denuding them with knives, pulling them out with forceps-would not hesitate to make experiments with men and women for the gratification of his curiosity.

To settle some theory, he would trifle with the life of any patient in his power. By the same reasoning he will justify the vivisection of animals and patients. He will say that it is better that a few animals should suffer than that one human being should die, and that it is far better that one patient should die, if through the sacrifice of that one, several may be saved.

Brain without heart is far more dangerous than heart without brain.

Have these scientific assassins discovered anything of value? They may have settled some disputes as to the action of some organ, but have they added to the useful knowledge of the race? It is not necessary for a man to be a specialist in order to have and express his opinion as to the right or wrong of vivisection. It is not necessary to be a scientist or a naturalist to detest cruelty and to love mercy. Above all the discoveries of the thinkers, above all the inventions of the ingenious, above all the victories won on the fields of intellectual conflict, rise human sympathy and a sense of justice.

I know that good for the human race can never be accomplished by torture. I also know that all that has been ascertained by vivisection could have been done by the dissection of the dead. I know that all the torture has been useless. All the agony inflicted has simply hardened

the hearts of criminals without enlightening their minds.

It may be that the human race might be physically improved if all the sickly and deformed babies were killed and if all the paupers, liars, drunkards, thieves, villains and vivisectionists were murdered. All this might, in a few ages, result in the production of a generation of physically perfect men and women, but what would such beings be worth-men and women healthy and heartless, muscular and cruel-that is to say, intelligent wild beasts?

Never can I be the friend of one who vivisects his fellow-creatures.

his fellow-creatures. I do not wish to touch his hand.

When the angel of pity is driven from the heart; when the fountain of tears is dry-the soul becomes a serpent crawling in the dust of a desert.

Thanking you for the good you are doing, and wishing you the greatest success, I remain,

Yours always

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL

The above may be reprinted fully or in part, but it is requested that the source be acknowledged
and a cutting sent.

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as
Homage To Nasik
By Shri V. Srinivasan
To think of Nasik is to contemplate on
an entire civilization which is as old as
the hills. Known as the Banaras of
Western India, the significance of this
place in Maharashtra is beside Pandharpur
and Poona. It is sacred because Sri Rama-
chandra spent a part of his exile in
Panchavati with Sita
mana. 1 The river
starts its course in the
the Ganges of Deccan and the Matsya
Purana which gave prominence to this
river was probably composed by an
inhabitant of the region.
Devi and Laksh-
Godavari which
vicinity is indeed
Hindustan Review, Patna.
Oct. 1950.
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What a wealth of interest one has in
its annals! There is a tradition that the
region assigned to Parasurama by Varuna,
the rain-god, extended from here to
Kanyakumari in the far south. Through
its dynastic vicissitudes runs a continuous
thread of national history, and with
Nasik is associated the famous Trimbak
hill around which are the scenes of many
a wild battle. Its many links with the
past, Buddhistic, Jaina and otherwise
invest Nasik with an importance hardly
less than that of Kanchi and Delhi.
Il
Nasik has the advantage of a climate

1. According to the Ramayana of Valmiki. it was sage Agastya who sent our classical
hero to Panchavati which was about two yojanas from his hermitage; with "plenty of fruits
and roses, no scarcity of water, plenty of birds and games", It was commendable enough and we
read that the princes had a bath in the stream and "as god Rudra after bath, looking beautiful
with Nandi and Parvati, so Rama looked after bath".
"In that spot whose pleasant shade
Gave store of fruit content he stayed.
With Lakshman and his Maithil spouse
He spent his days 'neath sheltering boughs,
As happy as a God on higher
Lives in his mansion in the sky" (Bk. III canto 15) translated by Griffith.
There is a legend that Rama, after destroying Ravana in Lanka, returned to Panchavati.
From there he went to Ayodhya via Saras village near Surat, where he worshipped
Siva and raised a linga still worshipped in Shiddhnath (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. IX. Pt. 1,p. 12
2. For a contrary view, see Dr R. C. Hazra (Dacca University) Studies in the Puranic
Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 52: "On the strength of the great prominence given to
region about the river Godavari in Matsya Purana 114, 37-39 (on geography) it has been
suggested that the place of composition of the Matsya Purana was Nasik (H. P. Sastri,
Catalogue of Sanskrit Ms. ASB, Vol. V.Purana, preface p. cxc). This suggestion seems to have
a very weak basis".

which is equable all through the seasons have been the speciality of the region.

of the year and this probably determined the location of the Central Government's Security Press establishment in Nasik Road, the rail-head familiar to all tourists. Justice Kincaid who spent many years in Bombay Presidency before his appoint- before his appoint-
ment in the Government of India was impressed by Nasik as a most delightful station, and it also appears to have been once discussed as a possible capital for India, especially because of Delhi's extremes of climate. The place finds mention in the Indian diary of the late Edwin Samuel Montagu who, as Secretary of State, visited this country to discuss proposals of constitutional reforms with the Viceroy of that time, Lord Chelmsford. +
The present district of Nasik was formed in 1869, but civic life appears to have begun earlier as the Municipality dates from 1864. The market place really impresses, particularly because of the stalls at the river front and there is much that is distinctive in the copper-work and brass work and the long-practised arts of plain dyeing and calico-printing which Nasik's bead-roll of honour includes the Rev. A.H. Frost who published in a London journal, in 1878, a magical puzzle to which he had given the name Nasik Square which has thus found a place among mathematical recreations. * The cause of higher education is served by the Gokhale Education Society's H.P.T. College and there are now a Boys Town and a military school besides in Nasik. The city is also of interest to sportsmen

because of its 18-hole golf course, and the
place reminds us, too, of Gool Nasikwallah
who has retained the title in Women's
Table Tennis Championship.
III
many names
Nasik in the past had
including a Muslim one, which is hardly
surprising since Muttra was once called
Islamabad as histories testify. Nasikya
is the ancient name occurring in
the Mahabhashya, while Janasthan,
Panchavati, Yagnasthan and Padmanagar
occur in the. Ramayana and the Puranas.
Some derive the place-name from
navasikha, i.e., nine peaks, 'the total,
however, being chosen for holiness than
3. Forty-Four Years a Public Servant: By C. A. Kincaid, pp. 1899 At one time it was nearly decided that the Viceroy should live in Nasik".
4. Vide entry for April, 21, 1918 (Simla). "I have been convinced on the awful penalties
of the migration to the hills. If Dehra Dun were the capital, one and a half hours would take
one to Mussoorie, and the two places might be almost one. Nasik would be even better, where
one might stop all the year round. But how are we to leave another unfinished capital at
Delhi? How can we undo the city that the King-Emperor founded? Are we still to spend
our six millions on a mistaken capital? What can be said? I must consider this more at home.
Then, too, in the future this report, the principles of the report, are dead unless they are acted
upon, unless they animate the Government. Will they do anything when I have gone? Will
they think about it again? Do not they want some one to drive them before they will move?
These are the anxieties. Shall I be allowed to carry out the proposals? That is another

anxiety". (An Indian Diary, p. 364.)
5. CP.H.E. Dudne, article on Magic Square in Encyclopaedia Brittanica (14th edn.) Vol. XIV, p.628. Also W. W. R. Ball: Mathematical Recreations.

for accuracy as remarked by the writer Nandashankar in the Bombay Gazetteer.
Countless are the foreign notices of Nasik and Triambak. The classical geography of Ptolemy, famed astronomer, musician and mathematician of Alexandria (d.161 A.D.) mentions Nasika, giving its situation at a latitude of 17° though it is now 20°, while Hippokoura appears to be another Greek equivalent. That prince among Chinese pilgrims, Hiuen Tsang who was in India in the seventh century also refers to the place without naming it in his famous book of travels. The Muslim historians also refer to the place and so does Nicolao]Manucci the Venetian in his account of the Mogul empire, which however, refers to the river Godavari by the interesting name Quixina. Gulshana-
° Gulshana
bad ('City of Roses', was the Moghul name for Nasik and it was a Peshwa who renamed the place as Nasik in 1752.
IV
Nasik's fame as a pilgrim-centre is due to its many tirthas 10 and Rama himself is said to have performed the rites of his father Dasaratha here in front of the

temple. And, while
Gaya is deemed to be holy for offering
pinda to a father, it is considered more
meritorious to perform the mother's rites
in Nasik. Who does not know Ramkund
and the other kunds besides, or has not
heard that the men f gifting a cow in
Govardhan nearby said to be – birth-
place of Patanjali (270-180 B C.)-is
believed to equal what one obtains by
gifting 1,000 cows elsewhere, or not known
the sanctity of Triambak, the reputed
source of the Godavari, famed for the
spot where Jnyandev's brother Nivrittnath
attained Samadhi? Famed too is the
Simhasth fair held once in twelve years in
honour of Triambakeshwar: Jupiter
the enters the sign of Leo sacred event
in the pilgrim's calendar and Ganga,
Narmada, Yamuna and Saraswathi, are
believed to come to wash in the Godavari
at that time. There is indeed much else to
interest the devout pilgrim in the many
cross-sections of Hindu society and Hindu
religion met with in Nasik and Triambak.
Rama worship is evident (there are
temples for him and for Mahadeva built
A
6. Bombay Gazetteer: Vol. XVI, p.460. The hills are Juna Gadhi, Navi Gadhi,
Konkani
Tek. Jogoada Tek, Mhassul Hill, Dinga Ali Hill
Chitraganda Hill.
Mahalakshmi Hill, Ganpathi Hill and
7. Cp. Vincent A. Smith, Early History of India (4th edn.) 1925.
8. Cp. Elliot and Dawson: The History of India as told by its own Historian: Vol.
VII.
pp. 65-66 which has a reference to the Baglana territory. "It is famous for its
temperate
climate, its numerous streams and the abundance of its trees and fruits." On the

south was
Nasik The sentence quoted is from Abdul Hamid Lahori's Badshah nama being a history of
the first twenty years of Shahjahan's reign written on the lines of Abul Fazal's Akbarnama.
9 Storia Do Mogor Or Moghul India (1653-1708) Indian Texts Series: Manucci refers
(Vol. III. pp. 145, 244) to Trimbak as being at the mouth of the Quixina "which is the name
of a Hindu god". He confounds the Godavari with the Krishna river.
10. It is interesting to recall that Mahatma Gandhi came to Nasik with a brother for a
ceremonial bath after his return from the law studies in London, orthodox relatives having
prescribed it as an expiation of the sin committed by his crossing the seas Gandh ji did not
like this but his visit to Nasik is referred to by Patricia Kendall (Come with me to India.
p.332).

by Ahalyabai Holkar), as is Siva worship
(Nivrittinath being held to be an avatar of
Mahadeva), also Siva as Tilbhandeshwar,
Balaji Sakti worship, etc. besides the
Hanuman cult (B.G.X 335) which is not
surprising in Rama's Panchavati, and
Shivaji is said to have put a shrine of
Hanuman inside the gate of every fort he
seized! All these profoundly affect the
Hindus sojourning in Nasik and so
have they impressed many men of alien
faiths too: Monier Williams was greatly

struck with the Asthivilaya Thirtham and

many an observant writer has recorded the catholicity of the communities who seek spiritual solace by visiting Nasik,
18 The region has proved to be a veritable mine for numismatic investigators. One only needs to recall in this connection the famous Jogalthambi hoard of coins discussed by the Rev, H.R. Scott in the pages of the Journal of the Bombay
420
427
261
Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soceity 14 and the press has continued to report the presence of thousands of coins of old. time history including many coins of the Sultans of Delhi and more recently billon coins too
VI
For an old place like Nasik, extant specimens of Hindu architecture are rather few but the cave temples in the neighbourhood are of considerable interest as they exemplify significant phases of India's art tradition. The Buddhist caves at Pandulena and the Jain caves of Chambar are never missed by the tourists. The structures of Pandulena include large chaityas (chapels), layanas
(chapels), layanas (dwelling
houses) and sathas (dining halls) and graceful images of Bodhisattva, Vajrapani, Padmapani and the Buddhist goddess Tara abound in the place, testifying to the artistic impulse of the Hinayana school of Buddhism is The caves are recognised
11. For an account of the several shrines and religious foundations see Bombay Gazetteer,
Vol. XVI., pp. 503-537. The passage about Sitagumpha is extracted in the post-

script which
concludes this essay.
12. Cf. pp. 301-302 in his Brahminism and Hinduism (1891): "I may also put on record
how greatly struck I was with the peaceful aspect of the spot of ground called the Asthivilaya
Thirtham, sacred place for the dissolution of bones at Nasik-the Banaras of Western India.
There surrounded by trees, temples and lovely scenery is a consecrated pool formed by the waters
of the Godavari which are here partially diverted from their course and made to flow into a
receptacle lined with stones in a secluded bend of the river. This is the cemetery or 'sleeping
place' of myriads of human beings whose ashes are brought at particular holy seasons and
scattered on the tranquil waters".
13. E. Sir Stanley Reed in India, the New Phase, at pp 142-143.
Vide p. 223 in vol. XXII: also, the Times of India, May, 31, 1908.
15. Vide Bombay Gazetteer Vol .XVI pp 541-639 for a full account of Pandu-
lena caves and the inscriptions written by the late Bhagwanial Indraji. Also, Burgess ASWI. IV
(1883) and Fergusson and Burgess. Cave Temples of India Chap VII, pp. 263-279 and Plates
19-26. "Groups of caves are often called lenas, a word which Dr. J Wilson derived from
Leyanam, ornamentation' but layana, a place of rest, a house, from the root li, to adhere, seems a
more natural derivation for the name of an abode". E B. Havell was emphatic that none of the
sculptures had any connection with Persian influence (Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of
India, pp. 80-83). The caves were first described by Capt Delamaine who visited them in
1823 and afterwards by Dr. J. Wilson and the West, 1831-40. One lena is owned by
Indragnidatta, son of Dhammadeva, a Yonaka from the north, from Dattamitra in Sind. C
Lassen in Indische Alter Tumskunde emphasised that Dattamitra corresponds to

Demetrios a
Yavana or Greek. A. Weber, Indische Studien, pointed out that Dattamitriya is only Sanskrit
for Prakrit Damtamitiyaka (Dr. W.W. Tarn: The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 142, n. 2.)
M

G
26

to be of the same type as the Karli caves and judging by the pillars of the halls they represent an advance over earlier styles in Indian architecture 18 The inscriptions are the most important in Western India, a matter of interest to scholars being that the
numerals 2,3,4,
5,6,7, and 9 appear in forms that very much resemble our own, the 2 and 3 known to us being only cursive derivations from the ancient. The inscriptions also throw considerable light on some of the obscure phases of the Indian history of the period 200 B.C.-200 A.D. particu-larly with reference to the later Satava. hanas and the Sakas and valuable are the observations that have been recorded in
17
Bühler's Indian Palaeography or the vensimilitude of the inscriptions of the Andhra kings Gautamiputra Satakarni and Sri Pulumayi and Ushavadatta, the son-in-law of the Kshatrapa ruler Nahapana. 18 It is in an Igatpuri inscription dated about 620 A.D. that the first important clue was found testifying

to the early existence of the terrible
Kapalika sect and this inscription
mentions a grant for the maintenance of
421
the sect and for the worship of Kapales-
wara. Mention may be also made of the
tradition associated with the region that
it was the home of the important Kalapas
or the Maitrayananiya sect, reckoned by
Patanjali as a well-known school of
Yajurvedins 19
Several tribal customs too are associa
ted by anthropologists with Nasik, such
as for instance, the practice of a woman
being led out as a scape victim when
cholera breaks out in the Mang tribe and
made to stay outside the town for some
hours and taken back after a bath: a
ceremonial which is indeed reminiscent of
the bringing of a victim to a shrine and
indicates an older rite of human sacrifice o
And, if an epidemic breaks out among them
the Kathkaris deem it to be a judgment
visited on them for having eaten
monkeys 21
VII
Of Nasik's history we can but give a

16. Unlike the specimens of an earlier day elsewhere. Nasik shows an advanced style to
make the pillars of the nave vertical (they had sloped inwards in earlier age) and to carve the
front in stone. See further descussion in Paul Masson-Oursel's Ancient India and Indian
Civilization, pp. 347-351; compare the pillars in Nasik, Ellora and Karli caves.

17. Prof. David Eugene Smith of Columbia University Encyclopaedia Brittanica (14th)
edn.) article on numerals in Vol. XVI (p.613). "These inscriptions do not, however, give any
evidence of place value, or of a zero that would make our place value possible".

18. Cf. J.R A.S., 1926, p. 653 (article of Prof. K A. Nilakanta Sastri); Epigraphia Indica,
Vol. VIII, p.60 for inscriptions. In the Nasik inscription of Vashisthiputra Sri Pulumayi
credit is taken for stopping the contamination of the four varnas.
19.
Yajurveda split up into the Kathas with their subdivisions, the Kapisthalas The latter have now disappeared and the former are found in Kashmir alone. The Maitrayananiyas
originally called the Kalapas lived between Baroda and Nasik, though remnants are said to live
in Gujarat.
20. Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.XVI, p.521.
21. Ibid, p.65.

few giimpses. The place was included in the territory of Krishna (Or Kanha) who was the second king of the historical Andhra dynasty who held sway over an extensive territory which spread between the two seas. It was; Simukha who had become independent of the Mauryas and founded this dynasty during the decadent days of Asoka's successors, and the Andhra capital was at Dhanakat or Dharnikot in Guntur district. The authority of the Andhras was paramount till they were challenged in Maharashtra by the Sakas who had an able leader in Nahapana and Nasik was the latter's seat of authority even as Ujjain was Chasthana's. The Saka empire was however, a short-lived affair and even this had a brief phase of rule by the Abhiras led by Isvaradatta son of Sivadatta, who carved out a principality in Nasik, proclaiming

himself as Mahakshatrapa (188 A.D.). It is considered possible that the Traikutaka era was indentical with that of the
422
524
263
Abhiras whose interregnum lasted for about seventy years, 28
Another Andhra King, Gautamiputra Satakarni was able to sieze the region but it was lost to Chasthana's grandson Rudradaman who wrested the former satrapies of Nahapana and brought them all under the Ujjain Court which, however, recognised the overlordship of the Kushan empire, 24
Later on, these areas would appear to have been annexed by the Imperial Guptas, Samudra Gupta had found signs of dis. loyalty but Chandra Gupta II subdued the region before assuming the biruda Vikramaditya, The post-Gupta period is obscure and it is considered probable that Nasik, Poona and Satara were ruled by Vindhyasena, a scion of the Basin, branch of the Vakataka house founded by a son of Pravarsena and that he annexed southern Maharashtra. The. Chalukyas then came on the scene and Hiuen Tsang who visited the court of Pulakesin II (608-42) refers
22. Reference may be made to the observations in E.B. Havell's A Short Story of India at
p. 69: "Though the sea routes played some part in the Aryanisation of southern India, the
old Indo-Aryan aristocracy kept to their forest traditions and their fighting men never
became sailors like the Dravidians of the sea-board. The mountainous regions of the western
coast in which the great rivers of the Deccan have their sources was congenial

soil for them.
A direct immigration from northern India took place along the Ghats, the bathing
steps of the Indian Ocean-and Dandaka or Maharashtra-(The Mahratta country) became
another Aryavarta. Nasik, its capital, probably marks the position of the source of the Godavari,
the Ganges of the Deccan in Vedic times". (Through of the riverbed the source is now about
30 miles distant from the city). Indeed, all believe in subterranean connection with Brahma's
fountain in the Himalayas.
23. For Abhira rule see the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad's New History of the Indian Teople,
Vol. VI by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar, dealing with the Vakataka-Gupta
The Vokstomas are by
Age. Chap. III, "Saka Rulers of Western India" C. 170 to C 400 A.D. and Chap. V. Prof. Ritekan
Rapson's date for the Abhira intervention under Isvaradatta is 236-288 A. D.
A
24. The writer in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I,p. 530 mentions the marriage of a
Mahratta princess Naganika to Satakarni, the third Andhra king, as a dynastic factor which
contributed to the extension of Andhra dynasty to Nasik, vide. R. G. Basak, History of North-
Easter India (320-760)

to the patronage of the
of the Digambara
literature of the Sakta cult in the capital
at or near Nasik and also to its many
stupas and chaityas.
The Chalukyas were followed by the

Rashtrakutas and from their attempt to speak prakrit arose Marathi which eventually gained the distinction of being one of the file prakrit dialects of mediæval India Parts of the Nasik region were ruled in the eighth century by the Yadavas and in Rashtrakuta times (750-972 A D.) Nasik was the capital until the seat of authority was shifted by Amoghavarsha (815-877) to Malkhed or Manyakheta.
(423
troops were engaged in the operations against Sahu and it was in Nasik that Daud Khan's cavalry met with a trouncing defeat at the hands of Shivaji in 1670. 26 Manucci as an emissary of Raja Jai Sing halted in Nasik for many days. 27
VIII
Coming to post-Mogul times, there was a quarrel between Raghunath Rao and the fourth Peshwa Madhava Rao and the latter's mother Gopika Bai who became extremely jealous of Raghunath Rao's influence and planned several stratagems against him. Raghunath had to flee to Nasik on horseback and he stayed in
The vicissitudes of mediæval Deccan retirement. But Madhava Rao turned to need not detain us and we need only him for aid and advice when Maharecord that Nasik became one of the
shtra was threatened by the Mysore Muslim capitals, and some of the stirring ruler Haidar Ali, Both joined events of Mogul and Maratha history hands and won a pyrrhic victory over took place around the fort. These events their common antagonist, after which centre round the overthrow of the Nizam Raghunath retured to Nasik. He died in
Shahis of Ahmednagar and around the 1772. Later on, Anandawalli near Nasik campaigns of the reigns of Akbar and became the refuge of his family when it Jehangir, of Khwaja Abul Hasan who moved out of Kopergaon in 1793, and his and about the co Yuyurange

place
was sent to conquer these parts in the widow Anandi Bai who had declined
early years of Shahjahan's reign. Large in health died not long after. It was again
25. Vide a instructive chapter on Prakrit dialects in A.A. Machonell: History of Sanskrit
Literature (pp. 26-27). "The testimony of the inscriptions is instructive in showing the
gradual encroachment of Sanskrit on the popular dialects used by the two non-Brahmanical
religions. Thus, in the Jain inscriptions of Mathura (now Muttra) an almost pure prakrit
prevails down to the first century A. D After that. Sanskritism became more and more
frequent till simple Sanskrit is written. Similarly in Buddhist inscriptions pure prakrit is
relieved by the mixed dialect, the latter by Sanskrit. Thus in the inscription of Nasik, in
Western India, the mixed dialect extends into the third while Sanskrit first begins in the
second century A.D. Prof. MacDonnell points out how Hiuen Tsang wrote that Buddhists used
Sanskrit even in oral theological disputation as the Jains did and how by the time of the
Mohammedan period Sanskrit became the only written language in India. Prakrit however
gave several new words and "transferred into a stress accent the old musical accent which still
prevailed after Panini's day". ibid p. 27.
B
26. Cf. Elliot and Dowson VI, pp. 97,99 (Akbarnama of Abul Fazil) 333 (Wakiat-i-Jahangiri), 433 (Ikbalnama i Jahangiri); VII, Badshah-nama, pp. 10,59, 66, dealing with the
events of 1629, 1635 and 1637.
27. Storia Do Mogor, Vol. III, p. 145.

in Nasik that Baji Rao's troops were

defeated by Raghunath Rao's adopted son Amrit Rao who had pillaged Poona earlier. A pension was eventually settled on Amrit Rao who spent his last days in Banaras 28 The succeeding decades saw the expansion of the British dominion and the important happenings of the period were the operations conducted against the Bhils by Sir Frank Souter, Captain Nuttal and others 20. There was a famine too and an interesting event of fiscal history was the levy of the dog-tax in 1845. There was also the occasion when the killing of a cow by a European roused the people to passion and a commotion followed.

IX

Nasik district was formerly divided between the collectorates of Khandesh and Ahmednagar till 1837 and an enlarged separate district dates only from 1869. so Interest in the political history of the last

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generation centres round the murder of the British civilian Jackson, which Lord Morley condemned as an atrocious crime throwing a cloud on the advent of British proposals of reform. s1 The details of late and contemporary history need not detain us and it only needs recording the prospect of a further adhesion of official importance to the place in view of the Gangapur Dam Project and the proposal to shift some of the Government of India offices from Delhi to Nasik.

POSTSCRIPT

The following description of Sitagum-pha is taken from the Bombay Gazetteer,

Vol. XVI, p.515.
"A large ante-room 30'9" X 8"x8
leads into an inner room 19' x 12'4" x 10'
in whose back wall a door leads down
seven steps to a vaulted chamber (5'8")
square and 7' high). In the back of this
chamber a door opens into a close dark.
28 For the quarrel between Raghunath Rao and Madhava Rao see Elliot and Dowson
Vol. VIII pp. 288-289, Nawab Ibrahim Khan Bahadur's account (Tarikh i-Ibrahim Khan)
written about 1786.
29. Bombay Gazetteer. Vol. XVI. p. 199
30. S.M. Edwards in Cambridge History of British Empire Vol. V (1858 1918) p. 59.
Interesting material about Nasik history is contained in Sir W W. Hunter's Bombay 1885-90
which also refers en passant to the tramway, p.295. The Indian Feeder Lines Comany was
started in 1887 and we learn that Lord Reay encouraged it as providing an useful adjunct
to railway traffic and the Indian Tramsways Act, was extended to the whole Bombay Province
except where special enactments were in force in Bombay and Karachi. The first undertaking
was to lay a horse tramway from Nasik to Nasik Road, the next one was a steam tramway from
Barsi Road to Baârsi. The tramway is no longer seen at present through I find it referred to in the
Encyclopaedit Brittanica (14th edn) p 125. The population of Nasik as given in the 1931
Census Report is 48,703. The population has now increased severalfold. The place has a
sprinkling of Muslim population. Even the Jama Mosque brars traces of Hindu origin The
Sayyids found here are said to have come from Medina about 1568. As regards other
communities, Sharanpur is a Christian village worth mentioning here.
31. Letter to Lord Minto, dated Jan 6, 1910. (India. Minto and Morley) (1905-1910) by

Mary, Countess of Minto, 1935) p 369, Earlier, Lord Minto to the Secretary of State on Dec.
23, 1909: "You will have heard by telegram of the horrible murder at Nasik. It is a terrible a'fair
in itself, for Mr. Jackson was from all accounts an excellent officer and very much liked".
(ibid, p.366).

shrine on a two-feet higher level (9'10" square and 9' high) with images of Ram, Lakshman and Sita in a large niche in the back wall. A door (2'7" x 1'8") in the left wall of the shrine leads one step down to a small ante-room 2' x 2'6" x 5'2" high at the foot of the left wall of which an opening 1'8" high by 1'3" broad only just large enough to crawl through leads two steps down to a vaulted room (9'3"x5" X9'9" high) A door in the east wall of this room leads to a shrine of Mahadev on a one-foot higher level. The shrine is vaulted about 7'2" square and about 9 high with a nude ling about 3" high. All these rooms ånd shrines are without any opening for air or light".
It is said that Sita was left by Rama in this cave and it was from here that Ravana carried her away. Electric lights are now provided in all the rooms and an ancient banyan tree stands by the cave which visitors are allowed to enter on payment of a fee.

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1/12-516
MUZAFFARPORE DISTRICT
Homoeo Medical Conference
On 27th June, 1950
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
By
DR. K. N. PALIT
M. B. H. A. (London) M. I. H. L.
Member Homoeopathic Enquiry Committee Bihar Govt. 1948.
Ex-President & Vice President:
Town Congress Committee Gaya, for the year 1941-42-43-45
Indian Representative to
World Congress of Homoeopaths at Budapest 1935
In the 10th Congress
Inter-National Homoeopathic League, Budapest.
General Secretary to
First Inter Asian Homoeo Medical Conference In India.
POST BOX 41, GAYA.
TELEPHONE NO. 113.

Page - 428
Ladies and Gentlemen,
(427)
responsibilities too
Our responsibility
happen to be the
We have assembled here at a very critical hour in history. With the advent of freedom not only the resources for and the avenues of development have increased hundred fold, but our
have increased to a large extent.
is all the more great because we
custodians of the health of the country. Thus it is a very critical hour in the history of our nation, and we must make a sincere effort to save our teeming

millions from death, disease, epidemic and pestilence. On the other hand, this is a critical hour in the history of Homoeopathy in India. We have been attacked by our own Govt. and that too in the name of recognising and aiding us.. Can there be any greater irony?

Now your choice for me to preside over this conference at this hour not only fills my heart with deep gratitude for you but also reminds me of the tasks ahead. Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the honour bestowed upon me but at the same time I beseech you to co-operate with me in the struggle for the service of humanity. I shall not call it a struggle for existance, because we are ready to sacrifice our interest if by doing so the health of the nation improves. But so long it is not done we are not ready to yield to temptation, indignation and fabrication.

(2)

The cheapness of our medical system and that it suits the pocket of every soul in India has been emphasized times without number and I shall not repeat them any more. However, I shall point out to you only one thing in this connection. Only a few years back, the Govt. of India was spending only three annas per head per year on the health of the nation. In view of this, our Govt. must realise that they have to cut their coat' according to the length of the cloth. Since devaluation the financial consideration has assumed greater importance.

If

Now I turn to the efficacy of the Homoeopathic medicines. Recently pure Homoeopathy has been challenged in the hide-bound report submitted by the Enquiry Committee on Homoeopathy. The Committee holds that ninety per cent. Homoeopaths are quacks

and pure Homoeopaths are danger to the society. this is their statement, whom do they mean to recognise out of the three lac Homoeopaths practising in India? Clearly, there intention is not to recognise it, but to corrupt it and to put it to death ultimately. However, our stand is firm on this issue, we believe in pure Homoeopathy and we are not ready for its adulteration with any other medical system whatsoever. Homoeopathy can never advance by sacrificing its own fundamental principles in favour of the principles of Allopathy. Any attempt to do so will be disastrous for the science, and the people who have benefitted from it.

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(3
(3)
The efficacy of pure Homoeopathy has been well illustrated by the popularity it has gained in this country and innumerable cures effected by it. Another instance of its efficacy can be found in the Buckingham Palace of England. There is a Homoeopath Physician on the list of doctors for the British Emperor; and there is one for U. S. President Truman as well. Do we need any more proof? But there are some people for whom ignorance is bliss, and among those belong our respected members of Enquiry Committee. They want to shut their eyes, against truth, and declare that what they don't see does not exist at all.
Before I conclude my speech, I would like to suggest an alternative to the Govt. of India. Govt. of Bihar too has evinced keen interest in Homoeopathy and as a result of this a Sub-Committee consisting of myself and other eminent Doctors was formed to study the situation of Homoeopathy in this state and suggest measures for its recognition and popularisation. The Sub-Committee has submitted its report which

deserves careful consideration by all concerned. I would venture to suggest the Govt. of India to study the pros and cons of this report carefully and to adopt it with necessary modifications. This would be a wiser step than that which they have taken at present. The other practical suggestion is the composition of a Central Board of Homoeopathy consisting of the representatives of State organisations of Homoeopaths and some nominated members. This will have the

merit of election and nomination both.
But the responsibility of popularising Homoeopathy does not entirely depend upon the Govt. alone; we too have a duty towards this science. We can discharge our duty by making an intensive study of this science and by popularising it in Villages. Much can be done in this connection with the help of Gram Panchayats which have recently come into being. Let us not fail in our duty, because then alone we can force others to do their part.
The era through which we are passing is very critical and the need for securing unity and solidarity among the Homoeopathic medical profession is imperative. At this hour we must oppose this report of the Enquiry Committee tooth and nail. Homoeopaths all over India have condemned this report with one voice and to this unity and conviction we owe our strength. But there is no repose in truth. Everyday we have to renew our pledge and our fight. Recognition or no recognition, we are not going to yield to insult, injustice and ignorance. There can be no compromise on principles. We have already won popular recognition and we are sure to be recognised sooner or later by our representatives at the helm of the government. Any way, we have to keep our torch of crusade ablaze till

victory.
It is a happy augury that my 30 years good old friend Dr. R. P. Misra who has pioneered in Homoeopathy in the Province of Bihar and has been elected

Page - 432
(5)
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president of the 14th. Bihar Homoeopathic Medical Conference will take some more definite action, to arrive at a successful conclusion. I heartily congratulate for his services to the cause of Homoeopathy.
Before I take my seat, I shall avail this opportunity for congratulating Dr. A. L. Verma of Dinapore Cantt. who has gone abroad to represent us in the International Homoeopathic League (Congress).
27th June, 1950.
Gaya Printers-Gaya.
Jai Hind.
Dr. K. N. Palit,
M.B.H.A. (London) M.I.H.L. Gaya.

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UTTAR PRADESH DRUGS (CONTROL) ACT,
1950*
#161
432
97
1/6/ 279
(U. P. ACT No. XIV OF 1950)
Authoritative English Textt of the Uttar Pradesh Aushadhi (Niyantran) Adhiniyam (Act), 1950,
[U. P. Drugs (Control) Act, 1950].
AN
ACT
to provide for the control of the sale, supply and distribution of drugs

WHEREAS by the U. P. Drugs (Control) Ordinance, 1949, provision was made for powers to control the sale, supply and distribution of drugs;

AND WHEREAS the said Ordinance, being limited in duration will expire on the expiry of six weeks from the re-assembly of the Uttar Pradesh Legislature;

AND WHEREAS it is necessary to provide for the continuance of the said powers;

It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be called the Uttar Pradesh Drugs (Control) Act, 1950.

(2) It extends to the whole of Uttar Pradesh.

(3) It shall come into force at once.

*For statement of Objects and Reasons, please see Uttar Pradesh Gazette Extraordinary, dated January 5, 1950.

Passed in Hindi by the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly on March 1, 1950, and by the Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council on February 10, 1950.

Received the assent of the President on March 16, 1950, under Article 201 of the Constitution of India and was published in the Uttar Pradesh Gazette Extraordinary, dated March 16, 1950.

*Published in the Uttar Pradesh Gazette Extraordinary, dated March 16, 1950.

Price, 2 annas]

0

Short title, extent and commence. ment.

Interpreta- tion.

XXIII of 1940.

Drugs to

)

which this
Act applies.
Fixing of
maximum
prices and
maximum
quantities
which my te
held or sold
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(2)
(4) It shall cease to have effect on the close of thirty-first day of January, 1951, except as respects things done or omitted to be done before the expiration thereof and section 6 of the U. P. General Clauses Act, 1904, shall apply upon its expiry as if it had then been repealed by an United Provinces Act.
2. (1) In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,-
ود
(a)
"District Magistrate means the District Magistrate of the district and includes any officer authorised by him to perform any of this functions under this Act;
وو
(b) "dealer means a person carrying on, either personally or through any other person, the business of selling any drugs, whether wholesale or retail;
GG
99
(c) drug means any drug as defined in clause (b) of section 3 of the Drugs Act, 1940 in respect of which a declaration has been made under section 3;
(d)" offer for sale" includes a reference to an intimation by a person of the price proposed by him for a sale of any drug, made by the

publication of a price list, by exposing the drug for sale in assoc ation with a mark indicating price, by the furnishing of a quotation or otherw e howsoever;

ود

(e) "producer" includes a manufacturer ;

(f) "State Government means the Government of Uttar Pradesh.

(2) A drug shall be deemed to be in the possession of a person-

(i) when it is held on behalf of that person by another person;

(ii) notwithstanding that it is mortgaged to another person.

3. The State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, declare any drug to be a drug to which this Act shall apply.

4. (1) The State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, fix in respect of any drug-

(a) the maximum price or rate which may be charged by a dealer or producer;

(b) the maximum quantity which may at any one time be possessed by a dealer o producer;

(c) the maximum quantity which may in any one transaction be sold to any person.

(2) The prices or rates and the quantities fixed in respect of any drug under this section may be different in different localities or for different classes of dealers or producers.

5. No dealer or producer shall-

Restrictions where maximum

(a) sell, agree to sell, offer for sale or other- on sale, etc.
wise dispose of to any person any drug for a
price or at a rate exceeding the maximum
fixed by notification under clause (a) of sub-
section (1) of section 4 ;
(b) have in his possession at any one time a
quantity of any drug exceeding the maximum
fixed by notification under clause (b) of sub-
section (1) of section 4; or
(3) sell, agree to sell or offer for sale to any
person in any one transaction a quantity of
any article exceeding the maximum fixed by
notification under clause (c) of sub-section (1)
of section 4.
6. (1) No person shall have in his possession at any
one time a greater quantity of any drug to which
this section applies than the quantity necessary
for his reasonable needs.
(2) This section shall apply only to such drugs as
the State Government may, by order published in
the official Gazette, specify for the purpose :
Provided that nothing contained in this section
shall apply to a dealer or producer in respect of any
drug sold or produced by him.
is fixed under
section 4.
General
limitation on
which may
quantity
be possess a
at one time.
possession
excess stocks.
7. Any person having in his possession a quantity
Duty to
of any drug exceeding that permitted by or under declare
this Act, shall forth with report the fact to the District
Magistrate and shall take such action as to the storage,

distribution or disposal of the excess quantity as the District Magistrate may direct.

Refusal to sell.

Cash memoran-dum to be given of certain sales.

Marking of prices and exhibiting, price list.

Obligation to state price separately on composite offer.

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(4)

8. No dealer or producer shall, unless previously authorised to do so by the District Magistrate, without sufficient cause refuse to sell to any person any drug within the limits as to quantity, if any, imposed by this Act.

Explanation. The possibility or expectation of obtaining a higher price for a drug at a later date shall not be deemed to be a sufficient cause for the purpose of this section.

9. (1) Every dealer or producer when selling any drug for cash shall, if the amount of the purchase is five rupees or more, in all cases, and, if the amount of the purchase is less than five rupees, when so requested by the purchaser, give to the purchaser a cash memorandum containing particulars of the

transaction.
(2) The State Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, prescribe the particulars to be contained in any such cash memorandum.
(3) The State Government may, by notification in the offical Gazette, exempt specified areas, classes of dealers or producers, or classes of drugs from the operation of this section.
10. (1) The State Government or the District Magistrate concerned may direct dealers or producers in general, or any dealer or producer in particular, to mark any drug exposed or intended for sale with the sale prices or to exhibit on the premises a price list of drugs held for sale, and may further give directions as to the manner in which any such direc-tion as aforesaid is to be caried out.
(2) No dealer shall destroy, efface or alter any label or mark affixed to a drug and indicating the price marked by a producer.
11. Where a dealer or producer makes an offer to enter into a transaction for a consideration to be given as a whole in respect both of a sale of any drug and of some other matter, the dealer or produ-cer making the offer shall state in writing the price which he assigns to that drug, if he is required to do so by any person to whom the offer is made, and the offer shall be deemed for the purposes of this Act to be an offer to sell tt drug at the price so stated.

12. (1) If in the opinion of the District Magistrate it is necessary or expedient so to do, he may, by order in writing
Prohibition of sale, etc. and requisi-

tioning of
(a) prohibit the disposal of any drug except drugs.
in such circumstances and under such conditions as may be specified in the order;
(b) direct the sale of any drug to any such dealer or consumer or class of dealers or consumers and in such quantities as may be specified in the order;
(c) requisition any drug (wheth er at the place of import or at any other place);
and make such further orders as appear to him to be necessary or expedient in connection with any order issued under this sub-section.
(8)
(2) Where the District Magistrate has requisitioned any drug under sub-section (1), he may use or deal with the drug in such manner as may appear to him to be expedient, and may acquire it by serving on the owner thereof or, where the owner is not readily traceable or the ownership is in dispute, by publishing in the official Gazette a notice stating that the District Magistrate has decided to acquire it in pursuance of this section.
(3) Where a notice of acquisition is served on the owner of the drug or published in the official Gazette under sub-section (2), then at the beginning of the day on which the notice is so served or published, the drug shall vest in the State Government free from any encumbrance and the requisition thereof shall be deemed to have ended.
(4) Whenever in pursuance of this section the District Magistrate requisitions or acquires any drug, the owner thereof shall be paid such compensation as the State Government may, by rules prescribe.
(5) The District Magistrate may, with a view to requisitioning any drug under sub-section (1) or determining the compensation payable under sub-section (4), by order-

(a) require any person to furnish to such authority as may be specified in the order such information in his possession relating to the drug as may be so specified;

to prizid
Penalties.
Offences by corporations.
Procedure.
Production of books, and
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(16)
(b) direct that the owner of the drug shall not, without the permission of the District Magistrate, dispose of it till the expiry of such
das period as may be specified in the order.
13. (1) Whoever contravenes any of the provisions of this Act or of any direction made under authority conferred by this Act shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years or with fine or with both.
(2) A court convicting any person of an offence punishable under this Act may order that the whole or any part of the stock of drugs in respect of which the offence was committed shall be forfeited to the State Government.
(3) It shall be a defence for a person charged with a contravention of any of the provisions of this section to prove that, in relation to the matter in respect of which he is charged, he acted in the course of his employment as a servant or agent of another person on the instructions of his employer or of some other specified person.
14. Where a person committing an offence punishable under this Act is a company or an associ-

ation or a body of persons, whether incorporated or not, every director, manager, secretary, agent or other officer or person concerned with the management thereof, shall, unless he proves that the offence was committed without his knowledge or that he has exercised all due diligence to prevent its commission, be deemed to be guilty of such offence.

15. (1) No person other than a police officer of or above the rank of a Sub-Inspector of Police or an officer not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector of Police authorised in this behalf by the District Magistrate by a written order, shall investigate any offence under this Act.

(2) No prosecution for any offence punishable under this Act shall be instituted except with the previous sanction of the District Magistrate.

16. The District Magistrate may, by general or special order, require any dealer to maintain and produce for inspection to such officer as may be specified such books, accounts and records relating to his business and to furnish such information relating thereto as may be specified.

for inspection. accounts, etc.

17. Any person competent to investigate any offence under this Act may search any place in which he has reason to believe that an offence under this Act has been, or is being committed, and take possession of any stock of drugs in respect of which the offence has been or is being committed.

Powers of search and seizure.

18. The State Government may, by order Delegation of powers.

published in the official Gazette, direct that any power or authority which is conferred on or vested in the State Government under this Act shall be exercised either absolutely or subject to such restrictions and conditions as may be specified by an officer or authority subordinate to such Government.

19. (1) The State. Government may make rules to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(2) In particular, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely:-

(a) the maintenance by dealers and producers generally, or by any dealer or producer in particular, of records of all sale and purchase transactions made by them;

(b) the furnishing of any information as may be required with respect to the business carried on by any dealer or producer;

(c) the inspection of any books of account or other documents belonging to or under the control of any dealer or producer ;

(d) the compensation which shall be payable under section 12 and the manner in which such compensation shall be determined.

20. No suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding shall lie against any person for anything in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

21. The provisions of this Act shall be in addition to and not in derogation of any other law for the time being in force regulating any of the matters dealt with in this Act,

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Power to make rules.

Protection of action taken in good faith.

Saving of
other laws.

Page - 440
Repeal.
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(8)
22. (1) The U. P. Drugs (Control) Ordinance,
1949, is hereby repealed and the provisions of sections
6 and 24 of the U. P. General Clauses Act, 1904,
shall apply as if it had been an Act repealed by an
United Provinces Act.
(2) Any order or rules made or direction issued
under the said Ordinance and in force immediately
before the commencement of this Act shall continue
to be in force and be deemed to be an order or rules
made or direction issued under this Act.
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THE LATE
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1950
Prof. L. Kamesvara Sarma, M.A., N.D.
[By F. G. Natesa Aiyar, F.I.I.N.T.,
Chairman,
All India Naturopathic Conference]
[His life was gentle; And the elemente
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And Say to all the world,
'This was a man!']
It is my melancholy duty to have to record the
premature death, at the young age of 38, of Prof.
L. Kamesvara Sarma, M A., N. D., the world-famous

Naturopath, and Deputy Director of the Indian Institute of Natural Therapeutics, Pudukkottai, which sad event took place at Bombay on the 6th September 1950, following a brief period of sudden illness due to intensive travel and propaganda work all over India. Prof. Sarma was a well-known figure with a high reputation in the international world of Naturopathy. He was regarded as not only the natural heir but also the political heir to the leadership of Naturopathy in India-especially in the South-which is now held by the late professor's distinguished father, Dr. K. Lakshmana Sarma, the pioneer and the great authority in Nature-Cure who enjoyed the esteem of the late Mahatma Gandhi.

Born in 1912, Prof. Sarma received a high class education and took double degrees in Mathematics and Physics and obtained First Class in M. A. (Physics). Till 1945, he taught Physics in the Pudukkottai Maharaja's College and left it a few years ago and worked as the Head of the Department of Physics in the Sarada Vilas College, Mysore. In both these institutions Prof. Sarma was very popular with both the students and his colleagues and he earned a name in academic circles.

But Sarma's heart was in Nature-Cure, his first love. Finding that his arduous professorial work did not give him time and leisure enough to serve Naturopathy in the whole hearted manner he wished, he left the College and plunged himself, heart and soul, in the service of Nature-Cure. Mahatma Gandhi's attachment to Nature-Cure and his public utterances on the true value of the Nature-Cure system to human well-being encouraged Prof. Sarma not a little and made him push on his work in a missionary spirit regardless of personal

discomforts and pecuniary difficulties. He kept himself in touch with Mahatma Gandhi and his lieutenants in Wardha and elsewhere and by his lectures, writings in the pages of "The Life Natural" of which he was Associate Editor, and talks and discussions with all classes of people, men and women, high and low, intellectuals and workmen, all over India, publication of various pamphlets and leaflets and learned books, he has done, during the few crowded years of his all too short public life, what one, less energetic, could not have done in the space of twenty years. Above all, Prof. Sarma's summer schools all over India, in Pudukkottai, Mysore, Poona, Bombay, Delhi, Alwar, etc.,-which were attended by hosts of men and women of all religions and classes and grades of society became a most powerful medium for imparting knowledge of Nature-Cure and its philosophy and of their practical application to life; and to-day, there are hosts of people spread over the length and breadth of India who, through Sarma's instructions, have become loyal devotees of Nature-Cure, living the life-natural and propagating the system in their own circles. Prof. Sarma's two publications, among the rest, "Natural Cure of Eye Defects" and "Drugless Healing" are well-known and have reached several editions.

As an N. D., (Hon, degree conferred by the State Board of Examiners, California), and Life member of the National Association of Naturopathic Herbalists of America, an Hon. Fellow of the International Association of Naturopathic Physicians, and as a collaborateur of the famous Miss. Lily Loat, Secretary, National Anti-Vaccination League, London, Professor Sarma, is a name to be counted in the international world of Naturopathy and an honour

to India. As the value of the Nature-Cure system gets more and more appreciated in the world and the system begins to win recognition by the States and other peoples -as it is bound to in the near future-Sarma's pioneer work will get, I feel sure, that appreciation which is due to it and professor Kamesvara Sarma's name will have a permanent place in the history and development of Naturopathy in Bharat. Professor Sarma actually died in harness. He left Pudukkottai on a long North India tour of propaganda on 17th March last. He was a great bhakta of Bhagavan

Ramana Maharshi and never failed to seek his darsan whenever he passed Villupuram or Katpadi. On this occasion too, he went to Ramanashram and had darsan of the Bhagavan and received His blessings! Madras and Wardha occupied him for some weeks. At Wardha, the Professor met Prof. S. N. Agarwal, Shri Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa and other distinguished followers of Mahatma Gandhi and had very valuable discussions with them on Nature-Cure. He then went to Nagpur, Sagar and Gwalior and then on to Alwar and Delhi; in the two last of these stations he conducted Training Classes. At New Delhi, Pandit Brijlal Nehru was so much impressed with Sarma's lessons that he undertook to open a Nature-Cure Association and work it up. From Delhi the Professor went to Rishikesh (Himalayas) and stayed there as the guest of H. H. Swami Sivananda Maharaj, and delivered a series of lectures on Nature-Cure with demonstrations and discussions on its practical side. Swami Sivananda Maharaj is, as is well known, an ardent Naturopath (a convert from Allopathy of which he was originally a practising doctor) and His Holiness

expressed himself highly pleased with the eminently scholarly and practical manner in which Prof. Sarma handled the subject. Prof. Sarma returned to Delhi on 15th June and continued his work in that city and in Jaipur, Udaipur, Ajmer and other places till the middle of July.
travel made a
great
All this work and
strain on the Professor's health. He was his own doctor and looked after himself in Nature's own way; he was never depressed, was always cheerful and philosophic and believing that one's end is in Divine Hands and one could do nothing else than sail with the Divine Current, he got on with courage and confidence. Desiring some home comforts, Professor Sarma left for Bombay (a journey of nearly 1000 miles) where his wife and children were living and after spending just two small days in their company, on the 4th and 5th Sept., the dear soul took its flight to the Bosom of the Eternal God on the 6th inst, leaving behind a young widow, three little children, father, brothers, and a host of friends to mourn his loss. The world has become the poorer by Sarma's death. But believing as I do in re-incarnation and knowing the mind and heart of the late Professor in the most intimate manner, I am dead certain that Kamesvara Sarma has gone

only to recoup and return with better sinews of war to establish God's Natural order of Life on Earth on strong solid foundation. Professor Sarma's last act was to write an article for the Harijan" (published.

in the issue of Sep. 2, 1950) under the caption "Internal Sanitation". In it, he said "it is dietetic errors leading to fouling the body that is a more potent cause of disease than external insanitation. Both internal and external sanitation have to be attended to, always giving priority to internal sanitation. Vaccines and serums only go to increase the internal insanitation, as they are themselves products of disease artificially produced on the bodies of animals ....Germs are not the primal cause of disease. It is just one link in the chain. Nature creates or makes use of them to carry the disease-process to a successful end-better health. They serve as scavengers to consume filth. If facts are studied in the light of the fundamentals of Health and Life called Ayur-Veda or the new Science of Health and Healing called Nature-Cure it will be clear that if at all the modern prophylactics confer any immunity, it is only suppression of the natural power or life by overloading the body with toxins. Everybody has to deserve his health and well-being by right action and by pryaschitta or correction of past wrong action. Nobody can escape the operation of the eternal law."

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The late Professor Kamesvara Sarma was a kindly and generous soul with love for all and enmity towards none. He knew no caste, race or religious differences. He lived a pure life-the Life Natural a life of simple living and high thinking. He was bold and courageous and feared none in the discharge of what he considered to be his duty. He co-operated with every one where such co-operation helped in the well-being of humanity. He non-co-operated with what he considered evil. He was absolutely non-violent in thought, word and action and his armoury was Satyam, Dharmam and Ahimsa. His death is an immense loss to resurgent India, the world of Naturopathy and the world of

New Thought and New Life. May dear Kamesvara
Sarma's soul have "Shanti."
A summary of the above has been published in the
Sunday Times, Madras dated 1st October '50.
Co-operative Press, Pudukkottai.

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MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED
BY
THE LANDHOLDERS OF KOLLENGODE
&
NEIGHBOURING AMSOMS IN THE PALGHAT TALUK
ON
THE MALABAR TENANCY BILL OF 1950.
Signatories to this memorandum are landholders residing in Kollengode and adjoining villages in Palghat Taluk. They wish to place before the authorities their considered opinion on the provisions of the new Amending Bill, which has been recently published.
Our contention is that there is no need for such a bill.
The existing Malabar Tenancy Act of 1929 contains ample safe-guards for the protection of tenants as well as landholders generally. In the statement of objects and reasons published along with the Bill, the history of this measure has been discussed but the immediate necessity for amending the original Act has not been mentioned and it is evident that it is not the result of any public demand or any existing grievances on the part of the tenants. Even in cases where suits wore filed for eviction, the courts have been ordered to hold them in abeyance and it cannot be said that the tenants stand to loose, if there is delay. The position of the tenants has considerably improved during the last 10 years in spite of the high cost of

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living. The reason for this is the fact that they have grown fat out of the profits derived from the lands in their possession and that landholders generally have been very considerate to them. There are instances now of tenants who own more lands and who are richer than ordinary middle class land holders. There is thus no justification for any amendment of the original Act.

2. Present time inopportune. It is strange that the Government have thought it fit to proceed with this reform at a critical time like the present, when there is extreme economic distress owing to shortage of foodgrains, scarcity of cloth, and abnormal rice in the prices of all the essential commodities. What is wanted at the present time is to restore peace and contentment in the country, instead of proceeding with reforms which are uncalled-for and un-related to the existing conditions and which will have the effect of completely destroying a set of loyal, peace-loving middle class men.

3. Bill opposed to constitution Act. The published Bill seeks to deprive arbitrarily landholders of their individual right to posses and enjoy land which is one of the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Indian Constitution Act. There is already a Land Reforms Committee enquiring into the questions connected with the land reform, for the whole of Madras State and it is hard that one district alone should be singled out for a change in the existing order, before the findings of that committee are published. Most of the points referred to that Committee relate also to Malabar, and it is ununderstandable why Malabar has been taken out of the purview of that Committee.

4. Investment in land. From time immemmorial, investment in land has been considered in this country as a safe form of investment and middle class men especially, have invested their small savings in landed property, in the hope and belief that there would be no interference with their rights of ownership and enjoyment. The hardship is specially noteworthy in the case, for instance, of Government servants and others who

have invested their life's earning in land and depend upon the income from it, not only for their domestic requirements but also to find the wherewithal for meeting extra-ordinary items of expenditure in the family. In the case of Marumakkathayam families the hardship becomes greater in view of the fact that several families, who have effected partition during the last few years, are unable to find out employment and have to fall back on land for cultivation, especially since the lands have been cut up after the partition. People purchase land with a view to get happiness and peace arising out of such possession, which cannot be stated in terms of money; and to deprive them of such lands for the redress of imaginary grievances of tenants (really middlemen) would be doing serious injury to landholders. It would virtually be a case of "robing Peter and paying Paul ". We trust that the Government will not take any precipitate action in this matter. Are there not other types of investments in lands, such as costly buildings in cities and towns which are excluded from the purview of this Bill? There is no explanation for this difference.

5. Two misconceptions. The memmorialisis feel that the amending Bill proceeds on two wrong assumptions. The first is that the tenant is the tiller of the soil, and secondly, that the tenant is being hardpressed and the landowners have no sympathy for him, and it is his benefit the sponsors of the Bill have mainly in view. Both these assumptions are fundamentally wrong. The relationship between the tenant and landowners has been harmonious for the past two or 3 centuries, and if there has been any stray cases of estrangement between them, it cannot certainly be a justification for a wholesale modification of the law. Instances of tenants seeking redress either in the matter of rent being excessive, or the landholders molesting them, are practically unknown and cannot be proved by statistics. On the other hand the fact is that the tenants have been holding lands continuously for 25 years or more, and it stands as a clear proof of the cordiality that has been existing between them and tenants. The amending Bill is sure to create

a conflict of interests between them resulting in a lot of suffering and costly litigation.

As regards cultivation, we beg to point out that the tenant is not actually the tiller of the soil. The actual tiller is the agricultural labourer, whose economic position may call for improvement, and who are more or less permanent residents in the holding itself. There are several cases in which the tenant does not live at all in the land he has taken up for cultivation. He is virtually in the position of a contractor who has agreed to cultivate the land on payment of a fixed quantity of paddy as rent and other emoluments to the owners. There has been no case, so far as we know of any tenant complaining about the rent being excessive, which he has been paying all along without demur.

6. Most objectionable feature of the Bill.

(i) It is difficult to understand on what principles of political or economic theory the proposals contained in the amending Bill are based. It must atonce be stated that the provisions are drastic and exproprietory in nature. If such confiscatory legislation is given effect to it will be putting a premium on the activities of irresponsible agitators who have no stake in the country. We are yet far away from Marxism, and this measure, if passed, will be paving the way for hastening the advent of a system which the public dread, and which the state Governments all over the country are attempting to root out by legislative and other measures.

(ii) Fixity of tenure. The Bill provides for the tenant not being evicted, if he has been in the continuous possession for 12 years or over, and it has also provided that the right to evict should be exercised within 5 years from the date on which the bill becomes law. As stated already, the original Act falls for no change in this respect. It may be that a land owner, who is away from his village in which he owns land, would come back after a period of 5 years and would like to take up cultivation

directly? Again what about cases in which lands are owned by women, minor children having only female guardians, infirm and old men, Government or quasi government servants, as these persons cannot under any circumstances have their land under direct cultivation? Is it just to deprive such persons of their right to get the tenant evicted? As regards 12 years limit, if the land owner has been good and kind enough to allow the tenant to continue for such a long period, it would really be a punishment for the landholder to deprive him of his right to evict the tenant for his personal cultivation, besides giving an undue advantage to those who change their tenants frequently. The landholder should always have the right to take back the land from his tenant for cultivation by himself, or members of his family, as per the provisions in the Act of 1929, without any further restrictions. This will be in keeping with the preservation of the fundamental right already referred to. We are even prepared to suggest that the holders of land may be directed to have their lands under their own direct cultivation, within a specified period of say 10 or 12 years.

As regards Kudiyiruppus, it is common knowledge that they have been brought down and provided with quarters for the specific purpose of enabling the holder of the land to carry on cultivation. They pay only a nominal rent; they can be given fixity of tenure only, so long as they are available for cultivation purposes, and not otherwise.

(iii) Fair Rent. The procedure proposed for fixing the fair rent in the Amending Bill is altogether unnecessary. The fair rent now being paid is the result of costly improvements by landholders (including Kanamdars) in addition to the heavy initial investment made by them and he tenant has not contributed anything towards such expenses. The rent has been agreed to and is paid regularly from year to year, and the tenants cannot be said to have any hardship or grievances in regard to this matter. It is difficult otherwise to account for the

prosperous position in which most of the tenants find themselves in today, and for the fact of their continuous and

undisturbed possession of the land. The basis on which fair rent is fixed was thoroughly discussed, before the original Act was enacted in 1929, and there is absolutely no reason why a fresh procedure should now be adopted for fixing the fair rent. If, under the old Act, a landholder gets 2/3 of the net produce, his share under the proposed Bill would be reduced by 1 6, for which there is no justification in law or in equity. The tenant has not done anything to deserve any further concession from the original Act. Fair rent must vary from land to land, or from one set of lands in a village to another in the same village, since the productivity of the soil depends on several factors such as irrigation facilities, application of adequate manure and the nature of the soil etc. No hard and fast rule is therefore applicable in such cases and there is nothing in the Bill to show on what basis the fair rent is proposed to be fixed. If the fair rent is to be revised at all in any case, it need only be in the cases of those, who apply for such fixation in cases of dispute. As it is, the bill contemplates the payment of the necessary. expenses to the Rent Settlement Authority by the landholder. It must certainly be met, by those who seek modification of the rent. The present bill enables tenants to get back from landholders the excess rent if any, paid by him, if the fair rent to be fixed happens to be lower. This is a one-sided and inequitable provision. The landholder also should be allowed to recover any excess rent due if the fair rent is found to be higher than the contract rent.

(iv) Furnishing of security. The present Bill has taken away the right of the landholder to demand any security, or one years pattom, in advance for the prompt payment of the rent. Since the tenant is to get fixity of tenure, it will be extremely difficult to enable the land owner to collect the rent, in cases in which the tenant wilfully or otherwise neglects cultivation, or

evades payment, or in cases in which it will not be possible to recover the arrears, even if a civil suit is filed. It is therefore essential that the existing right to demand security from the tenant should not be interfered with at all.

(v) Option to pay rent in kind or money The Bill gives the tenant the option to pay the rent in kind or in money. This new departure from the original act is tantamount to transfering the status of the landholder to the tenant, who has never asked for it, or deserves it. This provision is the most unkindest cut of all in the Bill; for it will be placing the landholder in the humiliating position of purchasing paddy or rice for his domestic requirements either in the open market or from ration shops. This is an extra-ordinary position and cannot be justified and it will render the landholders' position miserable. Is it for this purpose that persons have been investing their savings in land? Market prices generally vary widely and periodically, and while the tenant gets advantage by being able to dispose of the paddy at rates most favourable to him, the landholder will get from him rent at money value at reduced rate The landholder, on the other hand, will have to purchase paddy at exhorbitant rates and is placed in a double dis-advantage. The right to recover the rent in kind (paddy) only must always be their, landholder being given the option to get it in money, if he so desires.

(vi) Renewal Fee. The new Bill does away altogether with the renewal fee, which has been a regular and periodical income for Jenmies, including religious institutions. In fairness to the Jenmies, it is necessary that they should get at least one year's rent every 12 years, so as to enable them to meet perio-dical extra expenses connected with the improvement of the land, or the institutions concerned. In the case of Kanamdars who default to pay the rent to the Jenmy for more than 3 conse-cutive years, the Bill gives the tenant the power to purchase the Kanamdar's right over the property by paying a specific

amount stated in the Bill. This right, we submit, should be vested in the Jenmy himself, and not in the tenant
(vii) The Bill as it is, is made applicable to the whole of Malabar, though it is well recognised that conditions of tenure etc. differ immensely in South Malabar from those in North

Malabar. A different set of procedure and rules may well be adopted for the 2 areas.
Conclusion. In view of the facts and circumstances stated above we emphatically protest against the proposed Bill. If passed into law, it will seriously upset the existing social order and the economic structure in the district. It will have the effect of placing the landholders at the mercy of the tenants and eventually reducing the owner to a position of poverty and economic distress. It is a well recognised rule that lands in Malabar are private 'Jenmams' of the landholders, unlike land in other districts and to deprive them of such a right, without payment of adequate compensation, is very unfair and opposed to all cannons of law. In any case, the Bill cannot be given retrospective effect and should not be made applicable to land-holders, who possess only 10 acres or less per head, in each family. We respectfully pray that the Bill be abandoned altogether, in the interest of peace, contentment and security in the land.
Kollengode,
2--9--1950.
LANDHOLDERS.
PIONEER ELECTRIC PRINTERS, COLLEGE ROAD, PALGHAT

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PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH
of

HARI KRISHNA JHAJHARIA
at the Ninth Annual General Meeting
of the
CALCUTTA
YARN MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION
Held On 20th January, 1951
FLY.
29JAN 57
A.M

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PRESIDENT'S SPEECH
1951

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Telegram: "YARMERSION":
Telephone:B.B.4354.
Circular No.1/1951.
CALCUTTA YARN MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION,
89, CROSS STREET, CALCUTTA - 7.
Dt. 22nd January, 1951-
OFFICE BEARERS FOR THE TERM 1951-1952,
as elected at the 9th Annual General Meeting held on 20th Jan. '51.
PRESIDENT
Mr. Jotindra Mohan Dey (M/s.Shana Charan Dey Rankristo Dey)
Vice-Presidents:
1. Mr. Madanlal Patodia (M/s. Brijlal Purusottamdas)
2. Mr. Chhaganlal Ladha bhai (M/s.Dwarkesh & Co)
Hony. Secretary:
Mr. Mahabir Prosad Goenka (M/s. Mahabir Prosad Goenka)
Hony Asstt. Secretaries:
1. Mr. Gobinda Chandra Dey (M/s.P.C. Dey A.K. Dey)
2. Mr. Kapur chand Modi (M/s. Kapurchand & Co)
MEMBERS OF THE MANAGING COMMITTEE:
1. Mr. Hari Krishna Jhajharia (M/s. Dungarsidas Jhajharia & Sons)
2. Mr. Hirjee Thackersey (M/s. Sunderdas Thackersey & Bros)

3. Mr. Radha Charan Roy (M/s.Ashutosh Roy Profulla Kumar Roy)
4. Mr. Biswnath Paul (M/s. Biswnath Paul)
5. Mr. Probodh Chandra Paul (M/s. Dhirendra Nath Dey Nibaran Ch. Paul)
6. Mr. Girdherdas Deoji (M/s. Mulji Girdherdas)
7. Mr. Luxmidas Purshottandas (M/s. Luxmidas Purshottamdas)
8. Mr. Sawalram Pasary (M/s.Bhadarmal Tormal)
9. Mr. Balchand Bhawsinghka (M/s.Balchand Bhawsing)
10. Mr. Sreenarain Goenka (M/s.Rameshwarlal Sreenarain)
11. Mr. Hosen Bhai (M/s. Haji Hasan Dada).
MC
cuka
Hony. Secretary.

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Presidential Speech of
HARI KRISHNA JHAJHARIA
At the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the
Calcutta Yarn Merchants' Association held on
GENTLEMEN,
20th January, 1951.
In welcoming you all to the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the Association, I may be permitted to remind you that this is the first Annual General Meeting of the Association after the birth of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India. The ceremony of January 26, has its own significance for the new Order of Things. The Report on the working of the Association and the Audited Accounts for the years ending 1948 and 1949 have been in your hands for sometime and before I request you to adopt the same, I would, in keeping with the well-known conventions of Trades Associations and Chambers of Commerce, all over the world and in keeping with the traditions of our own, like to review the political and economic situation during the past year to indicate the repercussion of the situation on the position and prospects of Commerce and Industry.
Gentlemen, since we met last, many important events

of far-reaching effects have taken place not only on the country but even on international spheres and momentous decisions, affecting almost every sphere of human activities, have been made. No longer can we businessmen remain aloof from politics as now more than ever political events have great bearing on economic matters. Not only

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that, world events exert a great
great influence on policies
pursued by individual nations. The splendid isolationism of the 19th Century can ill fit in with a world so closely knit by political and economic ties. It is one world indeed in which internationalism has come to play a very important role. And in the context of of international events, situations and developments, we will have to consider its conflicts as well as co-operation. It is incumbent on us to keep abreast of world events if we are not to be out of the picture and if we are not to be suddenly overpowered by the force of world events. Gentlemen, the past few months witnessed not only within this country but also in the international sphere events and developments that carried with them potential dangers. In the Far East, we see the world facing the possibility of a conflagration of the magnitude of the last world-war, while nearer home our northern frontiers are menaced by warlike disturbances that tend to jeopardise the integrity of our nation. Our neighbouring State of Tibet has become a victim of the aggressive designs of Red China and this has come as a shock to the democratic countries who were expecting a more peaceful solution of China's claims on Tibetian territory. This has been followed by a grave political unrest in the neighbouring State of Nepal. The time has come for the setting aside of all petty considerations and to look to the safety of our country. Our leaders must be called upon to stamp out

all anti-social and disruptionist elements inside the land with a firm hand. The nation must be called upon to help the Government to put our house in order. It is, however, heartening that our Prime Minister has been ceaselessly active to avoid a conflagration by directing our foreign policy towards promotion of peace, good-will and harmony among the neighbouring countries as also to en-

sure maintenance of India's friendly relations with them. As so eloquently said by Sri Nehru at a recent banquet given by him in honour of the Australian Prime Minister Mr. Robert Menzies, "We go to London for the common good, but I take it primarily the purpose of our going to London is to find the way to peace. That is the urgent problem of every country and the world."

To turn to India. Gentlemen, we are meeting today under the shadow of a very deep calamity. Sardar Patel, the iron-man and life-blood of India is no more among us The passing away of such a noble soul, an unmatched warrior in the cause of freedom, a great servant of the people, and a statesman of mighty achievement is a grievous and an irreparable loss to the people of India. I must be failing in my duty if I did not pay my humble homage to that great Indian leader. In failing health he continued, without rest or respite, his service to India. To him alone belongs the credit of saving this country from the humiliation of being unable to manage its own affairs. His is the Golden Voice which the industrialists and busi-nessmen hear and go on striving. To him alone belongs the credit for the only worthwhile achievement by the Government in the past three years of the unification of the whole country and maintaining its stability against all disruptive forces. For this alone even if his other achievements in the realm of maintenance of law and order with a firm hand is discounted, he will be remem-

bered with pride and admiration as the greatest Indian of his time. It is for us to follow the shining example of his devotion to duty, his steadfastness, and discipline, and thus to achieve in an ever-growing degree that free and strong and prosperous India for which he laboured.
The country has attained political independence, but economic freedom for the general mass of its people still

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remains to be achieved. If 1948 was a year of political consolidation, 1949 was a year in which the people as well as the Government became conscious of the stupendous economic task ahead of the country. "It was a year of economic self-interpretation, of the growing awareness that India must produce or perish, of progressive preparedness for enhanced output at cheaper cost." But the economic condition in the country has been causing a great deal of anxiety. It is a melancholy thought when one realises how we have missed the years of opportunity and stand now where we were. While Australia and Canada and other countries have in war-time been transformed from primary producers into exporters of manufactures, it is unfortunate we have made little progress, and that with all the available resources and markets inside the country. The Government have only recently been able to turn its attention from political to economic problems.
Gentlemen, the advent of independence raised the expectations of the common man who lacked food, clothing and other necessities of daily life but these expectations have been falsified and belied. The Government have not been able to arrest the progress of inflation, characterised by wages chasing the prices, by an all-round effort to increase production. Conditions of world-wide shortage prevailing in the aftermath of war aggravated the situation giving rise to a wide-spread sense of frustration and discontent in the country and its volume seems to be increas-

ing. Prices are ruling high. They are not going downwards as expected by the Hon'ble the Finance Minister of the Government of India. No doubt there has been a fall in wholesale prices in 1950 when compared to 1949, but if compared to 1947, then nothing appreciable and if to 1939-there has been a drastic rise. The wholesale prices of food when compared to 1939 is now nearly three times

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and the index numbers for semi-manufactured, manufactured articles and articles in the miscellaneous group showed a rise varying from 0.3% to 0.6% at the end of June 1950. And the reason is not far to seek. Beginning almost with the end of war, there has been a steady decline in production and a deterioration of the economic situation in the country. Unsatisfactory relations between labour and capital, conflicting statements from responsible quarters on the future economic pattern of the country and transport difficulties have been the main factors responsible for this disquieting situation. Every one seems to be worried about the fast deterioration that has taken place in the economic situation to improve which organised and all-round efforts should be made. Several methods have been suggested but unfortunately we have not been able to get the right grip. The various measures adopted by the Central Government have, to some extent, improved the situation but it looks as though a greater and an all-round effort on the part of everybody is needed to produce satisfactory results. It is a happy augury that our illustrious Prime Mnister has realised the gravity of the situation and we are glad to find that serious and earnest efforts are now being made by the Government to stop the deterioration. I may state, at the very outset, that present unsatisfactory economic situation in the country is primarily due to want of a firm policy on the part of the Union Government in regard to export and import, food and in the trade rela-

tions with Pakistan. A firm policy in these matters will greatly help to improve the situation.

The next important thing that is necessary to stop the deterioration is the reduction of cost and bringing down prices all round. The policy of control, which was adopted by the Central Government as a war measure, is unfortunately being continued. This has necessitated the sett-

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ing up of a very big and costly admnistrative machinery which drains a good deal of resources of the country. It is admitted on all hands that in times of emergency, and particularly during the war, the controls are a necessity but that immediately after the war, efforts should have been made to bring the country's economy to normal position by slowly and gradually reverting to the policy of decontrol. The Government of India made a beginning in this direction on the advice of the Father of the Nation but did not allow sufficient time for things to adjust themselves and went back to the policy of controls on all fronts. How far the policy of control will help to improve the economic stability of the country is a matter which can be judged only after some lapse of time.

It must be said that controls lead to inordinate delays, unnecessary official interference and corruption of a very high magnitude. I strongly feel that in the interests of the country it is desirable to pursue a policy of gradual decontrol which will not only enable the Government to save crores of rupees which they are now spending on various departments set up for running the controls but will also help them to wipe out corruption, nepotism and blackmarket. The Control Enquiry Committee appointed by the Congress Party in Parliament have recently submitted their report on controls and have expressed the view that a definite step towards decontrol must be taken as early as possible. In their opinion "the ever-increas-

ing attempt to impose controls on all commodities should be stopped and it should be realised that in a world of rising prices any attempt to bring down prices in all sectors would not only fail but would lead to dissatisfaction and disastrous consequences". We find, however, a shift from the policy of progressive decontrol which was pursued by the Government sometime ago, to one of restrictions

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and more controls. Apart from the harm done to industry and trade, controls also contribute to greater unemployment due to non-utilisation of the normal trade channel. The country today is faced with the problem of growing unemployment particularly among the middle-class. Dean Inge in a well-known essay "In the end of an Age" cites Euripides in support of his long-cherished belief that the salvation of a country depends upon its middle class. And it should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that if this class is destroyed it will be the surest way to unfurl the flag of unsocial and ante-social activities. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind when I say that if in India the middle class is not saved from extinction there will be in this country the darkness at noon. Thousands of people have been thrown out of jobs and the middleman seems to be in imminent danger of being totally annihilated. The place of these expert handlers of business and trade is being taken by an inefficient bureaucracy which must ultimately lead to grave economic waste and confusion.

Taking food first, it is no use denying that there is a shortage of food, admitting everything said about the habits and about the unbalanced diet of the people. The fact is that the food situation of the country has been generally deteriorating for over two decades now. It escaped the Government's attention till the last World War and no adequate and positive steps were taken to correct it. I do appreciate, therefore, that the food problem of the country

is being placed now on a war-footing and is being tackled as such at the highest level. But the Food Department of the Government of India has failed to keep its promise to make the country self-sufficient in food by March 1951. This date line has been extended by another year. Failure to keep official promises on a vital matter like food is

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If bound to react unfavourably on the public mind. The Hon'ble Food Minister has laid the blame for food shortage on the vagaries of nature and estimated the damage done to Indian crops to the extent of 6 million tons. nature were to decide whether India should be self-sufficient in food or not, one wonders what utility the Food Ministry serves. The late Sardar Patel disclosed that the food shortage amounts to 6 or 7 per cent and it is rather discouraging that the Government cannot meet a deficit of 7 per cent by internal production while Britain doubled her production in the early years of war. The official figures for food have been challenged during the food shortage. The population of India is 320 millions; her per capita adult consumption of food is about half a seer per day. In order to calculate the total quantity of food required to feed 320 millions, the total population must be converted into adult population by multiplying with 8 according to the Famine Commission Report. This gives an adult population of 260 millions. Total food required at the rate of 3% seers per week works out at about 43 million tons while official figures for food production for the last three years, viz., 1948, 1949, 1950 respectively are 44.39, 44.26 and 45.84 million tons. Therefore the shortage means seed grain and waste.

The Government again have been faced with a situation to provide for import of 5 million tons of foodgrain during the years 1950-52. to meet the country's demand and keep a reserve of 1 million tons by 1952 as a safeguard against future failure of crops. When there is no other alternative to food import, I would suggest that Government should encourage, import of food through private trade channels which would facilitate larger imports within shortest time at competitive prices leading to easing down of the situation earlier and paving the way for gradual re-

moval of controls for the restoration of the economy of the country to normalcy.

I et me now refer to our own sphere of trade of Yarn which is an important factor contributing to the economic welfare of India as it is inalienably connected with the trade of cloth. Here again the economic position of our country is drifting from bad to worse. In the yarn trade prices have gone up, production has come down, and distribution under the control regime has greatly suffered. Consumers do not get supplies. During and inspite of controls, for over four years after the war, these evils are progressively on the increase year after year and the move has reached the zenith this year (1949-'50).

The Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, 1943 was promulgated as a war-time measure on the 17th June, 1943, and the Bengal Cotton Cloth and Yarn Control Order, 1943 on the 19th October, 1943 in supplementation of the Government of India's aforesaid control order.

result of this arrangement Bengal traders were disallowed to continue their time-old business with those in Bihar, Assam and Orissa as also some States under the Eastern

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Agency, which has been so long supplied from the Calcutta market. This provincial feature of the control adminis-

tration which was greatly influenced naturally by political parties succeeding one after another in forming Ministries chocked the normal trade channel. Since then the control measures passed through various phases, changing its object, colour and creed. This huge experiment of a war-time measure came to us as a bad legacy and practically saw its end in early part of 1948, when the trade breathed a sigh of relief. Little did they know that this relief was much short-lived as it reappeared in a drastic form on the 30th July, 1948. When the control was lifted it had nearly reached its normal level and if it was allowed

to take its course, in all probability, it would have reached the normal state. At this time goods were being sold at 10 and 15% less than the ex-mill prices. The hoarding habit was fast disappearing and even though production was not fast increasing a sort of confidence was being created in the minds of traders and consumers regarding the position of supplies. But this envious situation created a stir among those who had reaped the benefits of controls and who raised a hue and cry in the name of the people and control was re-imposed and thrusted upon the people though it has already proved to be a huge futile experiment.

Before the introduction of controls in 1943, the Textile Industry had reached a pitch of efficiency and textile products of this country could stand favourable competition with any similiar goods of foreign make. Due to war conditions, stoppage of import etc. the prices had risen high and while there was some justification of controlling them, the method and manner which were employed have crippled the industry and ruined the morals of man. The foreigners killed two birds in one shot. The industry which had enjoyed the fruits of protection for years had to suddenly pass under control. But

the strength of their unity soon got them the advantages of production which gave them large profits and at the same time slowly destroyed their qualities. Not only did they spoil their name in their own markets but even in foreign lands.

For the last four years, during and in spite of active control, prices had not relented to help the masses. There is nothing to show that the prices will oblige them because of controls. No positive effort of any consequence had been discovered since, to bring down the prices. No body ever thinks that prices will obey the commands of persons,

however authoritative. The only way to control prices known to me lies in the increase of supply. So long the supply of commodities remains short of demand, prices make no secret of relentless rule. In the absence of any positive endeavours to increase the supply position, the resultant scarcity reigned and has been reigning supreme. It is natural to think that short supply and higher prices go together.

I may now bring home to you some of the figures of the current prices of different counts of Indian Mill made yarn, foreign yarn, and the prices of the former as ruled on 31st July, 1948 when re-imposition of control was announced by the Government, after a lapse of one month of decontrol.

Counts.	Prices are per bundle of 10 lbs. Current, retail rates for Indian Mill made yarn.	Current rates Rates as ruled on 31-7-'48 for Indian for foreign yarn.	Mills Yarn.

I
3
20S
30s
99
40s
99
Rs. 17
21 15
24 10
46
60s
99
45 5 6
80s
99
50 12
60366
22 8
0
4
22
O
31
0
39
0
57 0 O
64 4
94 0 0
25 6 0
33 4
0
90 0 0
88
IOOS
61 2 6
99
122 00

It will be evident from the foregoing table that the current rates (i.e., 15-7-50) for the Indian Yarn (in column 2) is the retail ceiling rate fixed by the government. When this is compared with the prices of foreign yarn of the same count, vast differences can be seen. The disparity in prices of identical counts of the two varieties on the same date in the same market clearly shows the ceiling prices fixed by the Government are unworkable.

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Supplies of Indian Mills yarn for distribution under control prices at such low level did not see the light of the day as market sales indicated. The disparity in prices of the two varieties is a glaring comment on the ceiling prices fixed which are responsible for generating malpractices. The policy of the Government has much account for this uneconomic fixation. The next item of disparity in prices deducible from columns 2 and 3, shows that the price of foreign yarn at the present moment on counts 30s, 40s and 60s is greater than the prices of Indian Mills yarn (column 4 of the table) which ruled on 31st July, 1948. The re-imposition of control on 31st July, 1948 had no effect on the market in bringing down the prices as the same counts of foreign yarn are selling to-day at a higher level. These facts do not lend any support to the view that the decontrol necessarily is a greater evil at present than it really is. The heaven will not fall down as apprehended if decontrol is announced. There are ample potentialities and capacity for producing not only to meet our country's demand but also to export. The reasons for less production is mainly due to the various obstacles hurdled in the path of enthusiastic working. The control, method of fixing rates and distribution, government's indifferent pronouncement of unworkable policies from time to time, are the main items

amongst others to impede production. Anyhow an artificial man-made scarcity has been brought to prevail. Goods are not available at controlled rates and about 50% more than the ceiling price, I understand, is paid.
In order that prices may come down under conditions of scarcity the State had resorted to cutting down the profits due to the producer. The result of this action, the compulsory cut in the margin of profits of the producer and dealer by periodical review of ceilings, has been

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a sore cause of friction often healed by appeasement offered to the producer. Such cuts in the profits have begun starting trouble in the production programme, beginning with evasions of orders of the Government and ending with the closure of the mills with attendant evils thereof. The process of this struggle had continued for sometime. The producer who had organised the industry cannot be and is not a small factor in the scheme of production to be easily displaced.
Review of the development of the Cotton Textile Industry in India made available shows that the total quantity of mill yarn produced during the half-year January-July 1950 was 712.96 million lbs. out of which mills consumed 538.46 million lbs. Out of the surplus available after meeting defence requirements and export commitments, 133.88 million lbs. of yarn were released to the States for distribution to handloom industry, powerloom industry and other miscellaneous consumers. It is estimated that about 76% of this quantity was made available for consumption to the handloom industry. The average capacity of yarn consumption by composite mills in India is about 1,000 million lbs. per annum. The demands of handloom industry have been placed at 480 million lbs. of yarn per annum. To compare the figures of production, the production of yarn for the first 9 months

of 1950 was 883.3 million lbs. as against 1359.1 million lbs. during the previous whole year. It is thus evident that the country is in short supply of yarn, one of the essential commodities, which is intimately connected with the production of cloth, the most important article useful to mankind coming next to food. You will also realise that on account of the fall in the production, encouragement of exports and increased domestic requirements of yarn, like almost all other controls, the control

on yarn has failed to achieve its main object of making it available to consumers at cheaper prices. Again import of cotton yarns of all descriptions during the year under report came up to 14089023 lbs. as against 11083443 lbs. in 1948-'49. In case of Art Silk Yarns, the total imports amounted to 36939060 lbs. as against 39970056 lbs. in 1948-'49. Imports of cotton yarns of all descriptions during the year under report valued Rs. 57686331 as against Rs. 45011261 in 1948-49. The imports of Art Silk Yarns during the same period valued Rs. 104562067 as against Rs. 128278636 in 1948-'49. On the contrary during the year under report, the total exports of yarn was 62293509 lbs. as against only 7407540 lbs. in 1948-,49. Exports of cotton yarns during the year under report valued Rs. 112972029 as against Rs. 12892643 only in 1948-49 revealing the stock of yarn on the 31st March 1950 the date line in Bombay Mills to be only 9,000 bales each of 400 lbs. out of which 5,000 were sold and 4,000 were unsold. If India can attain her target fixed for production in yarn, she need not have to go with a begging bowl to foreign countries for yarn except for some of our requirements in cotton for the time-being till we become self-sufficient in course of time. It is discouraging to note that we have been fast losing our old and

established markets in Far and Middle East. No doubt, due to high prices our yarn fetches in new markets, our economic equillibrium is maintained but so far as normal channels of trade are concerned, it will take years to establish ourselves in newly required markets.
After a considerable experience of eight years, barring one month in 1948, the control on yarn is found to be a headache to the Government and to every citizen of this country. Huge amounts are spent in the administration on this unworkable control. It has led to vast

corruption, favouritism and malpractices. Nobody it at peace. For the merchants the controls created troubles, losses and sufferings. They were hated, distrusted, and and despised. Inadequate margins of profit, divided their ranks, and started disruption among them. Their cordial relation with manufacturers were greatly harmed and they were practically displaced from their legitimate channels. Brandished as blackmarketers they are to-day hanging in hope between the devil and the deep sea. The consumers for whom the controls were created are still crying for real relief. While the controls have hopelessly failed to bring forth any happy result for any of these three classes, they have certainly established an industry for the organisation concerned. It has provided livelihood to hundreds of officials and thousands of clerks. a proper account of the cost of controls is presented to the nation the tax-payer will realise how much more he has paid to get his cloth through the control. Naturally therefore even though the controls have failed to achieve its object, and have created bribery, corruption and such other unsocial practices, they are still sought to be preserved in the name of the people with no justification. The discussions at the Nasik Congress Session

have clearly shown the trend of opinion. Congress leaders and those in power have satisfied themselves that the evils of controls have deteriorated the morals of the people, have not brought the desired relief and if further continued in this way, may result in greater disasters. Real progress can only be achieved when the producers, distributors and rulers co-operate and co-ordinate their activities without distrust among one another.

Efforts have been made to replace the trade channnels by co-operative societies but that experiment having failed another experiment of State Trading is being tried.

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Efforts in this direction have failed to achieve desired results. In a land where bribery, corruption and such other unsocial practices are spreading like wild fire, and where production is poor, State Trading by inexperienced personnel is likely to perpetuate the evil rather than destroy it. Again trading activities require credit facilities and capacity to bear risk. Not only in this country but all throughout the world it has been proved beyond doubt that experienced trade channels alone can perform these functions successfully. It is, therefore, entirely a wrong approach on the part of the Government to eliminate trade channels because a section of it may have misbehaved.

I believe under such circumstances that the controls must go without any more delay. The viewpoint of the eminent scientist Sir C. V. Raman regarding controls may be quoted here with advantage. Inaugurating the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Sugar Technologists' Association of India, Sir Raman said "Controls would lead them nowhere for one control led to another control without any end. The Government may change their policies and reverse them often as they like. But they must understand that human society is as delicate as a chronometer

instrument, the slightest intervention with which results in enormous breakdown. The affairs of a country are best managed by the people themselves." There are no two opinions about the manifold benefits to be derived from a wholesale elimination of controls. Decontrol and consequent return to nomalcy in trade can alone minimise the shortage crisis, nay displace it altogether by the desired availability of goods in the market at a fair price to meet the growing and increased demand by way of greater production and better and sure supply. It is time that Government takes courage in both hands and takes

steps to do away with control as soon as possible. It is likely that on removal of controls, prices of certain articles which may be in short supply will rise but I feel that ultimately it will be to the benefit of all concerned as the benefits are likely to outweigh all disadvantages. In the case of yarn, the evils of expected aftermath of decontrol could be successfully and quickly avoided if (a) the producing centres were formed with a little bit of impetus by the Central authority in lifting up stringent measures imposed upon production, (b) if exportation of the particular, commodity, if there be any, be stopped forthwith and (c) if unwanted varieties were no more forced upon the public. There is much truth in the say, "free the market and the market will be free and adjust itself to the currents of events and ways of men."

A word to the State Government. This Association, a bonafide and genuine body and the only representative body in West Bengal regulating more than 98% of the yarn trade of the Province has never been given representation on the Textile Advisory Board. Not only that, the willing hand of co-operation offered by the commercial community of the trade concerned has been ruthlessly turned down by the Government. I regret to inform you

that, though the Ministry before Partition thought it advisable to entrust the work to this Association during the regime of the last control days, we did not succeed to to get a similiar ready response this time on account of the stolid indifference shown by the Government. I would therefore like to remind the Government that the trade channels are essential parts of the society and they cannot be permanently eliminated. I therefore appeal to Government to give this matter their most earnest consideration and re-instate the trade channels in their places without any further delay. Let me assure the Govern-

ment that we the commercial community are ever willing and ready to play our part in this direction and we except in turn from the Government to consult the trade and commerce before embarking on any new policies of far-reaching importance or making any modifications/changes in the existing structures.

Before I close I must record here my warm appreciation of the keen interest that our Honorary Secretary, Mr. M. L. Patodia, has evinced in the day-to-day activities of the Association, and to offer my sincerest thanks to my colleagues on the Committee, the members in general and the staff for the devotion with which they have performed their duties throughout the year.

With these words, Gentlemen, I now propose that the Annual Report be adopted and the Audited Accounts passed.

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ALL-INDIA WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL
VOL. I
NEW DELHI, AUGUST 15, 1953
No. I

GIFT OF IRAQI DATES FOR AIWFC

IN recognition of the services rendered by the All India Women's Food Council in popularising non-cereal food in India, the date Association of Iraq presented a gift of 70 cases of seedless Iraqi Dates to the Council on the 23rd June '53. The gift was formally handed over by His Excellency Mr. Salim Al-Radi, Ambassador of Iraq in India to Dr. Sushila Nayar, Chairman of Delhi State Branch of the Council A distinguished gathering, including the Ambassadors of Indonesia and Sweden and High Commissioners of Pakistan and Ceylon, several Ministers of the Indian Union and leading citizens of Delhi, was present.

Iraq, Mr. Al-Radi said, was the largest date-producing country in the world with a total annual production of 300,000 tons.

Mr. Al-Radi proceeded, "I must say that the women of India are playing a worthy role through the All India Women's Food Council in popularising non-cereal food to lessen the demand for wheat and rice, and in changing the food habits of the people.

"It is in appreciation of the good work of the All-India Women's Food Council that the Date Association of Iraq has been pleased in making this gift of 70 cases of Zahdi and Saver dates to the Council."

The gift suggests that Annapoorna should include dates among foods popularized by it. The dates were put on sale at the cafeterias

of the Council and were sold out everywhere
within a week of the presentation.
CITY
LIGH
RADIOS
DATES
RAQ
H. E. Mr. Salim Al-Radi, Ambassador for Iraq in India presenting a gift of Iraqi Dates to the
All India Women's Food Council.

SCHOOL OF CATERING OPENED IN MADRAS
BY LABOUR MINISTER
DR.
R. U. Krishna Rao, Minister for Industries and Labour, Madras, inaugurated the School of Catering organised by the All-India Women's Food Council, Madras State Branch, in Madras on July 10. Mr. A. B. Shetty, Minister for Health presided.
Miss Dorothy M. Pearson, Chairman of the School, welcoming the Minister said "Food should be prepared in such a way that it will be a pleasure to eat. Equally important, is, that it should be handled in a sanitary way." She said that catering was a problem, and there were very few places which were properly.
run
Mrs. Mary Clubwala, Honorary Secretary of the Madras Branch of the A.I.W.F.C., speaking at the function, said that welfare organisations and housewives had been asking them to run short-term courses in catering. She made it clear that there was no guarantee to employ the trainees in the cafeterias. The

School was run by a committee of both officials and non-officials. Trainees were given certificates at the end of the course.

Mr. Shetty praised the work of the Women's Food Council, and stressed the need for propaganda on the use of subsidiary foods The problem of alternative foods had become more important, because of the shortage of rice. He said that rice-eaters should be taught how various palatable and nutritious dishes could be made with wheat, millet, tubers, etc.

Thirty students, men and women, joined the school, where besides instruction in theory, practical training was given in cooking and catering. Visits to important kitchens and canteens were also arranged.

WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL RECONSTITUTED THE

MRS. DESHMUKH APPOINTED SECRETARY

HE Government of India have reconstituted the All India Women's Food Council for a further period of one year with effect from the 1st September, 1953, with Mrs. Rajbansi Devi as President and Mrs. Lilavati Munshi as Vice-President, Mrs. B. Tara Bai, Miss Shiva Dua and Mrs. Vimla Deshmukh as Honorary Secretaries. Other members of the Council are Mrs. Uma Nehru, Mrs. Man Mohini Sahgal, Mrs. Datar Singh, Mrs. Tyamina Talyarkhan, Mrs. Jer. H. Mehta, Mrs. Jyotsna Shah and Dr. Sushila Nayar, Chairman, Delhi State Branch, A.I.W.F.C., Lady Protima Mitter, Chairman, West Bengal Branch, Mrs. Shakuntala Subramanian, Chairman, Madras Branch, Mrs. Radha Devi Goenka, Chairman, Akola Branch, Mrs. Shanta Kher, Chairman, U.P. Branch, Mrs. Babiben Mooliji Dayal, Vice-Chairman, Bombay Branch and Chairman, Hyderabad

Branch.

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CATERING SERVICES IN ITALY

MR. P.C., Rajpal, Chief of the Annapoorna organisation who left for a study tour of the continental countries and U.K. on a fellowship awarded by the F.A O., in the middle of May, has completed his observation of the various feeding services in Italy and is now touring other countries.

Mr. Rajpal was very cordially received in Italy and has been conducted round the various catering establishments of the Air Services, Restaurants, Canteens, Cafes, including cafeterias run by social organisations and industrial managements.

Italy has a chain of cafeterias run by a Social Organisation called ONARMO which is supported by the Church and State for running cheap catering establishments for students, labourers and general public. Both the Church and State help ONARMO cafeterias with free accommodation, light, water, equipment furniture etc. wherever possible. ONARMO serves food 15 to 20% cheaper than the usual

Shree A. G. Kher, Speaker of the U. P. Legislative Assembly, with Mrs. Munshi and others after the opening of the Annapoorna Refreshment Room at the Lucknow Railway Station.

market rates. There are Italian doctors and other experts who render free services to train the staff of ONARMO cafeterias. Industrial Canteens in Italy are generally run by the managements as a welfare measure and are subsidised so that food can be supplied to workers at cheap rates. Arrangements exist for special meals at similar subsidised prices to be supplied to manual workers and the sick.

Before his return in November this year
Mr. Rajpal will visit France, Holland, Belgium,
Sweden and England.
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was
ANNAPOORNA AT LUCKNOW STATION
N Annapoorna refreshment room
opened at Lucknow Junction on July, 18.
Mr. A.G. Kher, Speaker of the U. P. Legis-
lative Assembly, who inaugurated the cafeteria,

congratulated the All India Women's Food
Council. Mr. Kher said it was a commendable
venture which would benefit a large number of
railway passengers.
Mrs. Lilavati Munshi, Vice-President,
A.I.W.F.C., said that it was proposed to attach
an Annapoorna dining car to the Lucknow-
Katihar Mail of the North-Eastern Railway
Mrs. Munshi expressed her appreciation of the
co-operation of the Railways with the Women's
Food Council in its work.
ALL INDIA WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL MAKES
WHEAT POPULAR IN MADRAS
MRS. PHILLIP'S PROPAGANDA TOUR
ADDRESSING the first annual conference
India Women's Food Council
in August 1951, the then Union Minister for
Food & Agriculture said that the efforts of the
Council to change the food habits of the people
were most needed in Madras, which he defined
as a part of the rice eating belt in the country.
LL IN
WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL BOMBAY BRANCH
MENTARY FOOD EXHIBITION
Mr. Y. B. Chawan, Minister of Civil Supplies, Bombay,
who inaugurated the Supplementary Foods Exhibition

organised by the Bombay Branch of A. I. W. F. C. in April, with the Office Bearers.

The Madras State Branch of the Women's Food Council took the advice seriously and started active propaganda for popularising wheat in the city of Madras by organising non-cereal cafeterias on different occasions They have since opened their permanent Annapoorna in the city. This is one of the Branches which did not confine its activities to the city but also penetrated the villages of the State.

Recently, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Chief Minister of Madras, impressed with the work of the Branch in popularising wheat, asked Mrs. Phillip, a well known nutritionist and an active member of the Branch who has been doing propaganda for the change of food habits in the State, to undertake a tour of certain parts of Madras with a view to popularising wheat among the people. Mrs. Phillip toured for two months through Ramnad and Tanjore districts. During this period she addressed no

less than 92 meetings, attended by more than 20,000 men, women and children. Her affectionate talks and convincing arguments drew crowds at the meetings addressed by her. She sold and distributed more than 4 tons of wheat in places visited by her which included a large number of educational institutions. The wheat preparations demonstrated by her were so much relished that in some places, ration shops which had been holding stocks of wheat for months together had to order fresh stocks to meet the new demand for wheat.

A very senior District Officer remarked at one of the meetings, that if the people took the advice of Mrs. Phillip seriously, much of their

medical expenses could be avoided. Her visits were specially welcomed by the civil supplies officers and in one place she was told that only if she could stay a little longer, the demand for wheat in the area might entirely replace the demand for rice.

THE KITCHEN GARDEN COMPETITION

HE Delhi State Branch of the All India Women's Food Council is organising the Kitchen Garden Competition again this year. Last year more than five hundred competitors from the refugee colonies and bungalows in Delhi took part in the venture.

The competitors are divided into separate categories on the basis of their holdings. The refugee colonies form one separate group and competitors from the colonies are supplied seeds and manure free by the All India Women's Food Council. The bungalow owners and schools and other educational institutions are required to pay entry fee varying between Rs. 2/- and Rs. 5. Entry fee is kept low at Rs. -/8/- per entry for entrants from refugee colonies. The awards will be judged by a Board of Judges by personal visits to the competitors' gardens sometime at the end of 1953.

To encourage the Council in its work the Central Ministry of Food and Agriculture have made a gift of 200 pounds of high quality vegetable seeds for its use.

INTRODUCTION OF SCHOOL FEEDING AT SERVICE

PRESENTATION OF HAND CARTS BY DUNLOPS

T an informal ceremony held at Annapoorna in Calcutta, Mr. Cecil Stack of Messrs Dunlop Rubber Co., India Ltd., presented two

handcarts to the All India Women's Food Council, West Bengal Branch for purposes of distribution of tiffin to school children.
Presenting one of the hand-carts, which has been completed, Mr. Stack complimented the All India Women's Food Council and wished it all success in its new venture of supplying food to school children.
The hand-cart which has been on view at Annapoorna in Calcutta is very compact and

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ANNAPOORNA
SUPPLEMENTARY FOODS
Organised by
ALL INDIA WOMENS FOOD COUNCIL
D
Mr. Cecil Stack of the Dunlop Rubber Co., India Ltd., presentina a hand cart for school feeding
service, to the All India Women's Food Council, West Bengal Branch.
well-designed. Being mounted on pneumatic tyers, it is very easy to handle.
The Secretary, Mrs. Subhadra Kaksar, thanked Mr. Stack on behalf of the Branch Committee after which the guests were entertained to Annapoorna food.
ALL INDIA WOMEN'S FOOD COUNCIL HELPS SOCIAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
THE
HE Social Education Department of Delhi Municipal Committee invited the Delhi State Branch to help them in their work by arranging non-cereal cooking demonstrations at their centres for women. Two demonstrations have already been held at which Mrs. Vimla Deshmukh and Miss Meera Khidwadkar taught

the cooking of delicious non-cereal dishes.

ANNAPOORNA OPENED AT PHALTAN

THE

"HE Bombay Branch of the All India Women's Food Council opened an Annapoorna at Phaltan in June last. This Cafeteria has been put under the charge of the newly created Phaltan Sub-Branch of the Council. The cafeteria is housed in a two room block in the P. W. D. Buildings and has a small patch of open
lawn in front. The staff of nine, which mans this Annapoorna, includes seven women. Most of the visitors to this Annapoorna are semi-literate or illiterate and come from rural areas.

They find this change to self-help method and the presence of women rather un-acceptable in the begining but their regard for Mrs. Laxmidevi Nimbalkar, who is Chairman of the Phaltan Branch and in whom people have great faith, will soon remove the age old prejudices.

ANNAPOORNA SERVICE HAILED ON RAILWAYS

THE

"HE Annapoorna Rail Dining Car has been running between Delhi and Dehradun for nearly three months now. The car is attached to 33 up Delhi-Dehradun Express which leaves Delhi on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays and performs its return trip on Thursdays, Satur-days and Mondays.

In the first three round trips alone the car served nearly 2,500 persons.

The great attraction of Annapoorna is the comparatively cheap prices at which food is served. A cup of tea is available for one anna and refreshing Annapoorna cold drinks can be

had for two annas each. A large variety of snacks is sold for one or two annas each. Nutritive and substantial Annapoorna lunches priced at ten annas and one rupee are a specia-lity. Above all is the fact that unadulterated hygienically cooked food is served neatly to the public.

Before being put on the rails, the Annapoorna Railway Dining Car worked in the Railway Centenary Exhibition for two months and sold food worth forty five thousand rupees and served nearly one hundred and eighty thousand persons.

The Annapoorna Dining Car will now be attached to the Delhi-Madras Weekly Janata Express shortly.

Edited and published by Mr. K. C. Agrawala, Honorary Propaganda Officer, All India Women's Food Council, and
printed by Gopi Nath Seth at Navin Press, Delhi.

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PANIS
Vol. 2 No. 11
Memo
Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
29
November 1953

FAO Reports Increased Demand For Assistance

THE Expanded Technical Assistance Program (ETAP) of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations is not just an expanded program.

The Organisation's ETAP report for 1952/53 shows it is an expanding expanded program as well.

This report, one of two newly published companion reports on FAO activities for the past year shows that by the end of 1951 more than 100 experts were working in more than 40 underdeveloped countries. By the end of 1952 no less than 532 experts were either at work in the field or had completed their assignments. By the middle of 1953 this figure had increased to 624.

In 1952 expenditure under ETAP was three times the amount spent in the previous year and when the program for 1953 was drawn up at the end of 1952, requests had been received from more than 50 countries for assistance which would have required expenditure of about $10.5 millions.

The new report points out that the majority of the requests for assistance arose logically from projects either completed or being carried out in 1952.

The report says: "Economic development is by definition an expanding process, and work undertaken in one field of activity naturally leads to expansion in others. Thus, under the FAO Program, geologists who survey the soil structure and configuration to plan a dam site will be succeeded by irrigation engineers and agronomists to plan the correct use of water made available when construction is completed. As the irrigated area develops, farm management specialists and experts in crop production will be required."

But, the report points out, lack of money is preventing expansion of assistance to underdeveloped countries proceeding at the rate which the importance of the work demands.

Requests for assistance received by all the agencies administering United Nations Technical Assistance Funds this year could have absorbed $43 million. But payments by countries contributing to the fund have only amounted to $21 million of which FAO's share is $6,700,000 making radical restrictions in the Organisation's work inevitable.

During the first six months of 1953 FAO received 232 requests for Technical Assistance of which 126 were approved for inclusion in future programs, 70 rejected and

36 held over for future consideration.
The report shows how far from the truth is the idea that Technical Assistance is something for nothing. Certainly the country which successfully applies for experts to investigate its agricultural problems is getting thousands of dollars worth of free advice from some of the world's top experts-but it is advice which usually carries responsibility for national action.
For instance, up to a short time ago F A O had spent $423,694 in its 1953 programme of technical assistance in Pakistan. The money, as the report shows, was spent on a host of problems requiring the services of veterinarians, irrigation engineers, fertiliser experts, refrigeration engineers, hydraulic engineers, geophysicists, statisticians, fisheries consultants, parasitologists, poultry experts-in fact men concerned with almost every aspect of agriculture and related developments. But so far Pakistan's expenditure on the basis of the FA O experts' recommendation has been $117,400 on current expenses and $1,633,000 on capital expenses.
In about the same period FAO has spent $360,449 on ETAP work in India. And India's consequent expenditure
(continued on page 2)
In scores of places where food is to be grown and advice is needed to grow it FAO experts are on the job under ETAP. Here an FAO cotton expert gives a lesson on tractor driving in Afghanistan.

MEMO
The Growing Work of
FAO
(continued from Page 1)
has been £516,905 current expenditure and $3,874,950 capital expenditure.
Reviewing FAO's ETAP work in almost

60 underdeveloped countries, the report concludes: "The urgent social and political circumstances of the modern world make it essential for the underdeveloped countries to assimilate and apply experience and practice which it has taken other countries decades and centuries to evolve in building the advanced industrial and agricultural economies of the world. In assisting them, the contributing Governments are not only creating prosperity in less fortunate regions of the world but are also laying the foundations for increased prosperity for themselves. Increased production in the underdeveloped world provides not only more food for its own inhabitants but export surpluses of both food and raw materials for the growing needs of the industrialised countries.

FAO'S ETAP work is perhaps more dramatic than the Organisation's basic activities. But, as the report on the work of FAO 1952/53 points out, this regular programme is fundamental to the long-term task of accelerating the world's progress in agriculture and nutritional improvement, and thus fundamental to the Expanded Technical Assistance Program.

In the introduction to his report on the work of FAO for 1952-53, Mr. Norris E. Dodd. Director-General of the Organisation, says that changing circumstances have brought about a progressive change in FAO's activities, without, however, departing from its major objective of achieving freedom from want.

In the years immediately following its formation in 1945 the Organisation was primarily concerned with collecting, colla-

ting and distributing information on agriculture and allied subjects: with studying and appraising conditions and future trends in these fields; with advising on and coordinating international action and with distributing technical information to producers.

Inauguration of ETAP in 1949 had made it possible for the Organisation to take a more active role in world agriculture and food problems.

FAO's main responsibilities now, says Mr. Dodd, are:-

1. Maintaining an intelligence service for member governments and for its own staff to be utilised in the action programmes it operates.

2. Framing and developing action programs to supplement those initiated by governments and in which FAO, on the request of such governments, is in a position to participate."

Introducing the exhaustive summary of the work carried out during the year by FAO, Mr. Dodd continues: "The services which FAO has been supplying to member governments during the past year cover widely differing fields. Help in preparing national agriculture development plans was given by FAO; staff members during 1952-53 visited almost every country in the Far and Near East and Latin America to discuss programs for increased production with the officials concerned. Regional policy formulation was assisted through FAO participation in regional meetings of the UN

The Editorial Liaison Office of FAO is organised to provide the technical press with documentation of FAO programs, conferences, special meetings, etc. Apart from printed publications and periodicals, there is a great deal of valuable technical material available in mimeographed form, and editors are invited to state their special interests. Voucher copies of journals in which FAO documents, publications are dealt with assist this office in direcing further documentation. Serialization of FAO monographs and booklets is encouraged, if full acknowledgement is made to FAO. To avoid duplication it is advisable to write to this office before serialisation is begun.

regional economic commissions, such as the meeting of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East early in 1953, at which FAO presented a study on the economic problems of rice in Asia, and the meeting of the Economic Commission for Latin America at Rio de Janeiro in June 1953.

Governments have increasingly realised the importance of reform in land tenure systems and other aspects of agrarian policy and FAO has collaborated with UN in the preparation of the Secretary General's questionnaire on land reform. Special studies were undertaken by FAO staff members in preparation for the Latin American Land Problems Seminar which was held in Brazil in May 1953 and was attended by 39 participants from 12 countries.

Mr. Dodd concludes his introduction to his report: Progress as a result of

example is sound progress. It is slow in its initial stages, but as each example proves itself good, it is taken up by others and again by others. Thus progress grows faster, and wider in its influence, by geometric progression. Just so, the work carried out during the past year by FAO, though small compared with the task yet to be done, is by no means insignificant. It will achieve full fruition in years ahead, far beyond the present area of our accomplishments, and in ways the benefit of which cannot yet be foretold."

Fisheries

With about 7,400 square miles of fishing grounds, Liberia is only now fully realising the sea's possibilities as a source of animal proteins in which the average Liberian diet is deficient.

Dutch fisheries experts, Jan and Hubertus van Pel, sent to Liberia under FAO's Expanded Technical Assistance programme last year, found most of the fishing in the area being carried out from crude canoes carved from whole tree trunks. Nets and other fishing gear, they found, were generally not suited to the area.

As a result fish landings were small and prices high. Practically all the fish landed was eaten in coastal areas since bad roads made transport of fresh fish to the interior almost impossible.

So Hubertus van Pel set up a class in fish net weaving and he and his assistants wove practically all the nets used in subsequent fishing by the team.

On the advice of the two experts that fish yields could only be increased by the use of more modern fishing boats, FAO

provided a Danish motor fishing boat and
also an outboard motor which was installed
in a Liberian boat.
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interested in the
Just a short
reported :
"I think it ca
fishing boats are
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be paid off (wit
more than a year'
Liberia, with 7,000 square miles of fishing grounds off her coas
advice and help to exploit them now-not just in netting, as in th
modera motor fishing vessels as well.

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November 1953
MEMO E
ACTION
Liberia
With the motorised boats and the new gear the van Pels, assisted by crews of Liberian trainees, have trawled as far as ten miles from the coast bringing in large catches of fish. They have sold most of their catches at low prices to people in Liberia's capital of Monrovia who were previously unable to afford fish.
They have also demonstrated methods of curing fish - by smoking, sun-drying and salting - which are very much superior to the local methods.
What's more they have focussed attention in Liberia on the advantages of

motorised fishing.
Two or three private groups have already set plans going for the operation of motor- and
powered vessels
others
interested in the idea.
are very
Just a short time ago Jan van Pel
reported:
"I think it can be proved that if motor fishing boats are given to capable Liberians on the instalment system, the boat can be paid off (without bad luck) in a little more than a year's time."
Fishing Boat Congress
Men have been taking fish from the seas for a longer time than written history records - yet the first international conference in history on fishing boat design was held, under FAO sponsorship only last month.
It was a snowball conference which was built up from the initial impetus provided by a paper on "Improvement of the Effi-- ciency of Fishing Vessels", written by FAO naval architect Jan-Olof Traung and published in the FAO "Fisheries Bulletin" two years ago.
This paper caused enormous interest among boat builders. As far as FAO experts are aware, there is not one up to-date book on fishing boat design available in Western Europe or America - nor even an old-fashioned book for that matter. Even in general works on naval architecture fiishing boat design is seldom discussed. Designers and builders of fishing boats have been hampered for years by this lack

of information on their industry. What information they have been able to get has been sketchy, passed on by word of mouth, by personal letter, by brief notes in technical journals or gained in personal visits to other shipyards.
The article in the "Fisheries Bulletin" brought to the attention of hundreds, possibly thousands, of builders the work of FAO on ship design as part of its fisheries programme and they wrote to FAO by the score asking for further information and advice on their problems.
That was stage two of the snowball.
In the face of so much enthusiasm and so much evidence of the need for greater exchange of information FAO decided to convene this first international congress on fishing boat design.
A general invitation was issued to experts in various branches of the industry to contribute papers to the congress and the work of organisation got under way.

One by one the papers came into FAO, were duplicated and sent out again to the growing number of intending participants in the congress. FAO fisheries men had asked for about 25 papers - in the end they received 65.
They had expected about 100 participants in the congress.
When it opened, in Paris on October 12, as guest of the French Ministry of the Merchant Marine, there were 200 people from 24 countries gathered in the congress hall to discuss the problems raised in the papers presented at the meeting.

But, as we have said, this was a snow bail conference.
About half of the people who attended the conference came on their own behalf and paid their own way.
The remainder were representatives of governments.
Also present were representatives of the International Labur Office, World Meteorological Organisation and the International Conmission for the N. W. Atlantic Fisheries.
Proceedings of the congress were divided into seven different sessions in each of which a different subject was discussed. A rapporteur appoiated for each session opened the proceedings by delivering a summary of the congress papers bearing on the particular problem under discussion - it was not necessary to read the papers because all participants had previously been provided with printed copies. Adoption of this procedure left about 90% of the congress time free for discussion.
The subjects discussed by the different sessions were: Boat Types; Hull Shapes, Sea Behaviour; Stability, Safety at Sea; Engines, Propellors; Deck Gear; Economics, Research Vessels and Factory Ships.
The Paris Congress is to be followed on November 16 by a similar Congress, arranged by FAO in co-operation with the United States Fish and Wildlife Service, in Miami, Florida. The papers presented in Paris will be discussed again at Miami.
Five leading participants in the Paris Congress will go especially to the United States to attend the repetition of the Congress. They will be British naval

architect Commander A. C. Hardy, Chair-
man of the Paris Congress, Monsieur R. E.
Gueroult, as representative of the French
(continued on page 4
shing grounds off her coast is starting, with FAO
t just in netting, as in these pictures, but with

680
EXPERTS'
Work, during the month, was concen-
trated on further exploration of the
possibilities of beef production from the
Andalusian 'fighting bull" stock and on
the inauguration of a simple system
of milk recording in the State of
Tlaxoala. If, as we hope, facilities become
available, it will be possible to investigate
beef possibilities of the Andalusian cattle
along the following lines. Young bulls
which are rejected in fighting tests about
a year old can be fed for beef instead of
It is
being slaughtered at this early age.
not yet known how many of these young
bulls may be available for feeding tests
because fignter rejects on ranches which
cater for the leading center of Mexico City
are often accepted as fighters for the
smaller provincial centers.
On these ranches a number of cows
are culled each year because their offspring
have not come up to fighting standards
and when sold, as they usually are, for
beef, they fetch very poor prices. It is
proposed to explore the possibilities of
crossing these culled cows with an Aber-

deen Angus bull for the production of beef animals which would be reared and fed on the ranches. The ranchers with. whom this has been discussed are keen to try the experiment and we hope to get the use of an Angus bull this season as the cows are now available. They prefer to cross these cows with an Angus bull rather than use a pure bred fighter reject because they consider that the fighting characteristics would be more easily subdued by crossing and that a better beef animal would result. Since these ranches are mostly about 8000' altitude, they are comparatively free of the diseases which are so rampant in the

tropical areas, and the Aberdeen Angus-Andalusian cross might be very successful. It is hoped also to secure facilities in the tropics to test the Andalusian cattle as a pure breed on the lines suggested in a previous report. The aim is to secure young calves and move them to their new tropical quarters as young as possible - say about a month old. There, they would be well fed and carefully handled and in time mated with pure bred bulls rejected for fighting purposes. This would lay the foundation for the development of a beef branch of Andalusian stock, which if suitable to the tropics, would play an important role in beef production over wide areas of the country.

The most heartening featute of the work so far, has been the artitude and response of the men on the land to sugges-tions and ideas for imporving their live-stock and making better use of their

holdings. They are most co-operative in all directions, and since the friendship and good will of the people are the first essentials in any work towards better land use and livestock development we are fully assured of the support of the ranchers. The difficulty is to visit all the ranches to which we are invited and an effort is being made to meet most groups at selected centers for discussion of problems. Quite often when a ranch is being visited, the rancher has a number of his rancher friends present and when time permits to visit others the party gradually increases by the addition of each one visited as we move round a district. Their keenness and enthusiasm is most encouraging.

R. Lindsay Robb (S. African),
Animal Husbandry Expert in Mexico

Total of examinations and treatments: 134 cattle, 7 goats, 28 horses 1 donkey, 3 pigs, 24 dogs, I cat, I gazzle and I chicken" from part of an ETAP expert's report quoted on this page, November 1953

Rinderpest vaccine and serum: b g. goat virus vaccine produced in May have been titrated and found to provide 400,000 field doses.

A total of 67,710 doses have been delivered to the field, i. e. 12, 600 to Shoa, 10,000 to Wollo, 10.000 to Sidamo, 10,000 to Bale, 15,000 to Arussi; 10,000 to Kaffa,

and 110 to Adamatula. In addition 580 doses have been used at the laboratory, in vaccinating 389 heads of cattle.
600 cc. of Rinderpest serum were used in Shoa province.
Total of examinations and treatments: 134 cattle, 7 goats, 28 horses, I donkey, 3 pigs, 24 dogs, I cat, I gazelle, and I chicken.
H. E. Ottosen, (Danish) FAO veterinarian in Ethiopia.

Fishing Boat Congress

(continued from Page 3)
Naval Architecture Society, Mr. E. Estlander,Finnish naval architect, Mr.Mogens Jul, FAO Fisheries Technology Branch Chief and Mr. Traung, the FAO naval architect whose article started the snowball growing.
But the end of the Florida Congress on November 29 won't be the end of the snowball.
A British fisheries industry publisher who attended the Paris congress sought, and obtained, permission from FAO to publish the papers presented in Paris, and a digest of the discussion of them, in book form. The projected book is expected to contain about 300,000 words.
And the Paris congress participants were so determined that the work of the congress should be carried on that they formed a committee, composed of representatives of half a dozen countries, to arrange for a further congress in the future and to study other questions of international co-operation in the field of fishing boat design.

November 1953
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and low living standards throughout
the world.
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SNO 42 107
Popular Series
Leaflet No. II
GLOSSARY OF
Q.81
TECHNICAL TERMS IN DAILY USE
(FOR THE LAYMAN)
CENTRAL BOARD
OF
IRRIGATION AND POWER
PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE MANAGER,
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FOREWORD

Description and discussions of the various river valley projects necessarily involve the use of certain technical terms, the proper understanding and appreciation of which is essential for full understanding of the scope and benefits of the various projects.

The Central Board of Irrigation and Power is publishing a comprehensive treatise giving the correct technical meaning of the various technical terms in use in India for correct understanding of the technical literature by scientists and engineers in India and abroad. But that publication is too technical for purposes of laymen.

An attempt has, therefore, been made in this leaflet to include only the simpler terms which are in daily use and a correct familiarity with which will help towards a correct appreciation of questions arising in connection with the subject of irrigation and power. With that end in view the more difficult terms have been omitted and the definitions simplified even at the risk of some sacrifice of their strict scientific interpretation.

The leaflet is divided into three parts. The first Part deals with terms commonly used in Irrigation Engineering. Terms used in Electrical Engineering are included in Part II, which is further sub-divided into 4 sections, viz., General, Machines and Transformers, Transmission and Distribution and Commercial. This has been necessary because the meaning of certain terms used in one context is not necessarily the same as when used in the other context. The words in each section are arranged in alphabetical order. Some selected equivalents are also given under Part III for handy reference..

It is hoped that this leaflet will facilitate the work of Members of Parliament and others in dealing with issues concerning our river valley projects and the work of the Irrigation and Power Ministry.

NEW DELHI,
March 26, 1954.

G. L. NANDA,
Minister for Planning and Irrigation & Power,
Government of India.

PREFACE

The Central Board of Irrigation and Power has since 1947, undertaken to issue a series of popular leaflets dealing with Irrigation and Power schemes of the country to educate the public about the country's achievements and the great efforts now being made to harness the vast water resources of the country in the service of the common man. Description and discussions of the various schemes and projects necessarily involve the use of certain technical terms, the proper understanding and appreciation of which is essential for full understanding of the scope and benefits of the various projects.

In compliance with the wishes of Shri Kanwar Sain, the President

of the Board, this leaflet has been specially prepared to give in simple non-technical words the meanings of technical and scientific terms in daily use in connection with the Irrigation and Power projects.
Though the Board is publishing a comprehensive treatise (revised edition) giving the correct technical meaning of various technical terms in use in India, it was considered that that publication would be too technical for purposes of laymen. It has, therefore, been decided to bring out a small popular leaflet including only simpler terms which are in daily use, the correct appreciation of which is considered desirable for our popular leaders.
M. L. AGGARWAL, I.S.E., M.I.E.,
NEW DELHI,
Secretary,
October 15, 1953.
Central Board of Irrigation and Power.

GLOSSARY OF
TECHNICAL TERMS IN DAILY USE
(FOR THE LAYMAN)
I-Terms connected with Irrigation Engineering
A
Acre Foot: A unit of volume used in irrigation practice. It means the volume of water required to cover an area of one acre to a depth of one foot. It equals 43,560 cubic feet of water. It will be noticed that a cuses day equals 1:98 acre feet or roughly 2 acre feet.
Acre Inch: 1/12 of an acre foot, defined above and is approximately equal to one cusec hour.
Afflux: The rise above the natural surface of water in a channel, caused by placing an obstruction in the water-way.
Anicut: In South India, weirs across rivers are frequently termed 'Anicuts' this being the Tamil word for river weirs.
Annual Intensity: The term applied to the percentage of the culturable, irrigable (Punjab-commanded) area irrigated during the year. The Project Intensity is the annual intensity aimed at in the project.
Apron A floor of concrete, masonry or stone, etc., to protect a surface from erosion, or to withstand water pressure, e.g., the pavement

below weirs, falls or at the toe of a bund.
Aqueduct: This is a structure through which a canal is carried over a drainage without having to drop or depress the bed level of the drainage.
Arched Dam: A curved dam, convex upstream, that depends on arch action for its stability. The load is transferred by the arch to the sides of canyon or deep, narrow, steepsided valley.
Area, Assessed: The irrigated area on which water-rates are levied (generally the same as area matured).
Area, Cultivated: Land on which crop or fruit trees are or have been grown in one or more of the previous three harvests.
Area, Culturable Commanded or Area, Culturable Irrigable: The gross irrigable area less the area not available for cultivation, e.g., village areas, roads, isolated patches of unculturable lands.
Area, Culturable Lift: That portion of culturable irrigable area which can be economically irrigated by lift only.
Area, Gross: The total area within the extreme limits set for irrigation by a project, system or channel.

Area, Gross Commanded: That portion of the gross area which is commanded by flow irrigation. Sometimes it also includes areas that can be economically irrigated by lift.
Area, Gross Irrigable: The gross area less such large compact areas as are excluded from the project by reason of their being unsuitable for irrigation either on account of the nature of the soil or because the ground is too high to be economically irrigated by lift.
Area, Gross Lift: That portion of gross irrigable area which can be irrigated economically by Lift' only.
Area, Irrigated: The area to which water has been applied.
Area, Lift Irrigation: Area of which the level is too high to allow of irrigation by flow from the source, but which can be economically irrigated by water raised to the necessary level at some point in the supply system.
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Area, Matured: The area irrigated upon which crops have matured.

Area, Non-perennial: The area served by a non-perennial canal.
Area. Perennial: The area served by a perennial canal.
Arid: Dry, parched lands where agriculture is impossible without irrigation.
Authorized or Designed Full Supply Discharge: The maximum discharge for which a channel is designed. In irrigation practice, the authorized full supply discharge should never be exceeded.
Available Supply:
(a) In the river.-The discharge passing at the moment.
(b) In a tank. -The quantity of water stored in the tank above sill of lowest sluices or minimum authorized water-level.
(c) At the head of a canal. The authorized share of the river discharge pertaining to a canal.
(d) Other channels.-The discharge flowing.
Average Supply: The average supply in a channel is the sum of the daily discharges at the head of the channel divided by the number of days in a month or a crop season.
Ayacut: A term used in South India for the assigned irrigable area under a source, i.e., under a tank, canal, etc.
B
Back-fill: Earth or other material used to replace material removed during construction, such as in culvert and pipe line trenches and behind bridge abutments; also refers to material placed between an old structure and a new lining.
Back Flow: The backing up of water through a culvert, sewer, or other drainage channel in the direction opposite to normal flow.

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Baffle: A cross wall or a set of vanes or some other device built in a au channel downstream of hydraulic structure, to dissipate energy.
Bar: A deposit of river-borne material at the mouth of a river.
Barrage: A structure provided with a series of gates, to regulate the water surface level upstream. It is distinguished from a weir in that it is gated over the entire width and may or may not have a raised sill. In Madras Barrage is called 'Regulator'.
G
Base, Base Days or Base Period: The number of days required for rais-

ing a crop. For example, in the Punjab, it numbers 183 for Kharif and 182 for Rabi. In Bombay, Deccan, there are three base periods, viz., 15th February to 14th June; 15th June to 14th October; 15th October to 14th February. In Burma, the base periods are known as "Crop Periods" and are 183 days for the main rice crop and 151 days for the winter crop.

Basin Irrigation: A method of irrigation by which land surrounded by natural or artificial banks is flooded, and crops are sown when the water dries up.

Bed Load: The quantity of silt, sand, gravel or other detritus rolled along the bed of a stream, often expressed as weight or volume in a certain time.

Bell Bnuds: Guide banks for controlling the river-course at the site of a bridge or weir. Named after Mr. J. R. Bell who designed them.

Berm:

(1) The space left between the upper edge of a cut and the toe of an embankment ;

(2) a horizontal strip or shelf built into an embankment to break the continuity of an otherwise long slope;

(3) the portion of a bank with a horizontal top at a lower level than the top of the main bank. An addition to a bank at a lower level;

(4) the space between the water edge and the inner toe of bank of a canal-usually formed by silt carried by the canal water.

Blanketing:

(1) The covering of the bed of a channel by fine sediment deposit-ed from suspension.

(2) The layer of impervious material extending from the core in an earth dam towards the water side covering the natural bed.

Block: The whole area of certain specified land to which the block system is applied.

Blocks: Obstructions built in the path of high velocity water to dissi-brit pate energy and prevent scour. Usually constructed below hydraulic structures like falls or weirs. Also see Friction Blocks.

Block System: A system under which a supply of water is provided for carrying on irrigated cultivation under certain conditions throughout a block for a period of years. (This term is used in Bombay-Deccan).
Branch or Branch Canal: This takes water from the main canal and passes it on to distributaries.
Bucket: In hydraulics, a curved surface at the toe of an overflow dam designed to deflect the water upward or the transition curve between the overflow face and the apron of a dam.
Bull-dozer: In levelling operation, a mould board mounted ahead of a tractor for pushing excavated material ahead of the tractor.
Buttress: A supporting pier on the exterior of a wall to enable it to resist outward thrust.
Bye Wash: A sufficient width along the perimeter of the water spread contour of a tank where the natural ground level is at full tank level and slopes away to drain off the surplus inflow into the tank very quickly.
C
Caisson: A chamber (usually sunk by excavating within it), for the purpose of gaining access to the bed of a stream or other body of water. If the chamber is closed on top and the water excluded by air pressure, it is called a "Pneumatic caisson".
Canal: A channel constructed or maintained for the conveyance of water to feed the branch canals or directly the distributaries, or for the purpose of navigation. Legally, the term 'Canal' includes:-
(a) all canals, channels and reservoirs constructed, maintained or controlled by Government for the supply or storage of water;
(b) all works, embankments, structures, supply and escape channels connected with such canals, channels or reservoirs ;
(c) all water courses;
(d) any part of a river stream, lake or natural collection of water or natural drainage channel.
Canal Intermittent: A canal designed to irrigate only when demand arises and usually takes its supply from a storage reservoir.
Canal Inundation: A canal with or without some form of head regulator, dependent upon the surface level of the water in the river for its supplies. The inundation canals only run if the supply in

the river rises to a level which permits of feeding the canal.
Canal, Non-perennial: A canal meant to irrigate during part of the year only, usually the Kharif or summer season.

Canal Outlet: In Madras this term is used for what is called an 'Escape'. In Northern India, this term is applied to a pipe or other device for passing water from a canal to irrigators' fields.
Capacity:
(1) The capacity of a channel, is the authorised full supply discharge.
(2) The capacity of a reservoir or tank, is the quantity of water stored between bed level and the full reservoir level.
(3) The capacity of an outlet, is the authorised full supply discharge ob of the outlet.
Catchment or Catchment Area: Area from which rainfall flows into a river, drainage or reservoir, etc.
Channel Irrigation or Watercourse: A small channel taking its supply from a Government channel but owned and maintained by the cultivator.
Cistern: Portion depressed below normal bed level below a dam, fall, or chute to take the impact of water by virtue of water standing there.
Coffer Dam: A wall or barrier built in water so as to form an enclosure from which the water is pumped out to permit free access to the area within.
Compaction: Compaction is a scientific term for consolidation of earthen embankments. This is achieved by special sheep-foot or other heavy pneumatic tyre rollers. This is the present day practice in consolidating important embankments.
Conduit: A general term applied to structures for the conveyance of water, liquids, gases and even wires.
Contour: A line connecting points on the ground surface which are at the same height above a reference level (datum).
Counterfort: A buttress giving lateral support to a retaining wall, to which it is bonded.

Creep: The movement of water under or around a structure built on permeable foundations.
わっぱ
Crest: The top portion of dam, weir, barrage fall, or spillway over which water flows.
Crop Intensity: Used in Madras to denote the percentage of the area irrigated in a season to the irrigable command. In the North this percentage is called Irrigation Intensity.
Crop Ratio: The Crop Ratio or Kharif-Rabi. Ratio is defined as the ratio between the anticipated areas to be irrigated in these two crop seasons. In Madras it is the ratio between areas of first and second btcrops which are generally raised between June and November, and December and April, respectively.

6
Current Meter: An instrument for measuring the velocity of flowing water. It consists of small rotating buckets and the number of rotations per second give the velocity of water current.
Cusec: A common abbreviation for cubic feet per second, a unit commonly used in irrigation practice to denote the discharge or rate of flow of water in cubic feet per second.
Cusec Day: The volume of water resulting from a discharge of one cusec for one day (24 hours). It amounts to 86,400 cubic feet of water.
Cusec Month: The volume of water resulting from a discharge of one cusec for one month.
okay data
Cut and Fill: A method of building canals by excavating part of the depth and using the excavated material for the adjacent embank-ments. In a balanced cut and fill, the excavated material is precisely enough for the embankments, with an allowance for settlement.
Cut Off:
(1) A wall or other structure intended to reduce percolation of water along otherwise smooth surfaces, or through porous strata.
(2) (In Sind.) The difference between the water-levels upstream

and downstream of a regulator, or the difference in levels between a parent and off-taking channels, more generally known as Head".

Cut Off Trench or Key Trench: An excavation in the base of a dam or other structure filled with relatively impervious material to reduce percolation.

D

Dam: A structure generally of masonry, concrete or earth and of considerable height which is erected to impound water in a reservoir or to create hydraulic head.

Dam, Buttress: A masonry structure which retains the water load with the help of buttresses or counter forts.

Dam, Check: A small dam constructed across a gully or other watercourse to decrease the velocity of flow, thus minimizing channel scour and promoting the deposition of eroded material upstream. Check dams may be made of a large variety of materials including concrete, masonry, loose rock, boards, logs, brush, or earth, wire mesh and other miscellaneous junk.

Dam, Gravity: A dam which depends for its stability entirely on its weight. It may be straight or slightly curved in plan.

Dam, Hydraulic Fill: A dam composed of earth, sand, gravel, etc., placed in such a way that generally the fine materials are washed towards the centre for greater imperviousness.dere

Dam, Overflow: A dam designed to be overtopped by floods.

Dam, Rock-fill: It is a modified form of earth dam using rock of all sizes to provide stability and an impervious membrane on the upstream side to provide water tightness.

Datum: Plane of reference for elevations.

Delta:

(i) An expression used in irrigation practice to mean the depth: of water that would result over a given area from a given discharge passed for a certain length of time. Alternatively, delta may be defined as the total volume of water delivered, divided by the area over which it has been spread. (A cusec

day on one acre results in a delta of 2 feet. It is clear that owing to the total losses in a channel, the delta will vary with the place at which the discharge is measured which should be stated thus at field, at outlet or at head of channel or canal).
(ii) This term also applies to the alluvial tract formed by deposit in the sea of the sediment carried down by rivers.
Demand:
(a) At the outlet.-The cultivator's water requirements.
(b) At the head of a channel.-The sum of all useful discharges required, plus total losses (Punjab-Indent).
Density, Soil: Density means weight per unit volume. A soil which. consists of solids and pores has two densities, that of the mass termed "Bulk" density and that of the solids termed "Absolute density.
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Denudation: The wearing down and disintegration of rock masses by rain, frost, wind, running water and other agencies.
Detritus: Alluvial material formed by attrition or wearing away of stones.
Distributary Minor: (Commonly known as a 'Minor') A small gov--ernment channel, usually taking its supply from a major distributary, the function of which is to supply water to outlets.
Distributary Sub-minor: (Commonly known as 'Sub-minor'). A gov-ernment channel taking off from one already defined as a 'Minor'.
Distribution System:
(1) The system of distributaries and minors conveying irrigation water from a main canal or a branch canal to the farm units.
(2) Any system by which a primary water supply is distributed to consumers.
Diversion Dam or Intake Weir: A barrier built for the purpose of diverting part of all the water from a stream into a different course.
Divide Wall or Groyne: A wall or groyne separating the undersluice channel from the main river with the object of facilitating silt. regulation.

Double Crop: The raising of two successive crops on the same field in one year. The crop that is first cut is called the "First Crop" and the crop harvested later in the season is called "Second Crop". The term "Second crop lands" is sometimes used loosely instead of "Double crop lands".

Drain: A channel, either artificial or natural, for carrying surplus seepage or surface water.

Drainage Channel: A natural drainage when improved by clearance or by excavation.

Dry Crop: A crop which is raised entirely with the help of rainfall. Also any crop other than rice or sugarcane in Sind, e.g., millets, cotton, ragi, cholam (maize).

Dual Purpose Canal: A canal constructed for the combined purpose of navigation and irrigation.

Duty of Water: Duty is the relation between the area irrigated and the quantity of water required to irrigate it. When applied to a channel it is the area irrigated during a period divided by the mean supply utilized in "cusecs" (= cubic feet per second). When applied to tank irrigation it is the number of acres of irrigation per million cubic feet of impounded water. Duty indicates the irrigating capacity of water. This is referred to as a being 'High' or Low' according as the number of acres irrigated per cusec is large or small.

E

Erosion:

(1) The lowering of the land surface by weathering corrosion and transportation under the influence of gravity, wind and running water.

(2) The removal of material from the banks of a channel.

Estuary: The mouth of a river, where the tide meets the river current.

F

Fall: A work at which water is made to drop from a higher to a lower level. Known in Madras as a "Drop".

Flash Board: A baulk, needle, or plank, usually of timber, which is placed horizontally and held by vertical supports, on the crest of a weir or dam, or in a regulator, to head up water.

Flood Absorption: Flood absorption is the reduction in discharge resulting from flowing water being accommodated in a channel or lake.

Flood Storage: A term used in the Madhya Pradesh to denote the

volume of water that a reservoir can accommodate between Full Tank Level and High Flood Level. Known in Madras as "Flood Absorbing Capacity ".

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Flume: A structure which is narrower than the normal bed width of the channel used for measuring discharges.
Free Board: The height of bank above the full supply level of channel or a reservoir.
Full Supply Discharge: The discharge required for irrigation purposes (Madras). At other places used loosely for authorised or designed Full Supply Discharge.
Full Tank Level (F.T.L.): The level of the crest of the waste weir of a reservoir or tank or top of gates.
G
Gallery:
(1) A structure below ground level for collection of percolating water.
(2) A passageway, as in a dam.
(3) An underground conduit.
Gross Area: The total area within the extreme limits set for irrigation by a project system or channel.
Gross Commanded Area: This is the total area which can be irrigated economically from a canal scheme on the supposition that unlimited water is available. (Note: In Sind, by economical lift, also.)
Gross Irrigable Area: The gross area less such large compact areas as are excluded from the project by reason of their being unsuitable for irrigation either on account of the nature of the soil, or because the ground is too high to be economically irrigated by 'Lift'.
Gross Lift Area: That portion of the gross irrigable area which can be irrigated economically by 'Lift' only. Gross Commanded Area plus Gross Lift Area equals Gross Irrigable Area.
Guide Bank: A protective and training bank constructed at the side of a weir, bridge, etc., to guide the river flow through or over the structure.
H

Hydrograph: A graph showing the stage, flow, velocity, discharge or other property of water, with respect to time.

I

Intensity: The term applied to the percentage of the culturable irrigable area irrigated during a year or during a crop.

Irrigation: The artificial application of water to lands for agricultural purposes.

Irrigation Requirement: The quantity of water, excluding rain water. that is required for crop production.

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IO

Irrigation Water: Water artificially applied to lands in the process of irrigation. It does not include rain water.

Isohyetal: Contours joining points on the earth's surface having equal rainfall.

K

Kharif Crops: These are summer crops harvested in autumn and the season varies from April to September for the North and from June to November-December for the South.

L

Leaching: The washing out of salts from the upper zone of the soil by flooding. The salts dissolve in the water which is drained off through the sub-soil.

Levee: An embankment or wall to prevent inundation.

Lock: A communication channel, having gates at both ends, between. the higher and lower reaches of a canal. It is used to transfer a vessel from one reach to the other having different water levels.

Lock Gate: A pair of doors at the two ends of a lock, serving in conjunction with a similar pair at the other end to enclose water within the lock chamber.

M

Main Line or Main Canal: This term is applied to the principal channel of a canal system off-taking from a river or other main source of supply like reservoir.

Major Distributary: (Sometimes known as a Distributary)-A Government channel taking its supply from a main line or branch, the

function of which is to supply water to minors and outlets.
Maximum Supply Discharge: The discharge which, during rains, the canal has to carry when cross-drainages enter it.
Meander: A meander consists of two consecutive loops of a river, one flowing clockwise, the other anti-clockwise.
Minor: (Sometimes known as Minor Distributary)-A small Government channel, usually taking its supply from a major distributary, the function of which is to supply water to outlets. In Madras, 'Minors' are distributaries carrying 25 cusecs or less.
Module: A device for ensuring a constant discharge of water passing from one channel into another or from a channel to irrigator's field. irrespective of the water level in each, within certain specified limits.
N
Non-modular Outlet: An outlet whose discharge is dependent on the levels both in the supplying channel and in the watercourse.

Occupier's Rate: The rate to be charged for canal water supplied for purposes of irrigation to the occupiers of land, according to Government rules.
Orifice Semi-module (O.S.M.): The fitting of this type of module in a supplying channel enables that when the supply fluctuates each off-take draws always a constant proportion of the supply.
Outfall: The point at which water discharges from a pipe, conduit or channel into the sea, a lake, drain, or other channel.
Outlet: The term used to designate a structure or a device which passes water from a Government channel to a watercourse. In Madras. the term is applied to a structure constructed to pass surplus water out of a canal, distributary or minor. (See also Controlled Pipe Outlet.)
(Note: Ordinarily, outlets are not built in the main line or branches. When built such outlets are termed 'Direct Outlets '.)
P

Percolation Flow through a porous medium.
Perennial Area: The area served by perennial channel.
Perennial Channel: A channel which is designed to irrigate all the year round.
pH Value: It is a measure of intensity of acidity or alkalinity of soils or water; e.g., distilled water, which is neutral, has a pH value of 7. Values above 7 indicate the presence of alkalies, while those below 7 indicate acids.
Pick-up Weir: A weir constructed across a river at the headworks of a canal to raise the level of water sufficiently high for it to flow into the off-taking canal. This term is generally applied to a weir across a river on which there is a storage reservoir higher up.
Piping: The flow of water under or round a structure built on permeable foundations, which if not prevented or stopped will remove material from beneath the structure and cause it to fail.
Precipitation: Moisture falling on the earth's surface from clouds; it may be in the form of rain, hail or snow.
R
Rabi Crops: These are winter crops harvested in spring. The season for North is from October to March and for South it is from January to May.
Reach: A comparatively short length of a stream or a channel.
Reconnaissance: A preliminary field examination of a proposed project.
B.

I2
Red Cement Mortar: A mortar prepared with cement, surkhi and sand.
Regulator: This is essentially a bridge spanning the water-way to be regulated, in the openings of which shutters are installed capable of adjustment so as to regulate the amount of water-way, left free for the passage of water. Regulators are occasionally built across rivers or streams (as in South India) so as to serve the purpose of weirs without causing the obstruction which is unavoidable with a solid weir. These are termed River Regulators' or 'Open Weirs.
A Canal Regulator regulates the level of water above the work

and helps to distribute the total discharge in varying proportions. to the canal below the work and any canals or channels off-taking immediately above it.
Reservoir: A pond, lake, or basin, either natural or artificial, for the storage, regulation and control of water.
Retrogression: The lowering of levels, i.e.. of the level of the water surface of a channel for a given discharge.
Riparian: Pertaining to the banks of a stream or body of water, a riparian owner is one who owns the banks: a riparian right is the right to control and use water by virtue of the ownership of the bank or banks.
Rivetted: In irrigation work, pitched with stone.
Run-off: The portion of precipitation that appears as flow in streams. The volume of water discharged by the stream draining the area or into the reservoir receiving the drainage.
Run-off Coefficient: The ratio of run-off to precipitation.
S
Scour: The removal of material from the bed of a channel by flowing water.
Sediment: Fine material transported by, suspended in or deposited by a fluid.
Seepage Loss: Volume or rate of loss of water by seepage. Seepage loss from canals and reservoirs is usually expressed in terms of cusecs per million square feet.
Semi-module: A device that automatically delivers a discharge which is independent of fluctuations of water level or pressure on the delivery side, and only varies with water level or pressure on the supply side in accordance with hydraulic laws.
Silt Ejector: A device for removal of silt from a stream.
Silt Excluder: A device located at the head of a channel for regulating or preventing entry of silt in the channel.
Siphon or Syphon: A structure in which the bed level of the canal is depressed where it passes under a drainage so that the canal passes through an inverted siphon.

Sluice: In Madras this term is used for an outlet, i.e., a device for letting the flow of water from a canal to the fields.
(a) A conduit for carrying water at high velocity.
(b) An opening in a structure for passing debris or water.
Spillway: A passage for overflow or excess water from a dam.
Spur :
(1) An obstruction of stone, timber brush-wood or earth, constructed from the bank of a channel and projecting into it for training the flow in rivers.
(2) A similar structure for protecting the sea shore from erosion.
Stable Channel: A channel which is more or less steady with regard to cross-section and course.
Staunching: Sealing; e.g., staunching of canals by silt deposits. Sometimes used loosely for lining canals.
Streamline Flow: A type of fluid flow in which there is a continuous steady motion of the particles, the motion at a fixed point always remaining constant. Also called viscous flow, laminar flow, steady flow.
Superpassage: Is a structure where a natural drainage is passed over a canal without having to depress the bed level of the canal.
T
Tailrace: A channel conducting water away from a water wheel, power house.
Talus: A flexible apron at the downstream end of a weir or fall, consisting of blocks of concrete, masonry or stone.
Terraces: Sloping ground cut into a succession of benches and steep inclines for purposes of cultivation.
Toe Wall: A shallow wall constructed below the bed level to provide a footing for the pitching or the side of a canal.
Trash Rack: A grating, usually made up of M.S. Flats, provided at the entrance of a submerged outlet to prevent entry of debris jungle, etc.
Turbulent Flow: A type of fluid flow in which there is an unsteady motion of the particles, the motion at a fixed point varying in no definite manner. Also called eddy flow, sinuous flow.
U
Undersluices: Portion of a weir (a regulator in Madras) which is gated and is intended for keeping the flow of water along a definite channel in a river.

Waste Weir: The escape provided for the passage of surplus water from a reservoir or tank.
Watercourse: The term is applied to an irrigator's channel taking its supply from a Government channel, from which the fields are irrigated directly.
Water Cushion: A pool of water maintained to take the impact of falling water below a dam, chute, fall or other structure.
Water Right: A legal right to the use of water.
Watershed:
(1) The area drained by a stream or stream system.
(2) The dividing line between drainage basins.
Water-table: Is the level up to which the sub-soil or ground water exists.
Weep-holes: Openings left in retaining walls, aprons, linings, etc., to permit drainage or to reduce pressures, etc.
Weir: A continuous solid barrier across a river or a channel over which water may flow and which raises the water surface level upstream. This should be high enough to ensure passing into the canal adequate quantities of water to supply the seasonal requirements of crops. This may or may not be provided with falling shutters. The primary object of 'Diversion Weirs', usually from 10 to 30 feet high, is the raising of the level and the diversion of water from the rivers and stream into canals. There are different kinds of weirs which combine the function of diversion with that of storage while there are others which are primarily dams for storage of water while throughout the part of the whole length they are used as surplus escapes for passing off excess flow which cannot be stored.
Wet Crops: Wet crops are those that positively require irrigation for maturity; e.g., rice, etc. These are classified according to the seasons in which they are cultivated. They are (i) Kharif crops, and (ii) Rabi crops.
Working Head: When applied to an outlet, it represents the difference

of level between the water in the distributary and in the water-course.

II-Terms connected with Electrical Engineering

(a) GENERAL

Alternating Current: An electric current, the direction of flow of which alternates in a periodic manner. Abbreviation A.C.

Ampere: Is the practical unit of strength intensity of electric current.

Ampere Hour: A practical unit of quantity of electricity. It is the quantity represented by the flow of one ampere for a period of one hour.

Battery:

(a) A group of two or more primary cells connected in series or parallel.

(b) Two or more similar pieces of apparatus such as cells, capacitors, etc., electrically connected in one circuit.

British Thermal Unit: A unit of heat. It is the quantity of heat required to raise the temperature of one pound of water from 60°F. to 61°F. Abbreviation B. Th. U.

Capacitor or Condenser: A piece of electrical apparatus consisting of two conducting plates separated by a layer of insulating material.

Circuit (Electrical): A term denoting a system of connections through which current flows.

Circuit (Magnetic): A closed path followed by magnetic flux.

Coil: An arrangement of one or more convolutions, of bare or insulated wires.

Conductor (General): A material which offers a low resistance to the passage of an electric current, e.g., metal allows electricity to flow freely without offering much resistance as against a non-conductor that does not allow free flow of electricity like wood.

Core: That part of a magnetic circuit around which a winding is placed.

Cycle: The complete series of changes in a periodically varying quantity, e.g., an alternating current during one period.

Dead: A term applied to a conductor or circuit when it is not alive.

Direct Current: The current which flows in one direction only and

which does not have any appreciable pulsation in its magnitude.
Abbreviation D.C.
Earth:
(a) The conducting mass of earth or of any conductor in direct electrical connection therewith.
(b) A connection between the earth and the conductor such as the casing of an apparatus.

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Fault: A defect in an electrical apparatus or in an electrical circuit which impairs normal functioning or operation.
Frequency: The number of cycles per second.
Full Load: The maximum load which a machine is designed for.
Horse-power: A practical unit of power equal to 33,000 foot-pounds: per minute or approximately 746 watts.
In Parallel: Two or more conductors are said to be in parallel with one another when the current flowing in the circuit is divided. between the conductors.
Input: The power supplied to a machine or any part thereof.
Insulation: That which serves to isolate a conductor electrically and prevents the flow of current in undesired paths.
Kilovolt Ampere: A unit equal to one thousand volt-amperes (unit of apparent power; equal to the product of voltage and current).
Kilowatt: A unit of power equal to 1,000 watts and approximately equal to 1:34 horse-power.
Kilowatt-hour: 1,000 watt hours.
Load: A term used to indicate the amount of power given out by an electric, machine, transformer or a group of such apparatus or carried by a particular circuit or taken in by a machine or machines.
Negative: A qualifying term applied to one of two points between which a difference of potential exists, to distinguish the one which corresponds to the zinc plate of a Daniel Cell.
No Load: A condition of operation of an electrical machine under rated voltage, speed, etc., but without any output.
Ohm: Is the practical unit of resistance, offered to the flow of electric current.

Output: The power given out by a machine or any part thereof.
Overload: Any load over and above the rated load of a machine.. transformer or other piece of apparatus under specified conditions.
Peakload: A loose term used to denote the highest output of a machine or machines.
Poles:
(a) As applied to D.C. electrical equipment. These refer to the positive and negative terminals on D.C. equipment for connection to electrical circuits.
(b) As applied to magnets. These refer to the point or region towards which or at which the major portion of the magnetic flux converges.
(c) As applied to transmission and distribution lines.-These refer to wooden, steel, or concrete upright supports erected on the. ground to carry overhead conductors.

Positive: A qualifying term applied to one of two points between which a difference of potential exists, to distinguish the one which corresponds to the copper plate of a Daniel Cell.
Potential Difference: Is the difference in the electrical states existing at two points which causes a current to flow between them.
Power Factor: The ratio of the total power in watts flowing in an electric circuit to the total equivalent volt amperes flowing in that circuit.
Rated Input: The maximum input of a machine assigned by the maker under certain specified conditions.
Rated Output: The maximum output for which the machine is designed by the maker under certain specified conditions.
Series: Two or more electric circuits are said to be in series when they are so connected that the same current traverses all the circuits.
Short Circuit: A connection, whether accidental or intentional, between two points in an electrical circuit having relatively low impedance.
Tele-communication: Any telegraphic or telephonic communication of signs, signals, etc., and/or sounds of any kind by wire, radio or

other systems or processes of electric or visual signalling.
Terminal: That portion of a circuit or piece of apparatus which is intended for the reception of conductors or by means of which it may be connected electrically to another circuit or piece of apparatus.
Volt: Is the practical unit of electromotive force. It is the potential difference which when applied across a unit resistance (Ohm) produces a current of 1 ampere.
Voltage: Is the value of an electromotive force or potential difference expressed in volts.
Watt: Is the practical unit of power and is equal to the amount of energy expended per second by an unvarying current of 1 ampere under a voltage of 1 volt.
Watt-hour: Is the unit of electrical energy being the work done by 1 watt acting for 1 hour.
(b) MACHINES AND TRANSFORMERS
Bearing: That portion of a machine which supports the shaft.
Booster: A generator or transformer interposed in series in a circuit for the purpose either of increasing or of decreasing the voltage acting in the circuit.

Converter: A machine for converting single or polyphase current at one frequency into currents at another frequency or different number of phases or D.C.
Direct Current Motor: Motor operated on direct current.
Draft Tube: A closed conduit of suitable shape and gradually enlarging section that forms the water passage beyond a turbine runner, discharging into the tailrace.
Efficiency: The ratio (usually expressed as a percentage) of the energy output, to the energy input.
Generator: A machine which generates electricity.
Motor (Electric): A machine which runs on electricity for operating other places of machinery or doing work.

Pelton Wheel: A type of turbine comprising a set of double cup-shaped buckets fitted on to the rim of a disc attached to a shaft, and operated by impact of a jet of water on the buckets from a nozzle. The flow of jet being tangential to the wheel, this is also termed a Tangential Turbine". This being a relatively simple turbine common from early days, is often called a "Pelton Water Wheel".
Prime-mover: An engine or other device by which a natural source of energy is converted into mechanical power.
Water Hammer: Transient pressure variation caused by sudden acceleration or deceleration of a liquid stream in a closed conduit. The sudden pressures often cause a sound resembling hammer blows-hence the term.
Water Turbine: A prime-mover in which a wheel or runner carrying curved vanes is supplied with water directed by a number of stationary guide vanes, e.g., Francis Turbine (propeller type), Kaplan (Pelton Wheel), etc.
(c) TRANSMISSION AND DISTRIBUTION
Cable: A bundle of insulated wires, usually laid underground for conducting electricity.
Conduit: In wiring, a tube mounted in a wall or other support intended for the reception of the cables for the distribution of electricity.
High Tension Transmission: This is a self-explanatory term denoting transmission lines of voltages exceeding 650 V.
Hydro-electric Power Station: A power station in which hydraulic energy is converted into electrical energy.
Mains: A general term used to denote the distribution supply conductors.
Medium Voltage: A voltage between 250 and 650 volts.
Network: An aggregation of conductors intended for the distribution of electrical energy.

Power Station: An assemblage of equipment, including the converted buildings where electrical energy is generated.
Thermal Power Station: A power station where electric energy is generated with the help of steam or oii.

Three Wire System: A system of distribution comprising two conductors and a middle or neutral wire.
Transformer Kiosk: A weather proof enclosure housing a transformer with or without switchgear.
Transmission Line: A system of conductors carried on suitable supports built for the purpose of transmitting power from one location to another.
Two Wire System: A system of distribution comprising two conductors only between which load is connected.
Underground Power Station: A power station; usually hydro-electric stations which is situated generally below the natural ground level at the foot of a dam.
(d) COMMERCIAL
All-in-tariff: A tariff making no distinction between the purpose for which the supply is used.
Base Load: The minimum load over a given period of time.
Block Tariff: A tariff in which the price is based on a diminishing series of rates per unit applying to successive blocks of units supplied during a prescribed period.
Capacity Factor or Plant Factor: The ratio of the average load on a machine or equipment for the period of time considered to the rating of the machine or equipment.
Equated Rate: A tariff (usually a flat rate for domestic supply) in which the price charged for electricity includes the hire or hire purchase, and maintenance of apparatus.
Firm Power: Is the power intended to be always available even under emergency conditions, same as 'Primary Power'.
Fixed Charge: A charge appertaining to a prescribed period of supply, but independent of the number of units supplied and of fluctuations in the demand.
Flat Rate Tariff: A tariff comprising a single charge proportional to the number of units supplied.
KVA Charge/KVA Demand Charge: A charge appertaining to a prescribed period of supply, based on the maximum demand in kilovolt amperes.
Load Factor: Ratio of average load during a given period to the maximum load.

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Maximum Demand: Maximum load taker: by an electrical installation: within a demand assessment period.
Off-peak Tariff: A tariff in which a lower price is charged for electricity consumed outside prescribed peakload hours.
Primary Power: Power available in a hydro-electric plant on a continuous basis under the most adverse hydraulic conditions contem--plated.
Restricted Hour Tariff: A tariff for a supply of electricity which is only available outside prescribed hours.
Right of Way: This term is used for the area over which transmission: lines can be laid. It should be adequate not only to build the line supports, string the conductors, etc., but also to provide: necessary clearance for safe and satisfactory operation of the transmission line.
Seasonal Power or Secondary Power: Power generated or made avail--able to consumers only during certain specified season of the year.
Seasonal Tariff: A tariff in which different prices are charged for electricity used during different parts of the year.
Service Charge: A charge per consumer, levied once or periodically which is independent of the amount of electricity actually supplied.. but is usually related to the capital cost of making the supply available to the consumer.
Service Line: A line connecting a consumer's installation to a distributor's power line.
Stand-by-Charge: A charge appertaining to a prescribed period, made for reserving, and making available the supply of electricity, whether a supply is actually taken or not.
Standing Charge: A general term covering fixed charge, viz, kilowatt charge and KVA charge.
Tariff: The schedule of rates for a supply of electricity.
Two Part Tariff: A tariff comprising a standing charge and a unit charge.
Two Rate Tariff: A tariff in which different prices are charged for electricity used at different times of the day.
Unit Charge: A charge per unit supplied

Utilisation Factor: The ratio of the maximum demand of a system or a part of system, to the rated capacity of the system or part of the system under consideration.

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III-Useful Data
(a) ENGINEERING TIT-BITS
One Cusec: Represents a volume of water equivalent to the flow of one cubic foot of water per second. Flowing continuously for 24 hours. a Cusec will cover five acres to a depth of about five inches normally considered as a good watering for irrigation purposes. One Cusec can supply 30 gallons per head per day to a population of 18.000.
An Acre Foot: Denotes a volume of water sufficient to cover an acre (4,840 sq. yards.) to a depth of one foot.
Two Acre Feet: Are equivalent to one Cusec flowing for 24 hours.
A Million Acre Feet: Is equal to 43,566.000 cubic feet and is sufficient to cover an area of 10 square miles to a depth of 156 feet. This represents a storage sufficient to feed a canal of 1,850 cusecs capacity for the entire flow season in a year (normally 270 days).
Water Falling at the rate of one Cusec through a height of 150 feet can generate 10 kilowatts or units of electric power; this power will be sufficient to drive a 12 h.p. car at a speed of 40 miles per hour on a reasonably good road and is roughly equal to the power output of a 100 men.
One Kilowatt or Unit of Electric Power: Is sufficient to light 25 average sized electric bulbs.
Oil Kilowatt of Power generated continuously for a Year: Can irrigate annually 50 acres of land by pumping water from a depth of about 20 feet.
Every Kilowatt of Electric Power: If operated continuously, represents a saving of 5 tons of coal per year.
(b) HANDY EQUIVALENTS
1 Cusec=1 cubic foot per second-second-foot (America).
1 Cusec for 1 hour=1 acre inch 1/12 acre foot.
1 Cusec falling 8.8 feet-1 Horse-power (100% efficiency).
1 Cusec falling 11.8 feet-1 Kilowatt (100% efficiency).

1 Horse-power =550 Foot-pounds per second
1 Kilowatt
=746 Watts (o 746 Kilowatts).
-1.341 Horse-power
=737 Foot-pounds per second
= 1000 watts.

506)
Horse-power developed by
machines with 80% efficiency=-
where Q
and h.
1 Acre
1 Acre feet.
1 Cusec
1 Million cubic feet
1 Million acre feet
22
Qxh
11
=discharge in cubic feet per second
=net head or net fall of water in feet.
CONVERSION TABLE
=43,560 Square feet
=4,840 Square yards
1.563,
1000
Square miles.
=271,472 Imp. gallons
=43,560 Cubic feet
=0.5 Cusecs per day.
=538,860 Imp. gallons per day
==374 Imp. gallons per minute
=1.983 or 2 (appx.) Acre feet per day.
=10,00,000 Cft.-22.96 Acre feet
=11.574 Cusecs per day.
=43 56 Thousand million cubic feet (T. M.

Cft.)
= 156 feet depth of water on an area of
10 square miles
= 1,850 Cusecs flowing in
the entire flow season in
mally 270 days).
(c) TABLE OF MEASURES
a canal for
a year (nor-
Lineal Measures
1 Inch 25.4 Millimetres.
1 Foot 30.48 Centimetres.
1 Yard=91 44 Centimetres.
1 Mile 1.609 Kilometres.
Square Measures
1 Acre 0.4047 Hectare.
640 Acres 1 Square mile
=259 Hectares.
Cubic Measure
1 Cubic Yard=0·76455 Cubic metre.
Surface Measures
100 Ares 1 Hectare
100 Hectares
2.471 acres.
1 Square Kilometre 247 105 Acres
=1 Square Myriametre=38.55 Square miles.

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE A
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
FOR THE YEAR 1955
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No. 3 os alustang?
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1955 AT 6 P. Me

Members Present:
Los beei
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edogel dibuA od 30 (s) 29
PROFESSOR A. C. BANERJI, M.A., M.Sc., F.R.A.S., F.N.I.,
VICE-CHANCELLOR (in the Chair)
SRI K. L. MISRA.
SRI JUSTICE C. B. AGARWAL.
SRI P. N. SAPRU.
SRI K. CHATTOPADHYAYA.
DR. SHRI RANJAN.aioq
DR. RAM KUMAR SAKSENA.
DR. P. L. SRIVASTAVA.
DR. ISHWARI PRASAD.
bidos soffe
PROFESSOR M. K. GHOSH.
DR. BABU RAM SAKSENA.
SRI R. N. BASU.
DR. DHIRENDRA VARMA.
SRI BALBIR SINGH.
DR. C. M. CHATTERJEE.
PROFESSOR K. K. BHATTA-
CHARYA.
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37. The Council considered the report of the Finance Committee held on 9th and 10th February, 1955 regarding (i) the Financial Estimates for the year 1955-56 and (ii) the Audit Report on the Accounts of the University for 1953-54 together with other recommendations.
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It was resolved, that
(i) the budget estimates as amended be approved and
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submitted to the Court.
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(ii) the Accounts Officer should be an independent Officer of the University so far as his work as an Internal Auditor is concerned.
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(iii) the Audit Report on the accounts of the University with the draft replies be generally approved and submitted to the Court with the following remarks:
(a) the payment of the electricity charges made to the Superintendents of the University Hostels in the past be sanctioned but with effect from 1st February, 1955 the Superintendents be required to pay full electricity charges for the electricity consumed by them.
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(b) Action taken by the office as referred to in Paragraph 22 (a) of the Audit Report be regularised and the attention of the Library Committee be drawn to this fact.
(c) The office action with regard to Paragraphs 11 (c), 13 (a), 15, 16, 19(a) & (b), 21 (a), 22 (a), 23, 24 (d), and 30 (d) of the Audit Report be approved.
USA
(iv) With regard to para 1 (1) of the Finance Con.mittee Report, it was resolved, that the appointments to the posts of Professorships in Arabic and Persian and Urdu be not made till July 1955 when the matter would come up again for consideratlon of the Executive Council. T 12 WHEISICE
(v) With regard to para 26 of the Report, it was resolved, that the following Committee be appointed to examine the whole matter and submit a report -
1. The Vice-Chancellor (Chairman).
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2.
The Dean of the Faculty of Arts.
3. Prof. M. K. Ghosh.
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4. Dr. Ishwari Prasad.
5.
Sri R. N. Basu.

(vi) With regard to para 35 of the Report, it was resolved, that in view of the letter of the Director-General of Archaeology, which was on the file, Sri Hasan Akhtar be paid halting allowance only for 60 days according to Government rules.nvo
(vii) With regard to para 43 (3) of the Report, it was resolved, that Rs. 4, 700 be sanctioned out of the Building Fund for enclosing the space between the Seminar rooms of the Oriental Department for the purpose of building two rooms for holding seminar classes.
It was further resolved, that the report of the Finance Committee (vide Appendix A) with the above modifications be accepted. wallot edi fistaBlanco
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38. The Registrar reported the receipt of the following resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the A. U. Teachers' Association, at its meeting held on 3rd February, 1955:-
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"(1) The Working Committee of the University Teachers' Association notes with regret that the decision of the Executive Council to consider promoted Readers eligible to apply for appointment as regular Readers is extremely embarrassing to the position of these teachers who have alredy passed through Selection Committees and been appointed Readers by the Executive Council itself. Some of them have been already confirmed, and some have already drawn a few increments. The Working Committee is, therefore, of opinion that all promoted Readers should be treated as regular Readers and allowed to draw their annnal increment immediately". Llo
(2) The Working Committee of the Teachers' Association

strongly urges on the Executive Council the necessity of deciding at an early date the question of the continuance of temporary teachers made necessary by the large number of students, and that their services should not be terminated till it is found that there is no work for them, and that the services of those teachers who will be required in July should be terminated at the end of this Session".

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Is (1) on principle, the Council accepts the spirit of the resolution and recognises Readers by promotion as Readers. Their cases for increments should be considered as soon as necessary funds are received from Government. Provision for the same be incorporated in the Schedule of New Demands for the year 1955-56.0
boulous
a (2) it is not possible to accept the recommendation this year but if block grant for them is received their appointments will be made on a permanent basis from next year.
95
It was further resolved, that the appointment of a permanent Reader in Chemistry be not made for the present.
39, The Council considered the following resolution of Pt. K. Chattopadhyaya -
"(1) That resolution No. 25, dated February 7, 1931, of the Executive Council be rescinded, and
(2) That the principle of granting increments for temporary continouous service be applied in the case of all University employees."
It was resolved, that the resolution be accepted and for future the principle of granting increments for temporary continuous service be applied in the case of all employees

of the University with effect from 1st April, 1955.
roh
40. The Council considered the following resolutions
of Dr. P. L. Srivastava :-
"(1) Resolved, that the Executive Council requests the State Government to include the scheme of establishing a Medical College and a Medical Faculty at Allahabad in the Second-Five-Year Plan."
(2) Resolved, that the Executive Council requests the State Government to make sufficient provision in the next year's Budget for grant to Allahabad University to enable it to take steps for star ting 3 years' Degree Course,

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(3) Resolved, that the Executive Council approves the following Ordinances with effect from the date to be decided after hearing from the Chancellor if he has any objection to it :
To audñsaol shr
'Ordinance 1(a), printed on page 11 of the Calendar for the year 1952-53 be replaced:
"The following shall be the rates of salaries in the case of all appointments to full-time teaching posts in the University made after July 1, 1923 except in the case of such teachers as may be specified in the Regulations; le gatitom odbo
Lab (a) For a Professor, Rs. 800-50-1250 per month unless, in any special case, the Executive Council considers it advisable to pay a higher rate of salary.
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(b) In the case of Readers, Rs. 500-25-800 per month.
(c) In the case of Lecturers, Rs. 300-20-480-EB-20-500 per month.
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life.

Provided the Executive Council shall have the power to give such higher starting salary within the grade in the case of Readers and Lecturers also provided the same has been recommended by the Selection Committee."

It was resolved, that

(1) the Council unanimously accepts the resolution.

(2) it be referred to the Academic Council for considera-
tion. video

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(3) it be referred to the sub-committee appointed under the Academic Council resolution No. 31, dated 27th March, 1954 for consideration.

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41. The Council considered the report of the Committee appointed by the Executive Council to draft necessary Statutes and Ordinances for Provident Fund and Leave Rules for Inferior Staff of the University.

It was resolved, that the report of the Committee (vide Appendix B) be accepted and the Statutes and the Ordi-
nances be submitted to the Court.

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42. Under Section 41 of the Act, the Council consider-
the question of withholding the D. Phil. degree to be conferred on Sri Vimal Chandra Pande for serious offence involving moral delinquency in view of the rejection of his petition by the Chancellor.

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It was resolved, that the Vice-Chancellor be requested to obtain legal opinion on the question and the matter be considered at the next meeting of the Council.

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43. The Registrar reported the receipt of a letter dated

February 9, 1955 from Dr. Shri Ranjan, informing that he would like to donate a Waiting Hall for women students.on the Science side in the name of his late wife Mrs. Bhawani Ranjan on the condition that the University would offer a suitable site for the building and furnish the said building.
It was resolved, that the gift be thankfully accepted.
The Vice-Chancellor on behalf of the members of the
goin
Council thanked Dr. Shri Ranjan for his generous donation.
receipt of a letter from
44. The Registrar reported the
Sm. Lakshmi Devi Gour, President, Brahmin Mahila Sabha, Prayag, informing that the Sabha would like to award a silver medal to a Brahmin woman student of the University who tops amongst the successful Brahmin women candidates at the B. A. Examination of the University.
Hogun oimebro A
It was resolved, that unless an endowment is made, it is regretted the award cannot be accepted for one year only.
45. The Council considered the application of Dr. H. D. Bahri, Lecturer, Hindi Department for an advance out of his Provident Fund account for building a residential house.
shi It was resolved, that an advance of Rs. 1,500 be sanctioned out of his Provident Fund and be recouped in terms of the Statutes.
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46. The Council considered a note from the Registrar regarding the re-advertisement of the post of a Reader in Law.
66
It was resolved, that the post be re-advertised with the

modification that for five years teaching experience in a University' the sentence preference will be given to those who possess teaching experience" be substituted.
A. C. BANERJI,
Vice-Chancellor. Yes.
89 K. L. GOVIL,
Registrar.
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APPENDIX A
Report of the Finance Committee held on 9th & 10th February, 1955, in the Vice-Chancellor's Chambers, Senate House, Allahabad.dorotibon
Members Present:
1. Dr. Sri Ranjan.
2. Dr. B. R. Saksena.
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3.
Dr. P. L. Srivastava.it
4.
Dr. Ishwari Prasad.
5.
Prof. M. K. Ghosh,
7.
Prof. A. C. Banerji (Vice-Chancellor).
6. Prof. K. K. Bhattacharya.
8.
Pt. K. L. Misra-Hony. Treasurer (in the Chair).
The Committee considered the draft Budget for the year 1955-56.
It was resolved, that the Budget be generally approved and submitted to the Executive Council for approval with the following provisions for balancing the budget and as detailed (vide Annexure Z.)
1. The posts of Professorships in Arabic and Persian and Urdu may be kept in abeyance for the year 1955-56 when we expect that Government will give us additional grant to fill up these posts, or till July 1955 when we can provide for these posts out of our own finances.
The appointment of temporary Lecturers be made from 1st August, 1955.
3. The savings effected due to the resignation of Dr. Tej Prakash Srivastava, who was appointed lecturer on the maximum of Lecturer's grade be utilised to meet the deficit.

4. No payment be made against the provision made for the depreciation fund this year.
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It was further resolved, that the Statement of Income & Expenditure of (1) S. A. Fund (2) Delegacy fees, (3) Magazine fee and the grant to the Athletic Association should be shown in the Budget as appendices.
2. The Committee considered the comments on the Audit Note on the Accounts of the University for the year 1953-54. belea ed varo
It was resolved, that the comments as modified be submitted to the Executive Council for approval.
3. The Committee considered the question of appointing a Plumbering Mistry & Cooly.
It was resolved, that the creation of posts be sanctioned and necessary provision be made in the next budget.
4. The Committee considered the question of appointing an additional peon for the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts.
It was resolved, that the creation of the post be sanctioned and necessary provision be made in the next year's budget.
5. The Committee considered a note from the Head of Education Department regardig the appointment of a third male teacher. eldis og Jou
It was resolved, that as the appointment of a temporary lecturer has already been sanctioned no action is necessary.
6. The Committee considered a note from the Engineer regarding the appointment of a Store Coolie.
It was resolved, that the request of the Engineer be not granted. ja Isnouibbs
7. With reference to Finance Committee resolution

No. 4 dated 12th May, 1954, the Committee considered the needs of extra inferior staff in certain Departments.
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UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
[15TH FEB.
It was resolved, that the matter be postponed for the present.
8. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 4 dated 23rd & 24th July, 1954, the Committee considered the question of providing two part-time clerks for D. J. and A. Jba Hostels.
It was resolved, that the posts may be sanctioned and the provisions be made in the next year's budget.
9. With reference to the confidential note of the Vice-Chancellor, the Committee considered the question of revision of the scale of pay of the Confidential Clerk to the Vice-Chancellor.
It was resolved, that the scale of pay for the post of Confidential Clerk to the Vice-Chancellor in the grade of Rs. 110-200 be approved, and provided for in the next budget.
10. The Committee considered the letter from the Head of Physics Department regarding the increase in Laboratory grants and the continuance of Professor's Research grant of Rs. 5,000.
It was resolved,
bod
(a) that at present it is not possible to give any additional grant.
(b) that the Government be approached to give a special Research grant to the Professor of Physics.

11. The Committee considered a letter from the Head of the Physics Department regarding additional staff required g due to the opening of classes in J. K. Institute.
It was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be postponed.

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MIN. OF THE MTG. OF THE EX COUNCIL
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1912. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 13 dated 15th December, 1954, the Committee considered the following resolution of the Dean of the Faculty of Law: I bought
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"Resolved, that the two temporary appointments of Lectureship in Law which are continuing from September 1951 be made permanent from April 1955 or earlier "
It was resolved, that the two temporary posts in the Department of Law and one in the Department of Politics created in 1951 be made permanent and the necessary provision be made in the budget.
13. The Committee considered a letter dated 23rd
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October, 1954 from the Head of Education Department regarding the expenses required for opening a modest Psychological Laboratory.
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It was resolved, that consideration of the request of the Head of the Department be postponed for the present.
the Accounts
14. The Committee considered a note from th
Officer regarding the payment of T. A. to teachers and students who go out on educational tours or excursions from the S. A. Fund.
It was resolved, that T. A. for students be met from

S. A. Fund, but for the T. A. of teachers who go out on Educational tour or excursions provision be made in the Budget.
ge
15. The Committee considered the question of paying the bill of Sri Sangamlal Gupta for Rs. 528/8/ for doing plumbering work at Sir Sunder Lal Hostel and Sir P. C. Banerji Hostel as it was more than a year old.
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It was resolved, that the payment be sanctioned.
16. The Committee considered the existing practice and rule for the award of S. A. Hill Prize.

noinIt was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the next meeting.
17. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 9 dated 1st November, 1953 and No. 3 dated 12th May, 1954, the Committee considered the question of insuring Library and Laboratories of the University. ibidwal n
It was resolved, that due to financial difficulties of the University the consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.
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18. The Committee considered the question if the cost of maintaining Lawns should be met from Athletic Associa tion Fund or from General Accounts.
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It was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the next meeting.
19. The Committee considered a letter dated 7th December, 1954 from Prof. M. K. Ghosh, tenant of No. 6, Bank Road for the fitting of a cistern and flushing arrange- ment to one of the septic latrines in his quarter by M/S

Narayan & Co., at an approximate cost of Rs. 100.
It was resolved, that the proposal may be accepted on the enhanced rent basis at 6% per annum.
20. The Committee considered the question of making the existing post of temporary Book Attendant in the Law Department, permanent.
It was resolved, that the post of the Book Attendant be made permanent and provision be made in the next year's budget.
21. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 276 dated 1st November, 1954-
"The Council considered the following resolution of Dr. Babų Rain Saksena ;-

Resolved, that free residential quarters be provided to the Warden of the Sarojini Naidu Hostel when a Lady is appointed.
It was resolved, that the matter be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration."
It was resolved, that the matter be postponed for the next meeting.
22. The Committee considered the following Executive Council Resolution No. 280 dated 1st, November 1954:
"With reference to Academic Council Resolution No. 24, dated 27-3-54, the Council considered the following resolutions:
(1) It was resolved, that the award of D. Litt. & D. Sc. Scholarships be made only to such students as are entitled to proceed to D. Litt., or D. Sc. degree.
(2) It was further resolved, that the value of the D. Litt. and D. Sc. Scholarships be raisd from Rs. 100 p. m. to Rs. 200 p. m."
It was resolved, that paragraph (i) be accepted and paragraph (ii) be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration."
It was resolved, that the matter be postponed for the present.

23. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 284 dated 1st November, 1954-

"With reference to Academic Council Resolution No. 38 dated March 27, 1954, the Council considered the recommendation of the Academic Council regarding introducing a General Education Course at the University in pursuance of the recommendation of the University Education Commission.

one In this connection the Council also considered the following resolution of Dr. Babu Ram Saksena :-

"The resolution No. 27, dated 27-3-54 of the Academic Council in respect of the General Education Scheme be enforced as early as possible'.

It was resolved, that the recommendations of the Academic Council (vide Appendix B) be accepted but the scheme be not introduced until the Finance Committee has considered the financial implications of the same,"

It was resolved, that the matter be postponed for the present.

24. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 287 dated 1st November, 1954-

"The Council considered the following resolutions of the Academic Council passed at its meeting held on 28th April 1954:

(i) that four posts of Lecturers be created in the Department of English.

(ii) that the post of Associate Professor of English be converted into that of a Professor.

(iii) that a separate Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology be created.

(iv) that a Lectureship in Politics be converted into a Readership.

It was rosolved, that the matter be referred to the Finance Committee for consideration."

It was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be

postponed for the present.
25. The Committee considered a note from the Engineer regarding the appointment of a temporary Draftsman.
It was resolved, that consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.
26. The Committee considered a letter dated 10th December, 1954, from the Teacher-in-charge, Social Service Diploma class in connection with the payment of honorarium for lectures delivered to the class.
It was resolved, that the matter be referred to the Executive Council without any comments.
27. The Committee considered the following Executive Council resolution No. 225 dated 3t0h October, 1954 :-
"The Council considered the following resolution of Dr. B. R, Saksena:

"That a temporary lectureship in Sanskrit be created to cope with the additional teaching work".
It was resolved, that a temporary lectureship in Sanskrit be created but the appointment be not made till funds are provided for it."
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It was resolved, that consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.
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28. The Committee considered the statement of expenditure incurred during the years 1948-51 on apparatus out of the Central Government Grants of 10 and 2 lacs; State Government Non-recurring Special grant of Rs. 1.25 lacs and from the Balance of Donation of Diamond Jubilee from Kalakankar.
It was resolved, that the expenditure as per statement

(vide Annexure X) be approved.
29. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 11 dated 15th December, 1954, the Committee considered the question of paying extra remuneration for doing additional work to the whole-time employees (inferior) of the University.
It was resolved, that as the work is done beyond the usual working hours, and the amounts paid are not excessive for the work done, the payment of allowance be continued.
40
30. The Committee considered the question of appointing one more sweeper for Science Library.
It was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be o postponed for the present.a
31. The Committee considered the following Library Committee resolution No. 9 dated August 18, 1954.
"Resolved, that the Executive Council be requested to re-consider the question of an extra sweeper for the General Library."
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by UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
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It was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.
32. Ths Committee considered the question of paying Rs. 700 as advance for meeting the expenses for obtaining the probate of the will of late Sm. Binod Bala Ghosh.
It was resolved, that the payment of Rs. 700 as advance money be approved.
33. The Committee considered a note dated 26th December, 1954 from the Head of the Botany Department regarding the grant of Rs. 1,500 for Agr. Botany and (2) the appointment of a part-time clerk to maintain the accounts of the

Farm. In this connection the Committee also considered Executive Council resolution No. 298 of 19th December, 1954.

It was resolved, that no further provision be made at present.

34. The Committee considered the note of the Engineer dated 26th November, 1954 in connection with the fixation of the share of Electric charges payable by the Lady Superintendent of Woman's Hostel Km. C. Tripathi who is occupying a portion of the said premises.

It was resolved, that the Engineer be asked to re-examine the whole matter more thoroughly and submit a fresh report pointing out the basis for fixing the monthly rate.

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35. With reference to Finance Committee resolution No. 9 dated 15th December, 1954, the Committee considered the question of fixing the rate of daily allowance to be paid ai to Sri Hasan Akhtar for his halt at Delhi for which place he left on 23rd October, 1954 and is still there, having applied for extension for 2 months from 8th January, 1954.

It was resolved, that Director-General of Archaeology, Delhi be requested to inform if the halt of Sri Hasan Akhtar at Delhi for the period was essential in the interest of the University work.

36. With 1eference to Executive Council resolution No. 34 dated 15th January, 1955, the Committee considered the question of inviting the Indian History Congress Association to hold its next session at Allahabad during the winter holidays in 1955.

It was resolved, that a grant of Rs. 1,000 be sanctioned for the purpose from the next year's budget.

37. The Committee considered the question of regularising the position of the present incumbents to Readerships by promotion along with a letter from Sri K. Chattopadhyaya.
It was resolved, that it does not appear possible to give immediate effect to any such proposal. The Government however, is considering the question of increasing the proportion of higher posts in the University and it is expected that within a very short time, some such scheme would come into force.
The Committee recommends that as soon as such scheme comes in or the money is otherwise available, increments should be given to these Readers.
38. The Committee considered certain demand of the Inferior Staff Union of the University.
It was resolved, that consideraiion of the matter be postponed for the next meeting.
39. The Committee considered a letter from the President of Allahabad University Ministerial Staff Union.
It was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be postponed.
40. The Committee considered the representation of Sri Ram Raj Singh, Committee Clerk for the revival of the grade of Committee Clerk with retrospective effect.
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It was resolved, that the post of Committee Clerk be put in 150-250 grade and the provision for the same be made in the Budget.
41. The Committee considered the demands of Chemistry Department vide their letter dated 8th February, 1955.
It was resolved, that consideration of the matter be

postponed for the present.
42. The Committee considered a note from the Officer in-charge, Senate House grounds demanding Rs. 286 beyond the allotted amount to meet the expenditure in the current financial year.
It was resolved, that the amount required be sanctioned but in future the Officer should be asked to limit his expenditure within the budgetted amount.
At the request of the Head of Botany Department, a sum of Rs. 200 was also sanctioned for the Botany Garden.
43. The Committee considered the report of University Works Committee held on 9th February, 1955.
It was resolved, that the report (vide Annexure Y) be accepted.
K. L. MISRA,
Hony. Treasurer,
(Chairman).

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ANNEXURE X
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
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Total Exp. on
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purchase of
apparatus & equip.
ment 1948-1954.
Allotment of Govt. of
India grant of 10

lacs.
Allotment of Govt. of
India grant of 2
lacs.
Allotment from U. P.
Govt. Non-re. grant
of Rs. 1,25,000.
Chemistry Extension of Che- 3,21,815 11 9
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mistry Lab. & pur-
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From donation from
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MIN, OF THE MTG. OF THE EX COUNCIL
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Allotment of Govt. of
India grant of 2
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Allotment from U. P.
of Rs. 1,25,000.
From
donation from
D. J. Fund.
Total amt. of cols. 4
to 7.

Difference of Cols. 3
& 8 savings.
Difference of cols. 3
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UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
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UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
ANNEXURE Y
[15TH FEB.
Report of the University Works Committee held
on Wednesday, 9th February, 1955 at 4-30 p. m.
in the Vice-Chancellor's Chambers.
Members Present:
Sri K, L. Misra, Hony. Treasurer (in the Chair).
2. Dr. S. Ranjan
3.
Prof. M. K. Ghosh.
4. Kr. Balbir Singh.
1. The Committee considered the proposal and the estimates for replacing the country tiled roofs by slab-roofs of the remaining portions in 16, Bank Road and providing the same with sanitary installation at an estimated cost of Rs. 4,075 to be met out of the Building Fund.
It was resolved, that the work be sanctioned and executed at the tendered rates for the main building.
2. The Committee considered the proposal and the estimates for enclosing verandah on the north side of the Science Library to provide more space to the Library at a cost of (a) Rs. 4,542 or (b) Rs. 5,479 to be met out of the Building Fund. The Head of the Mathematics Department being in favour of (a).
It was resolved, that the consideration of the proposal be

postponed for the present.
3. The Committee considered the proposal of the Dein of the Faculty of Arts to enclose the space between the out-houses (at present used as Seminar classes) to build two roo ns at an app:oximate cost of Rs. 4, 700 (inclusive of furni-ture and electric installation) to be met out of the Building Fund.

It was resolved, that consideration of the matter be postponed for the present.
4. The Committee considered the following demands of the residents of Bank Road at the enhanced rate basis at 6% per annum :-
(a) 10/1B,. Bank Road, residence of Sri J. K. Misra for enclosing verandah and converting the same into a room at a cost of Rs. 372.
(b) 8/1B and 8/3B, residences of Sarvashri S. C. Kuchchal and D. Sharma for enclosing verandahs and converting them into rooms at a cost of Rs. 309 each i. e. Rs. 618 for both.
(c) Providing wire fencing in the compound of 2A, Bank Road, residence of Sri P. D. Hajela at a cost of Rs. 144.
The cost of (a) (b) and (c) to be met out of the Building Fund.
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It was resolved, that work as detailed in (a), (b) and (c) be sanctioned and the tenants be charged enhanced rent at 6% per annum on the outlay.
5. The Committee considered the demand of the Superintendent, D. J. Hostel for providing 4 to 5 Hydrants to water the lawns and gardens of the Hostel at a cost of Rs. Rs. 1,140, the Engineer recommending only one at a

cost of Rs. 172 within the main building. The cost to be met out of the balance under Hostel Construction Fund.
It was resolved, that only one Hydrant be given inside the quadrangle at a cost of Rs. 172 and the expenditure be met out of the savings under Hostel Construction Fund.
6. The Committee considered the demand of Superin tendent, D. J. Hostel for a boundary wall around his quarters and to bring in the west gate within it at a cost of Rs. 2,232,

the Engineer's recommendations being to provide 2' brick wall with a 2' wire-fencing on it at a cost of Rs. 1,070 to be met out of the savings under Hostel Construction Fund.
It was resolved, that the consideration of the demand be postponed for the present.
of the
7. The Committee considered the . demand
tenant 2A, Bank Road, to replace the tiled roof of some part of the house and demolishing of the other parts and providing a stair case at an estimated cost of Rs. 2,387.
This being a case of special repairs the cost to be met out of the Building Fund.
It was resolved, that the request be not granted.
8. The Committee considered the following:-
(1) the Vice-Chancellor's sanction of a further sum of Rs. 167 to rebuild the damaged wall in the bath room of the Botany Department, the original sanction of the Executive Council of Rs. 520 proving inadequate.
(2) To approve of the rate of Rs. 16 per 100 cft of brick-bats if issued to the contractors.
It was resolved, that the Vice-Chancellor's action regard-ing (1) and (2) as given above be recorded.
9. The Committee considered the Engineer's report

dated 7th July, 1954, for providing a separate tap for the servants of the tenants of houses No. 10/1A, 10/1B, 10/2 and 10/3 and also the question of subdividing the houses and enclosing the open land in front of them.

It was resolved, that the (a) servants' representation be rejected and no separate tap be given.

10. The Committee considered the Engineer's report and the detailed estimate, as envisaged in W. Com. Res.

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No. 10(2) dated 12th May, 1954, for re-rcofing the Women's College at an estimated cost of-

(1) Building Rs. 31,229

(2) Electric Rs. 1,936

Total 800 Rs. 33,165

If flush baths are provided and a lecture gallery is added, a further sum of Rs. 4,500 will be needed- the cost to be met out of the Building Fund.

It was resolved, that the consideration of the matter be postponed as it is likely that the University may get a separate grant for the construction of Women's College building.

11. The Committee considered the proposals for utilization of the following non-recurring grants from the State Government :-

1. Renovation of certain roads Rs. a. p.

Construction of verandah on upper floor of D. R. Hali 570

2.

15,000 0 0
003
14,000 0 0
13,000 0 0
... 15,000 00
800
15,000 0 0
3. Construcfion of an Accounts
Office
4. Construction of a Waiting Hall
for Women students
5. Sanitary fittings.
It was resolved, that :-
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000
1. The Engineer's propasal to renovate certain roads
be approved. Tenders be invited and the work
be executed. Any extra cost involved be met
out of the University Funds.
$35

2. Detailed estimate etc., be prepared and tenders be
invited and placed before the next meeting for
final approval.
3. The construction of a separate building for Accounts
Office is not desirable as control on the office will
not be as good as it would be if the whole office
was located in one building. The Committee
also feels that the sum of Rs. 3,000 would be
very inadequate for a Pay Office. For these
weighty reasons it was resolved, that the North
and South Halls of the Senate House building be
roofed properly, keeping in view the architectural

beauty of the building and the Government be approached for permission to utilise the grant for this purpose.

4. Estimates as prepared by the Engineer be approved. Tenders be invited and placed before the next meeting for final approval. Meanwhile the Vice-Chancellor, Treasurer, Prof. Ghosh and the Engineer may select the site.

5. Detailed estimate etc. be prepared for consideration at the next meeting along with the larger scheme for completing three tube wells and sanitary fittings for all University buildings.

12. With reference to the Executive Council resolution No. 35, dated 15th January, 1955, the Committee considered the recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Vice-Chancellor to select suitable sites for construction of the following buildings :-

1. Building for University Magazine office.
2. Building for Social Service League office.
3. Waiting Hall for Women students.
4. Pay Office.

It was resolved, that in the case of the buildings of the offices of Magazine and Social Service League, necessary sanction be granted for the construction of these buildings, the cost of which to be met out of their own funds, on the explicit condition that the buildings will be the property of the University for all times.

The Committee has already taken decision under Resolution No. 11 above as regard 3 & 4.

ANNEXURE Z

K. L. MISRA,
Hony. Treasurer.
(Chairman).

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD

The Budget Estimates as framed for the year 1955-56 was carefully considered by the Finance Committee which recommended the following additions and alterations and suggested means to meet the deficit during the financial year 1955-56.

Increase in Expenditure under heads concerned

1. By increasing the Statistical Lab. grant ... Rs. 300
2. By increase in the Botany Agr. Farm grant 800 ** 1,000
3. By increase in the Garden Contingencies- Senate House... 806 500
4. By increase in printing of Univ. Studies grant 600 000 600
2,000 090
5,000
5. By increase in printing of Confidential- grant 537

300
3,000
2,000
000

1,000
22,500
693
320
44
UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD
6. By increase in printing of B.A. & B.Sc.
Pt. I Exam. Roll Lists
DON
030
7. By increase in expenses for B.A. & B.Sc.
Pt. I Exams.
8. By increase in tabulation & checking for
B.A. & B.Sc. Pt. I Exams.
9. By increase in Remuneration to examiners
B.A. & B.Sc. Pt. I Exams.
399
10. By provision for equipment for Commerce
Museum.
000
990
11. By provision for the post of a Mechanic in
Workshop Trg. classes, erroneously left
in the Budget ...
000
12. By providing the posts of 2 peons and 1
sweeper in the office of Dean, Faculty
of Arts & Commerce and Botany Deptts.
with usual D. A. & C. A.
13. By providing the post of a Lady Doctor at
Rs. 175 p. m....
800
14. By providing the post of a Committee Clerk
in Rs. 150-8-190-12-250
15. By providing 22 posts of lecturers in certain
Deptts. created in 1953-54 for increased
number of students at Rs. 300 each
16. By providing annual increments earned by
some teachers during the period of their

temporary service in continuity of their
substantive appoinments
800
000,0
589
1,200
1,584
500
2,100
2,160
43,200
20,000
Total
1,07864

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By reduction in expenditure under following heads.
1. Annual repairs to buildings
800
Rs.
4,000
2. Petty original works etc.
5.000
000
3. Sizarships
18,000
5,000
Rs.
$39
4. Terminal Examination expenses...
5. Tutorial Instruction in Colleges
100
2,000 34 000
By increase in income from Exam. fees &
other fees
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Note The post of the Internal Auditor has already been
shown in the Budget subject to Government giving the
grant.

Report of the Committee appointed by the
Executive Council to draft necessary Statutes and
Ordinances for Provident Fund and Leave Rules
for Inferior Staff of the University, held on Friday
March 12, 1954 at 3 p. m. in the Vice-Chancellor's
Chambers, Senate House, Allahabad.

Members Present:

1. The Vice-Chancellor (in the Chair).
2. Prof. M. K. Ghosh.
3. Dr. Shri Ranjan.
4. Lt. Col. S. G. Tewari.
5. Sri K. Chattopadhyaya.

1. The Committee considered the question of drafting
necessary Statutes for Provindent Fund for the Inferior
Staff of the University.

It was resolved, that the following modifications be made

in Chapters XVI and XVII relating to Provident Fund of the University employees:

I. (i) Chapter XVI (pp. 189-190 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

In Statute 1 of Chapter XVI, (p. 189 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Delete

"carrying a salary of Rs. 30 p.m. or upwards in the fourth line occurring after the words 'Substantive appointment'.

(ii) In Statute 4 of Chapter XVI (p. 189 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Substitue

"The subscription to the fund shall be 6 p. c. on the salary of persons drawing less than Rs. 60 p. m. and 8% for others,"

47

for "The subscription to the fund shall be eight per cent on the salary of the subscriber", the 1st line of the Statute.

(iii) In Statute 6 of Chapter XVI (p. 190 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Substitute

66

At the end of each month the University shall, in the case of each subscriber, make a contribution at the rate of 12% in the case of subscribers drawing a monthly salary of less than Rs. 60,

12% in the case of subscribers
drawing a salary of Rs. 60 or
above but not exceeding Rs. 500".
for "At the end of each month the
University shall in the case of
each subscriber make a contribu-
tion at the rate of twelve per
cent in the case of subscribers
drawing a salary of Rs. 500 or
less".
II. Chapter XVII (pp. 193-194 of the Calendar for
1952-53).
(i) In Statute 1 of Chapter XVII (p. 193 of the
Calendar for 1952-53).
Delete
(ii In Statute 3 of
66
carrying a salary of Rs. 30 p. m.
or upwards" in the fifth line
occurring after the words 'substan-
tive appointment'.
Chapter XVIII (p. 193 of the
Calendar for 1952-53).
Substitute "The subscription to the Fund
shall be 64% in the case of per-
sons drawing a monthly salary
of less than Rs. 60 and 8% in the
case of others'.
for "The subscription to the Fund
shall be eight per cent on the
salary of subscriber", the 1st line
of Statute 3.

(iii) In Statute 5 of Chapter XVII (p. 193-194 of the Calendar for 1952-53).

Substitute

for

$6

"At the end of each month the University shall, in the case of each subscriber make a contribution at the rate of 12% in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of less than Rs. 60 p. m., at the rate of 12% in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of Rs. 60 or above but not exceeding Rs. 500".

'At the end of each month the University shall, in the case of each subscriber make a contribution at the rate of twelve per cent in the case of subscribers drawing a salary of Rs. 500 or less".

2. The Committee considered the question of drafting necessary Ordinances for Leave Rules for the Inferior Staff of the University.

The Committee recommends that as regards the leave which can be granted to the members of the Inferior Establishment, the rules followed by the U. P. Government be adopted and that the following Ordinance be added as Ordinance No. 30 under Chapter XV, (p. 187 of the Calendar for 1952-53):-

"Members of the Inferior Establishment will earn and be granted leave in accordance with the rules of the Uttar Pradesh Government enforce".

3. The Committee further recommends that the Vice Chancellor be requested to issue an executive Order to the effect that earned leave be ordinarily granted to the members of the Inferior Establishment as far as possible during the summer vacation.

A. C. BANERJI,

Vice-Chancellor,
(Chairman).

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American
S43
Embassy
NEWS LETTER
NEW DELHI
December 9, 1959
Dear Friend:
As I write this letter, we are in the final hours of turmoil preparatory to President Eisenhower's arrival and a busy five-day schedule of events. As you read this letter the President will already have arrived in New Delhi. I am sorry that most of you who live outside of Delhi will not be able to see him in person but I am sure you will follow his visit with great interest by means of radio, newspapers and newsreels.
66
Many people have asked me Why is President Eisenhower making his 22,000 mile trip and visiting eleven countries in such a short period?'' The answer to that question was given succinctly and clearly by President Eisenhower at his first stop in Rome when he told his Italian hosts:
"I bring a simple message from America.. We want to live in peace, friendship and freedom.... This is a message that I hope will be heard in every country where communications are allowed freely.
99
Just before his departure from the United States President Eisenhower spoke to the American people over the television and radio networks and gave his listeners a similar, but more complete account of his purposes:
66
During this mission of peace and good will, I hope to promote a better understanding of America and to learn more of our friends.... In every country, I hope to make widely known America's deepest desire- a world in which all nations may prosper in freedom, justice and peace, unmolested and unafraid.

I shall try to convey to everyone our earnestness in striving to reduce the tensions dividing mankind-an effort first requiring, as indeed Mr. Khrushchev agrees, the beginning of mutual disarmament. Of course, I will stress that the first requirement for mutual disarmament is mutual verification.
66
Then I hope to make this truth clear-that, on all this earth,
15
104

Page - 545
544
not anywhere does our nation seek territory, selfish gain or unfair advantage for itself. I hope all can understand that beyond her shores, as at home, America aspires only to promote human happiness, justly achieved."
In many respects, I think we can say that India is the most important stop in his tour. President Eisenhower has long had a deep interest in India and this visit is the realization of a deep-seated wish to gain first-hand knowledge and see for himself. He is particularly eager to renew his long-standing friendship with Prime Minister Nehru for whom he has deep regard and genuine affection. Ever since Mr. Nehru's visit to the United States, President Eisenhower has been trying to find a way to return the visit.
The most important, if least spectacular aspect of this visit, will be the personal conversations between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Nehru and his associates. No one can tell exactly the course of these conversations although many people have enjoyed such speculation. There are, however, two important developments that we can expect. Mr. Eisenhower will return to the United States and with the prestige of his office, interpret sympathetically to the American people and the leaders of government the problems and aspirations of the Indian people. The two statesmen will no doubt discuss the many complex problems that must be resolved to clear the way for a permanent peace in which the peoples of the world are relieved of the heavy burdens of armaments and can devote their resources to the achievement of a free and abundant life for all mankind. It is hoped and expected that the second important result of this visit will be, therefore, to leave behind him a firm conviction

that the United States is wholeheartedly and realistically devoted such a goal.

AMRIKI MELA AT WORLD AGRICULTURE FAIR

to

While he is here, President Eisenhower will inaugurate the Amriki Mela at the World Agriculture Fair in New Delhi.

The United States is fully aware of the crucial importance of increased agricultural production in India. American foreign policy recognizes that if India is to remain free and independent it must resolve the problems of basic food supply. This appreciation of the importance of agriculture is responsible for the tremendous effort that has been devoted to the Amriki Mela.

Although those of you who live outside Delhi may not be able to attend the formal opening, I hope very much that while the fair is in progress you will be able to pay a visit to the Amriki Mela.

THE MID CENTURY CHALLENGE TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The active participation of private citizens in American foreign policy was dramatically portrayed this week by the release of a report by the Rockefeller Brothers' Fund Special Studies Project. This report was prepared by a group that included a former statesman, educators, business and labor union representatives, and is the fourth such study

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to be released by this privately financed fund. The report said in part that the goal of American foreign policy should be a world order in which all nations can find their needs fulfilled and all peoples can find their requirements for life and hope and well-being." The group cited, as a major U.S. objective, the phases of development of a world order in which all people can live in security and realize their fullest potentialities.''

AID AND TRADE

6

United States Under-Secretary of State, Douglas Dillon, speaking before a group of special trainees of the United States International Cooperation Administration, said, "economic assistance to the free world's newly developing areas will continue to be a key-stone of

American foreign policy for many years to come.
99
In addition to the interest of the United States Government in the assisting of newly developing countries, there is
countries, there is also widespread
interest on the part of American business. This is typified by the announcement this week that approximately fifty businessmen, representing the Greater Detroit Board of Businessmen, are scheduled to leave for India on a two-week visit as part of the 9th International Trade Tour Program. They will arrive in Bombay on January 20, 1960 and will also visit Delhi and Calcutta. These tours are arranged to give businessmen with direct trade or investment interests the opportunity to discuss problems of mutual concern with Chambers of Commerce, business and industrial leaders, and government representatives in the countries they visit.
This week the United States and India signed an agreement which is expected to encourage a greater flow of American private capital to India. This new accord amends a convertibility guarantee agreement between the two countries signed two years ago. This amendment provides that American investors for a premium will be able to receive insurance for reimbursement in dollars by the United States Government of any losses that might be incurred because of expropriation.
Mr. D. N. Chatterjee, India's Charge d'Affaires, signed for his government. He said: 'It is our hope, that with increasing contacts between India and the United States and the various measures which we have taken, including the agreement which we are signing today, there will be a considerable increase in the flow of private capital from the United States to India.
HUMAN RIGHTS WEEK
39
President Eisenhower has proclaimed the week of December 10 to 17 as HUMAN RIGHTS WEEK and called upon people of the United States to pursue the goal of universal freedom and justice. He recalled December 10 marks the 11th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly and that December 15 is the 160th anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights to the Constitution of the United States of America.

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546
In his message he said, 'In gratitude for the liberties that we enjoy, let us work to advance universal freedom and justice and stand ready to uphold the rights of others which are inextricably linked with our own." "
ALGERIA
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9 9
Expressing hope that effect will be given to the aspirations of the people of Algeria by peaceful means, the United States this week urged that discussion of the question in the United Nations reflect restraint and patience.''
6
United States delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, addressing the U.N. Assembly Political Committee, welcomed what he described as a spirit of conciliation'' evident thus far in the discussion. He reiterated the basic United States view in favor of a just, peaceful and democratic solution.''
6
9
Lodge pointed out that recent statements by the parties chiefly concerned offer real hope for such a solution. Accordingly, he said, these parties should be encouraged to reach agreement unhampered by extraneous factors which might endanger the chances of direct negotiations.
9
TWELVE NATIONS SIGN HISTORIC AGREEMENT ON ANTARCTIC
Twelve nations active in the Antarctic regions last week signed a treaty to preserve the vast polar continent for scientific and peaceful use only. Military bases and nuclear explosions are to be banned there. The signing ceremony culminated seven weeks of intensive study and negotiation among the signatories. The contracting parties convened at the suggestion of the United States.
Signing the treaty, which must later be ratified by the respective countries, were Argentina, Chile, Australia, France, Norway, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, the Soviet Union, the United States, Belgium, South Africa and Japan. Of these, first seven have advanced claims to

sovereignty over parts of the region. Signatories neither renounce their claims nor necessarily recognize those of other countries.

United States officials attached far-reaching significance to provisions of the 12-nation treaty on Antarctica, which will bar military activities in the polar region and encourage continuation of international cooperation among scientists.

Yours sincerely,

WK Bunce

W. K. Bunce

Counselor of Embassy for Public Affairs

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AVARD
NEWS LETTER
Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development
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Telephone 4 2 277
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July-September 1959

YOUTH & RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

POSSIBLY the biggest single event in the growth of independent India is the present transformation in the field of rural local self-government. New panchayat legislations are being discussed and adopted whereby powers of administrative and developmental nature are being specially made over to panchayats at the village, block and district levels.

Rajasthan, with its sturdy and confident traditions, has been bolder than other States. It is presently busy with the implementation of its new panchayat set-up, whereby all developmental activities are entrusted to Vikas Samitis (Block Panchayats). This set-up will be initiated on the birthday of Gandhiji. Perhaps this step has come

easier to the brave people of Rajasthan as they, at least partly, still retain the older traditions of our self-governing villages. The good wishes and admiration of the rest of India go to the people of Rajasthan for taking a courageous lead.

Courageous Lead

It is reported that the political parties in Rajasthan have decided that elections to the Panchayat Samitis and Zila Parishads will not be fought on a party basis. This example is commendable for parties in the other States of India where also the formation of such local bodies could be kept apart from wider party politics.

Win The success of the Rajasthan experiment and all such experiments in other States will largely depend the availability of enthusiastic and socially aware cadre of workers for this work. Without a sufficient number of workers all such programmes, whether in service
the field of panchayats or in the field of cooperatives, or of rural education, will mostly remain on paper.
will
The past century and more has sapped our rural areas and skimmed off its promising youth. The rural youth has continued to drift to the cities, the Government offices or to large-scale commercial establishments. Rural India has practically got no return for the youth it had reared. This process has to be reversed sometime. Only when this lost talent returns to the rural areas, devotes itself to the tasks of reconstruction, it be possible to make appreciable headway in our rural life. Unfortunately, in spite of our pious hopes and planning most of our efforts are still in the nature of platitudes. This may also happen to the new panchayat structure and other such measures being advocated today unless we bend all our efforts to find more workers and retain them in the rural areas.

CONTENTS

In the new set-up in Rajasthan all developmental activities pertaining to community development, agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, education, rural housing, etc., are being entrusted to Vikas Samitis. These Samitis are constituted by all the Sarpanchs in a Block area. Members of the Vidhan Sabha from the particular Block sit as associate members with the right. to participate in deliberations but without a vote. These Samitis are to be assisted by various standing committees, each dealing with a group of subjects. A Vikas Adhikari (the equivalent of a present BDO) will function under the Samiti and be its executive authority. The other development staff in the area, both technical and supervisory, would also be at the disposal of the Samiti. Each Samiti in Rajasthan is to cover an area with a population of about 75,000 and would have an average income of Rs. 5 lakhs. The finances at present at the disposal of the CD and NES Blocks would also be at the disposal of the Samiti. Though the Samiti could be advised by the Zila Parishad of the area (such Parishads are also being constituted) it has the final say in preparing its own budget and allocating funds to various activities according to its own local priorities.

Youth and Rural Reconstruction Seminar at Sevagram

Causes of Inertia- Study by AVARD 2
National Service for Youth
Carrot and Stick by Walter C. Neale 3
Agriculture Under Community Development in West Bengal
by A. N. Roy
Most Precious Asset
Our universities today produce around 50,000 graduates every year. Very few of them ever return to the rural areas, and, worse still, most of them lead a discontented and frustrated life, not being able to secure the work or the jobs which they had hoped for during their academic days. To a large extent the fault is with our organisation. However, the greater responsibility in this regard lies our inability to channel our educated youth in other fruitful activities. This equally relates to those who do not go beyond the higher secondary institu-
4
Lessons of a Self-help Scheme'
by Babu Lal Jalan
4
Some Lessons in Cooperation
by Sugata Das Gupta
5
The Still-born Supplementary Credit
by Sita Ram Goel
6
Planning for Abundance
by Ranjit Gupta
9
Gram Bank at Khed Shivpur
by J. S. Aiman
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tions.
A Pioneer's Job
11
Committee on Rural Credit
12
on
(Continued on page 2)

SEMINAR AT SEVAGRAM

THE last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, which met at the end of August, has decided that the annual general meeting of the Association should be held about the middle of January 1960. It is also intended to hold a Seminar for four or five days at that time.

Shri Annasaheb Sahasrabudhe, on behalf of the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh, has extended an invitation to the Association to hold this meeting and Seminar at Sevagram. The invitation was gladly accepted by the Committee.

The subject of the Seminar would be "Approaches to Rural Development."

Causes of Inertia

PROJECTED STUDY BY AVARD

AT its last meeting the Executive Commitee of the Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development felt that the basic problem

which underlies all constructive and developmental activities is the state of inertia which prevails at all levels.
The Association has, therefore, decided to undertake a Research Study into the causes of prevailing inertia, particularly among the rural population. This Study will suggest the catalytic agent which may be essential to achieve the desired transformation.
The Association has also decided to undertake a Study of and investigation into the traditional forms of cooperation which existed in various parts of the country. AVARD feels that such a study may lead to the growth of a sound cooperative movement by the revival or adoption of these older forms.
The Association is requesting various other bodies, particularly the universities, for advice and assistance.
The Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development is devoted to promotion and strengthening of voluntary effort by helping in the exchange of experiences and ideas and by conducting research and evaluation studies.
More information about the aims, objects and activities of the Association can be obtained from the General Secretary, Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rural Development, 56-A, Janpath, New Delhi."

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NATIONAL SERVICE FOR YOUTH

Shri Jayaprakash Narayan Heads AVARD Sub-Committee

AS a result of discussions at the Executive Committee meeting of the Association, a sub-committee has been constituted to consider how the youth can best participate in national reconstruction and development. This sub-committee would not only study the various programmes which exist today in India, but also take note of similar programmes in other countries, particularly Yugoslavia and Israel. Initial data in this respect is being collected.

The sub-committee is headed by Shri Jayaprakash Narain. Shri Anna-saheb Sahasrabudhe, Prof. N. D. Godbole and Shri Saligram Pathik are its members.

YOUTH AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

(Continued from page 1)

Present-day youth is usually blamed for its indifference to political and social activities. For such a state of affairs one cannot blame the youth alone. If the problem is considered in all earnestness it would be realised that the fault lies with our educational system which rears the youth on a set of values hardly conducive to self-sacrifice and social responsibility. Given a suitable atmosphere, opportunity and appreciation, the present-day youth would undoubtedly give a fair account of itself and prove the most precious asset in the emergence of new India.

An Urgent Need

The need today is to find the necessary means whereby the young people could participate and acquaint themselves with our programmes of development and the India which is in the making. Not many months ago the Ministry of Education formulated a scheme for national service for students. Similar ideas have also been advocated at various levels during the past decade. However, no concrete steps have yet emerged. Perhaps all those concerned have not yet realised the urgency of this problem.

It is agreed on all sides that no large-scale development in our 5 lakh villages is possible unless the villagers feel a stake in such development

and take the initiative in formulating, implementing and executing such programmes. Rajasthan, perhaps, is a symbol that the villagers have started to move. But such awakening alone is not sufficient. It has to be accompanied by willing workers, who, in their lakhs, could go and live in villages and, in addition to partaking in the normal life there, also assist with technical knowledge, account keeping, office know-how, etc.

Link Between Town & Village

A comprehensive programme is needed to make this possible. Perhaps, given unanimity and cooperation in the country, all youth, say between 18 and 25, could be mobilised for a year or two not only to participate in constructive work but also to get to know village life from the inside and obtain the necessary grounding for constructive work in later life. Such a programme could lead to a large number of our educated young people, if given opportunity and understanding, themselves volunteering to serve in our villages. It would then be possible for a part of the learning imparted by our academic institutions to reach the countryside. Thus contact would be re-established between our rural and academic life.

The problem of finding suitably trained cadre for work in rural India is to our mind the central and the most important link in the successful implementation of programmes of rural reconstruction and rural self-government. We have outlined a few urgently needed steps. which perhaps would meet this urgent need. We are sure that organisations interested in the role and welfare of youth and those engaged in the task of rural development must have given thought to this problem. Perhaps some of these organisations have come to more practical suggestions in this regard. It is, therefore, all the more essential to discuss this problem on a wide scale leading to comprehensive national approach and programme of action.

2

AND STICK above, left this reviewer in a mood to

Below we publish a condensed version of a review by Walter C. Neal of "Pilot Project, India" and "India's Changing Villages" which appeared in the "Far Eastern Survey" of December, 1958.

GREAT innovations in social revolution and economic development are rare. This century has seen two: the creation of heavy industry by forceful extraction of savings from collectivised agriculture, first in Russia and now in China; and the scheme of Community Development, of raising rural incomes and living standards by implanting initiative and competence in the villagers, which is now being tried in India. The 'stick' of the Communists succeeds with bloodshed and famine; the 'carrot' of Community Development is only now being tested.

The two books, Pilot Project, India, and India's Changing Villages, under review here describe the concept, the origins, the activities, and the transformation of community projects in India, and supplement each other to a remarkable extent. Both are excellent books and the first is deeply moving.

Pilot Project, India is a record of the Etawah Community Development Project and a distillation of Albert Mayer's observations and thoughts as the project grew from an idea that extension work techniques could revive and reform the Indian village to the prototype for rural extension work from Indonesia to Ghana. Two things shine through this book: what a community project can be, and what sort of man Albert Mayer is. India, and all of us, could use much more of both.

Sense of Immediacy

The book is built around excerpts from 84 reports and news-letters written by Mayer and a few of his colleagues in the Etawah Project from 1946 to 1956. In the early part of the book, describing the origins and early years of the project, the excerpts are roughly in a chronological order,

but later passages are arranged topically with enough chronological order to indicate how the thoughts developed. The excerpts from news-letters and reports are introduced and enlarged upon by new passages written by Mayer, and towards the end of the book new writings convey his recent thoughts on the subject. A few connecting links are supplied by Marriott and Park in collaboration with Mayer. Contrary to expectation, this system does not make for choppiness. sense of immediacy is created by use of original writings, and this reviewer was interested to read that by 1948 Mayer was warning repeatedly against
A
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the kind of mistake which was to become more and more common in the administration of later projects.

Role of Village Level Workers

What happens when the shell without the content, the concept without the spirit, is taken over on a massive scale by an unprepared organisation is made sadly clear by S. C. Dubey in India's Changing Villages. Here we have a report from the Cornell Team on the progress and procedures of a later community project. The ideas of Etawah are there, the principles are there, the organisational frame is there, to a large extent the same urges are present; but the imagination, the attention to detail, and, above all, the sensitivity to person and to situation
The first quarter of

are lacking.

Dube's book is a history of the community project which he observed. This is followed by a half of the book describing and analysing the reaction of the villagers to change and the characteristics and effectiveness of officials and Government servants as agents of change.

Meticulous Reporting

curse.

The strength of India's Changing Villages is the strength of good anthropology; meticulous reporting of observation without dependence upon a priori reasoning and predetermined conclusions. There is a summary chapter of recommendations, but what has come before almost makes it unnecessary. Dube dose not need to analyse the principles of effective extension work because his observations and analysis of the particular make the general principles, upon which Mayer insists, perfectly clear.

Proof of the Pudding...

The community project is the antithesis of the Soviet Kolkhoz. The Kolkhoz achieves its result because the power of the State forces the peasantry to do what is wanted. If the stick is applied ubiquitously and continuously, the State can get the development it wants; so we have learned from the USSR. But if the stick is applied occasionally, inconsistently, and not very hard, the peasants learn to duck the blows, and are quite right in reasoning that the risk of an occa-

sional blow is less troublesome than compliance.

This is why the sporadic drives for sanitation, the barnstorming of cooperatives, the bursts of activities by district officers never achieved permanent results in India. In projects people will improve their lot if they can be shown that there is a better way of living, if they can be shown how to achieve this better life, and if they are supplied with those elements of help which must come from the outside. The basic doctrine is that the "proof of the pudding is in the eating."

Aspirations and Achievements

The corrollary for the extension presenting evidence that is convincing in the every day experience of the villager, and when some item or condition external to the village is needed, he must supply it. He must show by doing and help by succeeding.

All this is well done and one understands the problems faced and how they arose, but the last quarter is the best of the book. Appendix I analy-worker is that he must persuade by zes the role of the Village Level Worker (VLW), his reactions to his life and especially to the officers over him. The second appendix consists of thirty pages of diary recounting ten days in the life of a VLW. Even without this piece the book is good but these thirty pages add immensely to its value. The difficulties and tensions which have already been described and illustrated come to be

for the reader the irritations which they were to the VLW. The pressure to get things done, the slips and mishaps, and the lack of support from
3
To build in the idea of development the villager must first be shown that he can achieve things he wants but once thought he could not achieve. This means discovering the "felt need,' showing how it can be achieved, but never trying to do the impossible,
(Continued on page 8)
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Page - 551
Agriculture Under Community Development in West Bengal
by A. N. Roy
SSO
THE Community Development Programme for rural uplift has three chief objectives: (1) to teach villagers the art of better living and improved methods of production, (2) to generate self-help and group-action amongst them so that they are encouraged to discuss their problems collectively and solve them by their own united efforts, (3) to offer to the villagers certain services and aids considered essential by the Government.
How far these objectives are being progressively realised in the field of agriculture, we shall describe below.
What has been called the Agricultural Programme under Community Development suggests specific lines along which community development work must be carried out. The programme in West Bengal falls into the following categories:
1. Distribution Scheme (of improved seeds, fertilizers, impro-

ved implements, etc.);
2. Cultivation of green manures;
3. Production of compost manures;
4. Result demonstration in cultivators' holdings;
5. Scheme for a small workshop and demonstration of improved agricultural implements, poultry incubator and plant protection equipment, pumping plant for irrigation;
6. Animal husbandry and veterinary aid;
7. Loan for cooperative marketing societies;
8. Miscellaneous schemes (promotion of horticulture, kitchen gardening, cotton cultivation, bee-keeping, demonstration of irrigation devices and use of irrigation water).

reclamation

As irrigation and schemes benefit agriculture directly, we may as well include these in our present account. Irrigation is a prime need of agriculture in West Bengal. Extension of cultivation through double cropping will only be possible, if large-scale irrigation facilities are made available.

The benefit of the major irrigation projects can hardly be utilised unless we supplement those by small and minor schemes. In evolving such schemes, we have to study local needs and local conditions. In a Community Development Block, this task can be realistically carried out.

Agricultural
Schemes
executed
under the general Five Year Plans also benefit block areas. One of the most important schemes under the State's Second Plan which will help the improvement of agriculture throughout the State, but particularly in the block areas, is for the establishment of 100 seed farms. Many of these are now located in the various Development Blocks. The Plant Protection Scheme is another scheme of some importance.

The poor quality of cattle in West Bengal affects agriculture in the State. It is one of the most urgent problems which must be solved if we want to improve village economy. Several Animal Husbandry and Veterinary aid schemes have been included in the Community Development Programme. But the scheme for Key Villag Centres for artificial insemination and organisation of breeding tracts, which is being executed under our Second Plan, will render very useful service to the villagers.

Rabindranath Tagore writing on Cooperation said that it is the only way to generate faith in our villagers and help them to adopt practices which will improve their condition. The poet wrote, "It is not enough to say that we have no money. The real problem is that we have no hope." He tried to show that only through cooperative activities,

people
would have faith and confidence in
themselves and could hope to better
their lot.
our
It is obvious after about seven
years' experience in Community De-
velopment work that people's cooper-
ation is a pre-requisite for the success
of the movement. Since the greatest
emphasis under the programme is on
agriculture, cultivators' cooperatives
either for production, marketing or
credit are necessary. Thus, a drive
has begun in rural areas to enlist the
cultivators as members of coopera-
tives.

LESSONS OF A SELF-HELP SCHEME'

by Babu Lal Jalan

THE one thing which stands out very prominently in the operation of our pilot project is the feeling that the village people in India have lost confidence in themselves. They are intelligent, hard working but they have lost the confidence that they can rebuild their future.

It is necessary, therefore, as the
very first step to make them consci-
ous of their ability to improve their
living conditions and, indeed, rebuild
the economy of the country. Mil-
lions in the country who are jobless
today mostly underemployed -
are the greatest asset of the country.

A Great Lesson

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But any amount of effort will
not arouse them from their slumber
unless the social workers who go out
in the villages are prepared to work
shoulder to shoulder with the people.
But people who have had education

are completely averse to any kind
of manual work.
One great lesson which one
learns from this pilot project is that
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we should depend solely on self-help
voluntary labour for rural develop-
ment. The moment you give
subsidy and doles, it inculcates a
very bad spirit of charity.
However, it is also very clear
that people are very religious minded
and self-sacrificing. Thus when we
were making roads in some of our
project villages, people with very
small holdings of land readily came
forward to give away necessary land
for road-making purposes. This
shows that only if proper organisation
could be provided and the projects
undertaken with a correct approach
to the basic problems, there would
be no dearth of voluntary efforts
(Continued on page 8)
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Some Lessons in Cooperation
by Sugata Das Gupta
THEY say, that a group of onion dealers from somewhere in the United States had once planned to set up a "Sellers' Cooperative." Accordingly a few leading dealers circulated a notice, called a meeting of all the onion dealers and adopted a unanimous resolution agreeing to sell all their produce through a common agency.
Pop Impressed by the ready response
addoirand the unanimity of the participants
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the farm leaders went back only to
find that when the actual hour of
collection of the produce arrived, most
of the individual farmers had already
disposed off their produce individually,
totally forgetting the promises they
atalano made a few days ago. The exaspera-
ted farm leaders then referred the
auclus matter to a local community organiser.
Hooi The community worker called the
Sonion dealers together again, and
um again and again; every afternoon, at a
ma central place to organise musical
Biba to evenings. Thus the onion dealers met
in order to sing together, chat together,
play together and joke together. s
Disappointing Conditions
o
bong And so, developed a feeling of
egally togetherness among the dealers, which
ad bobroke the barriers of suspicion and
Foto of brought the participants nearer to each
bother psychologically and socially till
Imgs one fine evening the dealers themselves
aebt revived the question of forming a
1ign sellers' cooperative. This time the
estoni society met with almost hundred per
cent success.
d
A village organiser working under
the auspices of the Viswa Bharati
Department of Rural Reconstructionand
at Sriniketan was similarly commis-
sioned, twenty-five years ago, to set up
one of the first cooperative credit
societies of this region. Although the
worker was a resident of the locality
where he was now called upon to
work, he had been away from home

for some years. Arriving back, however, he found the conditions disappointing.

The village was sleepy and lethargic without any sign of life. The people alay shackled in the clutches of the obal money-lenders, and were litigative, quarrelsome, malaria stricken, poor asbo and hopelessly fatalistic. The only sd
active group was that of a handful of moirouby youths, who smoked bidis and sat in to so open spaces, to discuss the village ricain scandal.

The village worker, himself a strict non-smoker, offered them bidis as a goodwill gesture and for days together he participated in their dubious and noisy gatherings, talked scandal with them and gradually, as they grew to like him, he told them stories of some other villages around Sriniketan which had established a few literacy centres in order to ensure that the money-lenders could no longer fool them. Enamoured by the idea, the group proposed to the worker that they also should have a literacy centre and learn some reading and writing so as to reckon with the tyrant money-lenders of their village. The group now started addressing the village worker as their Master Mashai or "Teacher, Sir" and never smoked in class.

Cooperatives Organised

Later he spoke to them again about saving money and starting a cooperative credit society but before they could catch at the idea the Santhals

of a neighbouring village came forward with the request to organise a "night class" for them, as they also wanted to control their money-lenders. The worker put before these groups of Santhals his idea of forming a cooperative credit society and they immediately consented to set up one. The youth group, referred to earlier, soon followed suit and a few other villages also came forward to form their own cooperatives.

The worker reports that within a few years the area was dotted with literacy centres and cooperative societies and in organising these the group of raffish young men played a leading role aiding and assisting the worker in all his endeavours and respecting him as their Guru and never smoking or showing any disrespect to him.

These two instances and many other like these could be quoted to illustrate that the beginnings of a cooperative are to be registered not in a

government office but in the minds of the people.

Barriers Broken

Three things stand out, in this connection, which are of paramount importance: (i) No cooperative can be imposed either by a resolution of a committee or by a governmental fiat; (ii) Cooperatives can only be formed in a village when a clearly conceived need for a cooperative is consciously realised by all its members

or at least by a greater portion of them; and (iii) The initiative of forming a cooperative must ultimately come from the people themselves; the cooperative organiser who must be a social worker par excellence or a community organiser can only stimulate the thinking of a group and integrate their disjointed interests through programmes of community action. Common activity will develop a sense of togetherness, thus gradually breaking the barriers which keep people apart.

Once these barriers of distance are broken, the people will grow to trust themselves and each other, and realise the benefits of common action in certain spheres in which they now realise that they cannot derive any benefit by isolated and individual efforts.

An Essential Truth

The ruling party of the country and the Government of India is keen on starting a number of service cooperatives all over the country. The idea is not, certainly, to prepare a straitjacket where all of the many millions of India could fit in but the plan, one hopes, is to give to the people a way of thinking and working together so that they could meet all their basic needs which "experts" feel the people cannot realise without working jointly and without forming cooperative institutions.

The essential truth that people cannot by individual effort only

defeat the giant evil of the poverty cannot be disputed. But what can certainly be disputed is whether the cooperatives could be formed overnight, by a government fiat or by a party's resolution or even by appointing paid workers who arrive at the village to set up the "cooperatives"? The way of builders of cooperatives hid ad stuhano vino

(Continued on page 12)

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THE STILL-BORN SUPPLE

THE Government of India has recently circulated to the Development Commissioners of all States and Union Territories another note regarding supplementary credit on a pilot project basis in supersession of the earlier note issued in May this year. After a brief encounter with the realities of the situation, agricultural credit has returned to its impregnable ivory tower. The poor cultivator has been left to the tender mercies of orthodox cooperative banking after a genuine gesture of generosity.

One thing that immediately strikes, even to a casual reader of the new note, is that it does not even once refer to the programme envisaged in the previous note. Nor does it provide any reasons why that programme was found to be unworkable. A covering letter simply announces that do the earlier note is being superseded "in the light of recommendations of the Conference" of the State Ministers of Cooperation held at Mysore in July and "in the interests of clarity." The recommendations of the Mysore Conference on this score emphasise that "there should be only one line of credit"

and that "central banks should sympathetically consider the question of making increased amounts available" to the village cooperatives.

Pompous Report

brev While beating this retreat all along no the line, the Department of Cooperation has announced that a Committee will examine "existing standards for credit limits" and "their justification from the point of view of the principles of sound cooperative banking" in order to suggest "measures necessary for increasing the borrowing power of primary credit societies to the extent necessary in this connection." This step, too, has been taken in pursuance of a recommendation of the Mysore Conference.

Thus, instead of creating the much-needed credit, the Government of India has, as has become its usual habit, created one more committee. The question which everyone, who feels concern for the Indian cultivator, will ask is: when will Government policy move beyond conferences and committees and earnestly accept a positive policy of extending full-scale assistance to our agriculturists who not only constitute the bulk of the nation but also carry on their shoulders the onerous weight of feeding a fast-expanding population?

Ever since the question of supplying State-sponsored credit to the cultivator was taken up at the turn of the last century, a host of committees and commissions have examined the

problem again and again. An elaborate All-India Rural Credit Survey has produced a pompous report which, at one time, promised to be a panacea for all the ills from which our rural population has been suffering for centuries. All sorts of conferences at all levels have, time and again, discussed this question threadbare. The basic issues involved have, by now, been spotted and summarised with a degree of unanimity which it is difficult to discover elsewhere. It is, therefore, beyond one's imagination as to what new light a new committee is expected to throw on this simple and straight-forward subject.

Woolly Language

Nor does a comparison of the two notes support the argument that the earlier and bolder programme has been abandoned in the "interests of clarity."

The first note had forthrightly recognised that, on account of its own inner inhibitions, the existing structure of cooperative banking was unable to supply adequate credit to the cultivator and that a new approach was urgently needed for making it available to "cultivators who are not in a position to obtain their full requirements from cooperative agencies" and to "small cultivators who are at present not members of cooperative societies and are, therefore, not eligible for loans from them."

The soundness of this new approach was to be tested by a number of pilot

projects in all parts of the country.
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And what was most important, additional finances outside the existing cooperative funds had been promised to make the pilot projects a practical proposition. There was no confusion at all in the essentials of this scheme, notwithstanding the cautious and somewhat woolly language which has become the stock-in-trade of all our Government communications.

Confusion Worse Confounded

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In contrast, the new note consists of nothing but confusion worse confounded. No doubt, it is meticulously clear so far as the preparation of village production plans and the appointment of additional community development and cooperative staff is concerned. The Government of India promises to share the new establishment expenses on a 50: 50 basis. But on the question of providing additional credit; it only expresses the forlorn hope that "once a proper production plan for each member of the village society is prepared.. it should be possible for the village society to provide the necessary finances" and that "it should be possible for the central banks to provide larger funds to primary societies on the strength of such production plans." The impression that is sought to be given here is that cooperative credit in abundance has been held up so far only for want

Nothing

of proper production plans.
can be farther from the truth.
Waste of Time
Nobody disputes the need and desirability of proper production plans. If there has been, till now, a delay in such planning from village to village and from family to family, the fault has entirely been with the Government and its fast-expanding and expensive bureaucratic machine. To the best of our knowledge, the agriculturist has never been encouraged or helped to plan his production in detail and in terms of improved methods and supplies. But the point that needs to be stressed here is that a mere production plan without an adequate assurance of finance needed for implementing it
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is just another name for an invitation to the cultivator to waste his time and harbour false hopes. There can be no more effective method of adding to the all too abundant fund of frustration which the cultivator has been piling up all through these years.

Had the cooperative banking structure been able to meet the problem, It would have been solved long ago. It is not our poor cultivator who has been hesitating to avail of cooperative. credit. On the contrary. it is cooperative credit which has so far refused to go anywhere near the really needy and deserving cultivator. Those who are responsible for evolving the policies followed at present by our cooperative banks have left no one in doubt that their first priority is not to rush to the help of the hard-pressed cultivator but to safeguard, at all costs, the funds entrusted to them by the Government for helping the cultivator.

Sterile Policies

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finances at the earliest by whatever methods and on whatever terms are

found workable under the existing circumstances. If the cooperative banks are permitted and are prepared to modify their methods and the job, they have the first priority. But if they have their doubts and hesitations, if they have confined themselves within the four walls of canons which render their performance ponderous d and purposeless at the source, they can very well be ignored and told to find out for themselves whatever other business suits their convenience. Alternate methods and agencies should be evolved to meet and solve a problem which brooks no further delay.

Mis-spent Energy

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It has become an inveterate habit of all committees and conferences that asked to deliberate upon this subject to forget completely that the sole purpose of creating the cooperative banks at so much administrative and financial cost was to make adequate credit available to the cultivator promptly and on easy terms. Consequently, all discussions have inevitably tended to centre on what are described as the "requirements of sound cooperative banking."

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Unless these sterile and self-defeating policies are radically and irrevocably reversed, it will be hoping against hope to think that the cooperative banks will come forward with additional credit. Hatching

production plans for consideration by banks that are tied, hand and foot, by outmoded directives and attitudes will make no noticeable difference to the fast-deteriorating situation.

One fails to understand what can ever be sound about cooperative banking if it fails to deliver adequate and timely credit to the cultivator. Yet that is exactly what has happened in this country. Today we spend all our energy on safeguarding the resources put in the hands of cooperative banks rather than insist that these resources should be used for the purpose they are intended to serve.

In order to look the problem in the face, we have to begin at the beginning. Our cultivators need large-scale financial help immediately and urgently in order to rescue themselves from the private moneylender who still dominates the countryside, to improve their methods and increase their production and, thus, to come into their own as full-fledged citizens of Independent India.

Does the Government of India recognise and accept the responsibility of helping the cultivators to help themselves?

If it does, the straight and simple course for it is to rush the necessary

A Vicious Circle

The banks are not allowed to take the risk of advancing adequate and timely funds to the cultivator who, in their opinion, is a poor risk because "the fellow does not have a shirt on

his back." This extraordinary cautiousness lands the whole machinery of cooperative credit straight into a vicious circle from which there seems to be no

way out. If this circle is to be broken, someone somewhere will have to take the risk some day. For, otherwise the cultivator will never come to have a shirt on his back and will run the risk of losing even his skin.

Trust the Cultivator

Looking at it from another angle, it is simply a question of showing a certain amount of initial trust in the cultivator. A decision has to be taken by those who are eager and responsible for rebuilding the nation, that our hardworking and honest cultivator is going to be trusted. If we are not prepared to trust him, let us end this d round of committees and conferences which only increase the bulk of already voluminous reports without adding an iota to the initiative needed in this direction. Let us drop the whole matter. Let us admit defeat and leave the cultivator to his fate. Lofty talk without corresponding capacity to act boldly, generously and imaginatively will henceforward sound more and more hypocritical and breed only cynicism.

A Great Opportunity

Here is a great opportunity for the Committee which has been recently appointed by the Department of Cooperation to go over this question.

The terms of reference laid down for the Committee leave the impression that it is also expected to travel up the traditional track and provide yet another variation on the age-old theme of "sound cooperative banking." But the Committee has the opportunity to break a new path. It can very well point out in its report that these terms of reference are too narrow and unrealistic for accommodating the solution of a giant problem. At the same time, the Committee can once more lay bare the fundamentals involved and advocate an altogether revolutionary line of attack. It is hoped that what has been stated in this article about those fundamentals will help the Committee to make up its mind and set a new example for all subsequent committees to follow.

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(Continued from page 3)
because that way lies disillusionment and reversion to the old pattern. The essence of any relationship of consent is trust, and trust can be founded only upon experience. "...We cannot fall down on a promise. That is the absolutely unforgivable sin." Beyond the "felt need" the project worker wants to show the villagers that there are other goals which he can gain and thus build in a spiral of aspiration and

achievement.
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and raises some doubt as to whether
they were well selected. Mayer
insisted that
programmes vary
from village to village, but Dube
found that "conformity to the State-
wide pattern was regarded as more
desirable than planning for specific
local needs." The injunction that
lower echelons should not be humilia-
ted was often ignored by the project
officers. The very definite feeling on
the part of the VLWs in Dube's area
that they were not truly a part of a
new extension service is death to the
"vital factor of devotion, enthusiasm,
initiative, the strong sense of status,
validity and recognition" without
which a "new stagnation and frustra-
tion will be reached, and that in the
not very distant future."

From Frustration Comes Failure

It follows from these requirements
that the programme in each village must
be tailored to the needs of that village,
that each spiral of aspiration will be
different since it arises from different
village circumstances, histories, and
tastes. Only by working with villagers
as equals can be VLW persuade, find
out what the villagers want and envi-
sage a spiral of aspiration; and only by
treating the VLW with respect, listen-almolo
ing to him, and supporting him can the of
higher echelons of the developmental
services help to create a dynamic rural

society. Mutual respect between villagers and hierarchy and within the hierarchy itself is the essence of the new "democratization" of administration and "grass roots planning."

The Greatest Sin

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One sometimes has the impression that Dube feels the greatest sin is the hypocrisy of the higher officials when they recruit and train VLWs for democratic work and then order them about and force them to drive the villagers. But hypocrisy is not the major sin; the real objection to ordering results without prior consent from below is simply that it will not work, and that the man who orders instead of asking is an ineffective administrator.

Pilot Project, India drives home this point. India's Changing Villages shows the weakness of the technique when turned over to men whose background is the stick and not the carrot. Mayer says, "No work should be undertaken, however necessary, except in an emergency, unless effective personnel is available for the particular work." In the area he studied Dube found only seven of the needed twenty VLWs at the start of project and seventeen after a year and a half,

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Should we conclude from the disfears of Mayer in his writings of 1956, illusioning evidence of Dube, from the from the observations of others in the field, that community projects have

been a failure? By no means. They have not been given time to come to fruition. The danger is that they will be swamped by the rush to cover the country with projects and never be given the time or the personnel or the supplies to come to fruition. This danger is the burden of the last two chapters of Mayer's book.

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The essence of success in extension work is time, and community projects are extension work writ large over every part of village life. How long does it take to achieve results? "At Etawah the possibility of a general uplifting of the villagers' own standards developed only after four years of cumulative growth and experience... It was apparent also by 1956 that at least six or seven years of sustained work are needed for such results. Today undermanned, ill-mannured, overworked, and under-supplied are asked to accomplish the task in three years."

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This is asking for frustration, and from frustration will come failure, and from failure a stagnation all the harder to overcome because experience has taught the villager to distrust the new projects.

Mayer feels that it would be politically impossible to prolong greatly the period during which the projects wi' spread across India, but this reviewer is inclined to disagree. The electorate

is not nearly as enthusiastic about the projects as are the officials in the higher levels of political and administrative life (why else must the work proceed so slowly and so tactfully?) and the Congress Party workers are unlikely to rebel so long as there is some progress and each region gets a share. Proposals to increase the rigours of selection and training of VLWs and other officers were circulated to the State and central governments and the EH reactions were favourable. Most impressive was the acceptance, by twelve o or thirteen responding State govern- o ments, of the suggestion that the period of intensive community development be extended to six years, and that the degree of intensity of the post-intensive period be increased over an additional six years. This would involve a three-year extension of the period for spreading the projects, a year more s than Mayer has been urging.

Lessons of a 'Self-Help Scheme'

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and contributions to make the projects a success.

Personal Incentives

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But if the effort of the constructive voluntary labour is to be m sustained on a regular long-term basis, it is necessary that projects of

personal benefit like a house for the family, a well for their own land be launched. In any case the programme should not be one-sided. While it may seek to undertake schemes of community development and benefit, it should also initiate projects which would benefit the individual directly.

Great stress should also be laid on provision of irrigation facilities so that the incomes of the people improve. When social consciousness is created while people remain poor, there will be greater dissatisfaction and frustration.

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PLANNING

FOR ABUNDANCE

A Review of the Ford Foundation Team's Report

by Ranjit Gupta

66INDIA in search of food for her ever-soaring population" reminds one of a parable in ancient literature. The story is about a quarrel between the mosquitoes and Mr. West Wind. Even Jupiter could not arbitrate because as Mr. West Wind came in the mosquitoes flew out. There, though it sounds rhetoric, is nothing more common than to see while the Expert Committees try to find ways and means of balancing over-population and undernutrition, the gap between the two increases manifold.

A number of committees which have gone into the question of food shortage have given different estimates. But the reported scale of shortage, closely following the chronological order of these committees, is expanding

itself. The Ford Foundation Team's estimates the latest in the run of 1966 overwhelm us with a 120 million rise in population in 15 years (from 1951 to 1966) and a 28 million ton shortage of foodgrains for 480 million Indians. To feed them at 18 ounces per person per day, as also to make provision for live-stock feed, seed, wastage and storage, India, by 1965-66, shall have to achieve a target of 110 million tons of foodgrains.

Immediate Action Needed

As the future sounds sufficiently grave, the Team emphasises the need for taking immediate steps, almost on war footing, for increasing the country's food production to the desired level of 110 million tons. To meet this emergency, it suggests a number of steps which would enable the farmer to increase production and the country to plan for an abundant economy,

A careful look into the Ford Team's estimates-thanks to Daniel Thorner (see his 'Ploughing the Plan Under,' The Economic Weekly, Special number, July 1959)-however, assures us that the prospect is not so appalling as it sounds. In estimating the expansion of population and consequently the quantity of foodgrains needed to feed it, the Team errs on the statistical side. Thus, whereas it finds that by the end of the Third Plan food will be needed for 480 million persons, the estimated population, even using the Team's own measurements, should not have been more than 470 million.

For, the Team, which assumes a base figure of 360 million persons in 1951, calculates the increase at 5 million persons per year during the First Plan period, 7 million during the Second Plan period and 10 million during the Third Plan period.

At this rate the net increase by 1966 comes to 110 million and, when added to 360 million, the sum total is 470 million only. This excess of 10 million excludes another 3.2 million the difference between Ford Team's 360 million in 1591 and the Census Report's 356.8 million. After adjusting these errors, population by 1966 slips from 480 million to 467 so suddenly that the statistically created 'elbow room' almost cracks at the middle.

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The suggested target of 110 million tons of foodgrains by 1965-66 includes: (i) the consumption need of cereals. and pulses at 18 ounces per person per day, or 88 million tons for 480 million persons; (ii) provision for seed, live-stock feed and wastage at 12.5 per cent of total production, or 12.6 million tons; and (iii) 9.4 million tons safety margin stock. Daniel Thorner gives another estimate. According to him, the consumption need of cereals and pulses at the standard stipulated rate of 18.3 ounces per adult per day will be 77 million tons, provided that the population of 480 million persons is reduced to an approximate number of adult equivalent, as is normally done.

Actual Requirements

This estimate may sound unconvincing, particularly in view of the fact that even with 7.3 million tons of foodgrains, supplemented by a large quantity of imported stock, we are still having serious difficulties. But it is evident that the actual requirement of foodgrains by 1966 will not be as high as 110 million tons.

Probably the weakest recommendation of the Team is its 9.4 million

tons safety margin stock. In one of its Reports, National Food Reserve Policies in Underdeveloped Countries' (1958) the F.A.O. has worked out the storage cost in India. Accordingly, the capital cost of building 2 million. tons storage capacity is about Rs. 23 crores. The annual recurring cost of storing 2 million tons is about Rs. 8 crores or Rs. 39 per ton. Since the present storage capacity of hired and owned godowns of the Government is less than 1.5 million tons, it would mean that to stock 9.4 million tons of foodgrains, we shall be needing Rs. 92 crores as capital cost of building the new storage capacity, and an annual recurring cost of Rs. 37.6 crores on its maintenance. Where is this money to come from? Presumably it is none of the Team's concern.

Technical Recommendations

Mistakes, such as this, are bound to evoke criticism. But it shall be rather unbecoming of the critics to make sweeping generalisations or else to

cover the Ford Team's Report with heavy smoke and thus create a sense of complacency about our food situation. The latter certainly calls for the best of efforts. It is in this respect that the report of the Ford Team excels itself. Its technical recommendations pave the way for improving the level of food production.

The suggestion that "India can make greater and more immediate gain in food production by intensifying expenditure on time and efforts on water management than by constructing large-scale irrigation projects" is supported by the facts given in the FAO's Report. To quote the latter, "while expenditure on major irrigation works was very near the target, the effect on production was less than one-half of what was anticipated. The reverse is true of minor irrigation works." And again, "only about two-thirds of the additional irrigation provided in 1951-56 was actually used, largely because farmers are reluctant to pay the water rates and also because of the cost of switching from dry to wet cultivation methods in some areas."

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In planning for an abundant agriculture not only should the Ford Team's Report be read carefully but also due cosideration must be given to the steps suggested by it.

Grain Bank at Khed Shivpur

by J. S. Aiman

RECENTLY, Khed Shivpur, near Poona became the proud possessor of a Bank. But it was a Bank with a difference. It was a Grain Bank started with a donation of 20 bags of wheat and 20 bags of rice from the Relief and Gift Supply Council, New Delhi, to serve 30 villages, 15 miles from Poona on the Bangalore-Poona Road.

The grain was distributed to the poor and needy irrespective of caste, colour or creed, as an advance in their hour of need. Due to incessant rain, the crops were almost totally destroyed, and the villagers had nothing to fall back on. They had either to starve or migrate to the cities to eke out their hand-to-mouth existence. There was no other agency in this area that could come to their help and provide them with a means of subsistance. Instead of doling out the grain received from the Relief and Gift Supply Council, it was agreed that the grain should be given as an advance to be returned within a period of six months in the form of Jowar.

In the first place it has succeeded in bringing together the village people and creating a sense of cooperation and fellow-feeling among them. Even those villagers who had not taken grain because they did not need it, accepted the responsibility of returning it along with the poor and the needy. Any scheme of rural develop-

ment in India will be successful to the extent it succeeds in enthusing and uniting the village people..

In the second place the villagers will have at their disposal four thousand pounds of Jowar at the end of six months, again to be given to some villages when the need arises. The four thousand pounds of Jowar would not, of course, be the only capital of the proposed Grain Bank. It is hoped that some more grain will be collected from the 30 villages as donations to the Bank.

Such an experiment is unique in this part of the country. And it is being carried on with the full cooperation of the village people thus fulfilling the main purpose of this scheme namely to enthuse the villagers and to teach them to stand on their own feet by creating a self-sufficient village economy.

Books

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1. Land Reforms in Japan
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2. Working With People in Small Communities
By Clarence King
3. Economic Development Problems, Principles and Policies
By Benjamin Higgins
4. Education in India
(A Graphic Presentation)
5. Towards the Oceanic Circle
(Dhanaura Regional Plan)

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7. Guide to Village Planning
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(Annual)
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Book Review
A Pioneer's Job
Population & Planned Parenthood in India, by Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, George Allen & Unwin, Price: 12sh. 6d.
ONE extra mouth every three-and-a-half seconds. Nearly one-third of the population of Kerala every year. Dwindling land yield. Increasing deforestation. This, in short, is the theme of Dr. Chandrasekhar's book. Dr. Chandrasekhar is not a prophet of doom. He is only a Cassandra who after painstaking research has written what anybody can see boldly inscribed on the wall. A recent Ford Foundation Study Team foresaw famine conditions just in the next ten years. And what then are we going to do?
Indian rate of population increase is not very high. It is only 1.3 per cent. US, Canada and Australia have a much higher rate. But the US can support six times her present population. Canada and Australia have vast expanses of unutilised land. Oh yes, some of us could migrate to US or Canada or Australia. But the present laws permit only 100 of us per year in each country. We wish for real socialism in the world, and we could win our lebensraum. But since we cannot change others, at least let us change ourselves. Even our present

population lives on 1,600 calories per day. For a manual worker the requirement is much high. And most of us are manual workers.
However, the picture is not as bad as it seems. An awareness of the problem has grown. There have also been steps to counteract this increase, both by way of stress on greater food production and by an advocacy of the need for planned parenthood. In fact we may take credit when Dr. Julian Huxley says: "India is the first modern country enunciating a national policy in limiting population and reducing its rate of increase."
Nevertheless whatever our public pronouncements, a great deal yet remains to be done. People have to be convinced of the need of family planning by various means. Conditions are also to be created where such means would be conveniently adopted. Dr. Chandrasekhar has done pioneer's job in bringing our population problem to the forefront.
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S38
Committee
on Rural Credit
ACCORDING to a Gazette Notification, the question of providing adequate credit to cultivating families in the villages, in the light of production programmes and consistent with the principles of cooperative finance,

was discussed at Cooperative Ministers' Conference held in July at Mysore.

It was decided that the problem should be examined in all its aspects by an expert committee. The Government of India has now constituted a Committee under the Chairmanship of Shri Vaikunth Lal Mehta. Eleven other members include two representatives of the Cooperative Movement. The rest belong to official bodies.

The Committee will examine the existing cooperative credit structure in different States and suggest necessary measures to increase the borrowing capacity of primary credit societies. The question of revising the existing standards for fixing credit limits and the conditions under which it should be effected will be studied, as also the question of State participation in the share capital of the village societies.

The Committee has been asked to utilise the existing data as much as possible, to visit the societies and to make definite recommendations. With its headquarters in Bombay the Committee will also record evidence of any societies or individuals who may have expert knowledge of the subject.

(Attention of readers is drawn to a separate article on this subject "The Still-born Supplementary Credit" appearing in this issue on page 6. We welcome

comments and views from
readers.-Editor)
The editor invites news-items, Com-
ments and book reviews from readers
for publication in the Newsletter.
Editorial Correspondence should be
addressed to: Editor, AVARD News-
letter, 56-A, Janpath, New Delhi.
-AVARD NEWSLETTER-
We have been receiving enquiries from many readers regarding subscription rates of this Newsletter. It has now been decided to charge a yearly subscription of Rs. 2.00. Readers are requested to fill in the following form:
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please be included as bank charges.)
SOME LESSONS
IN
COOPERATION
(Continued from page 5)
must be the path of a slow and patient
traveller, one whose journey is fraught
with hazards and failures.
ibu
The social worker commissioned to
build cooperatives should not neces-
sarily go and build a "cooperative" but
he should rather concentrate on

programmes of common interest, which enable people to realise and appreciate the values of thinking together and of joint action. These will help to win the disunited groups away from the path of litigation, quarrels, conflicts and mutual distrust. And once these difficult hurdles are crossed, cooperatives will be easily formed not by the worker but by the people themselves.

The cooperatives thus formed may not be "service cooperatives" "credit cooperatives" or for that matter any other set pattern of a cooperative, demanded by the workers or by the governments, but each of these will nevertheless be a "cooperative" of the people of the area which will help to solve some of the vital problems of the participating community.

The exact nature, type and pattern of the cooperative, together with the actual time when it would be formed, cannot be and should not be determined by the wishes of any external authority but these must necessarily be the product of the growth and maturity of a developing community which may continue to differ on many an issue but chooses to cooperate on a particular matter, of its own free will.

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Supplement to "Young India" for Thursday, then 27.
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OUTLINE SCHEME
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A word to the Reader regarding this Pamphlet.
After presiding over the Gaya Congress, Deshabandhu Das came to Benares for a little rest in January 1923. Shri Bhagavan Dasji, who had been pressing on the attention of the country continuously from 1921 onwards when the non-co-operation
movement was launched, the necessity of defining Swaraj, met Deshabandhu Das in
Benares and they had many long talks together on the subject. Shri Bhagavan Dasji then drew up the Scheme embodied in these pages and circulated them over the
single name of Deshabandhu Das with his consent. Shri Bhagavan Dasji has been
writing, from time to time, ever since, in favour of this Scheme; and he drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to the necessity of educating public opinion in its favour when they met in Benares in January last. (The interview was published in Aj and reprinted in the Hindi press. It is hoped that an English edition will also soon be published through the medium of the English press). With the kind permission of Mahatmaji, this Scheme is being circulated with "Young India" in the hope that it will attract the attention of all persons specially interested in the attainment of Swaraj. It is also hoped that they would please preserve this for future reference. ATTIO
Seva-Upavana,
Benares.
25 Chaitra 1983.
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Supplement to "Young India" for Thursday, the 12th May 1927.
NOTE.
In some public statements made by me in October and November, 1922, and again in my Presidential address at the Gaya Congress, on 26th December, 1922, I drew the attention of the public to the need for stating the fundamental principles and formulating the broad outlines of a Scheme of Self-government which should form the basis of Indian Swaraj.
Subsequently, the new party (known as the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party) which has been formed within the Congress, in consequence of division of opinion over the question of contesting elections for the official Councils, desired me to outline such a scheme, in conjunction with other friends, who also had been pressing the matter on the attention of the Indian People for some time past, and were co-opted for the Drafting Committee.
The Outline now placed before the public is the result, It was laid before a meeting of leading members of the new party, at Bombay, on 29th January, 1923. There was no time to discuss it properly. Many of the members present (from almost all the larger Congress Provinces) expressed a general approval; others reserved opinion. But it was unanimously agreed that the draft should be placed before the Indian People, through the Press, and suggestions and criticisms invited.
It was also unanimously agreed that the Outline represents the Ideal which should be kept in view, as one to be gradually worked up to, and that a certain number of intermediate and progressive steps have to intervene, but which must all definitely, unmistakeably, steadily and progressively help to change the present regime so as to realise that ideal at no distant date.
BOMBAY,
30-1-1923
CHITTA RANJAN DAS.
ATUD ATTAVING
NOTE-It is requested that all suggestions and criticisms may be sent, in envelopes marked on the face with the words, "Swaraj Scheme", to the address of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Ananda Bhawan, Allahabad.
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Supplement to "Young India" for Thursday, the 12th May 1927.
OUTLINE SCHEME OF SWARAJ.O
bluoda pomivor CHAPTER I-ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES.
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The principles which guide this outline are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial, and have been re-iterated in the Presidential Address of the Gaya Congress, in December, 1922, thus
"To form a scheme of government, regard must be had
(1) to the formation of local centres more or less on the lines of the ancient village system of India;
(2) the growth of larger and larger groups out of the integration of these village centres;
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(3) the unifying state should be the result of similar growth;
(4) the village centres and the larger groups must be practically autonomous;
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(5) the residuary power of control must remain in the central Government, but the exercise of such power should be exceptional, and for that purpose, proper safeguards should be provided, so that the practical autonomy of the local centres may be maintained, and at the same time, the growth of the central government into a really unifying state may be possible. The ordinary work of such Central Government should be mainly advisory."
Briefly, a maximum of local autonomy, carried on mainly with advice and co-ordination from, and only a minimum of control by higher centres, which will have some special functions besides.
To this should be added that every possible care should be taken to ensure that the people's elected representatives, who will constitute the Chief Authority for each grade of centre, local and higher, with power to make laws and rules, shall be, not self-seekers, but seekers of

the public welfare.
CHAPTER II-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS.
(a) Local Centres.
1. The foundation of the whole administration should be in Local Centres (grama), small but practically autonomous.
2. A Local Centre should ordinarily consist of a number of villages of which the population should total about ten thousand souls.
(b) Town Centres.
3. Towns (nagar), should form separate entities, and might, as necessary, be sub-divided into wards or quarters, of about the same population limits as the rural Local Centres.
(c) District Centres.
4. Rural and urban Local Centres should be integrated into larger groups of District Centres (zila) with populations of from five to twenty lakhs.
(d) Provinces.
5. District Centres should be integrated into Provincial Organisations. odw) ion
bas 6. Provinces (sooba) should be demarcated on the linguistic basis. Any which are considered too large may be divided into smaller ones.
(e) All India Organisation.
7. The Provincial Organisations should be integrated into and be co-ordinated by an All-India (Bharata-varsha or Hindustan)

Organisation according to population. MITOO
8. Subject to these general principles, each province should draw up its own scheme of administrative divisions to suit provincial variations.
CHAPTER III-ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONS.
Functions should be as below:
A. (i) Provision for appropriate Education of all educable children and youth of both sexes (Siksha or Talim).
(ii) Provision for Re-creation (vinoda or dil-bastagi), e. g.,. Public Gardens, Parks, Museums, Playing-grounds, Libraries, Reading

Rooms, Art-galleries, Popular Lectures, Recitations, Processions, Pageants, Religious Festivals*, (Katha, Yatra, Kala-kshepam, Kirtan, Ram-lila, Krishna-lila, Maulud, Christmas and Easter celebrations, etc.) refining, elevating and instructive Dramas, Cinema and Magic Lantern shows, games and sports, etc.

B.

Provision for Protection (Raksha or Hifazat), by means of,

(i) Police and Local Militia and Regular Military Forces ;

(ii) Justice and Settlement of Disputes, through Arbitration Courts or Panchayats in the narrower sense, and Registration of Deeds;

(iii) Appropriate Medical help and Sanitation.

C. Provision for Economic and Industrial Welfare (Jivika or Maash), by promotion of

(i) Agriculture (Krishi or Zira-at);

(ii) Cattle-breeding (Go-raksha or Taraqqi-maweshi), i. e., increase and preservation of domestic animals of all kinds, for purposes of milk, wool, plough, transport, etc.

(iii) Other Productive Industries relating to Mines, Forests, Fisheries, Salt, Sericulture, Arboriculture, etc, (Akara-karma or Madaniyat, etc.,

(iv) Arts and Crafts and Manufactures of all kinds (Shilpa or Sanaat-hirfat);

(v) Trade and Commerce (Vanijya or Tijarat); and

(vi) By promotion and regulation of the various means which subserve the above, e.g., Railways, Post and Telegraph, Shipping, - Roads, Waterways, Canals, Bridges, Ferries, Presses, Public Buildings, Monuments, Rest-Houses, Currency, Measures of Flood and Famine Relief, Rates and Taxes, Tariff and Customs, Surveys of various kinds (Geographical, Geological, Botanical, Meteorological, Statistical, Archeological, etc.), Friendly Relations with other States, etc.

D. The above provisions would be made

(i) by means of laws and rules which would be framed by the different grades of Panchayats, and would have force within the domains of their respective makers, the enactments of the lower grades of Councils being made with advice from and co-ordination by the higher when needed;

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(ii) by appointment of executive official (who would be wholly responsible to the Councils appointing them) to carry out the laws and

rules; and
(iii) by supervision of their work.
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* As regards Places of Public Worship, for the various Creeds," see Appendix, Note to
Chapter III,

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Supplement to "Young India" for Thursday, the 12th May 1927,
(3)
CHAPTER IV.-PANCHAYATS AND ALLOCATION OF FUNCTIONS.
A. Local Centres or Communes and Local Panchayats.
blo (a) For each rural or urban Local Centre or Commune there should be one Local Panchayat of twenty-one periodically elected members.
(6) This Panchayat should be in charge of the different functional departments mentioned above, so far as the Commune affords scope for them, and should carry on the work by means of sub-committees.
(c) Under Education
(i) they would maintain local Schools, giving elementary cultural and vocational-technical instruction, and
(ii) would provide for suitable Recreation.
(d) Under Protection
(i) they would appoint their own Chaukidars (Watchmen), and would form Local Militia out of such chaukidars and other able-bodied men, and would provide for their proper training;
(ii) they would arrange for Arbitration Courts (the members of which would be separately elected), which would deal with simple civil (including what are now known as rent and revenue, divani and mal or artha-vivada) and criminal (faujdari or parushya-vivada) cases;
(iii)
they would also maintain an adequate Hospital (chikitsalaya or shafa-khana) and Medical Staff which would provide treatment free and be responsible for the proper Sanitation of the Commune.
(e) Under Economical and Industrial Ministration, they would see
(i) that all arable lands are properly tilled, and village

commons, playing-grounds, pasture-lands, groves, orchards, etc., are properly maintained, and a sufficiency of necessaries, specially corn, cotton, and cattle, (or other forms of food, clothing, and accessories, in specially circumstanced tracts), for the use of the Commune, is always available within their jurisdiction;
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ba (ii) that co-operative organisations, in the shape of Stores, Banks, etc., are maintained in the needed numbers;
(iii) that wells, tanks, tals, canals, and all means of supply of good water for drinking and other domestic purposes, and for irrigation, and all roads etc., within their Commune, are properly ma ntained;
(iv) that production of surplus corn, cotton, cattle, and other necessaries as well as comforts, and of mineral and other products and means of increasing the wealth of the locality is encouraged, cottage-industries promoted, and arrangements made for commercial dealing with this produce in such a manner as to avoid competitive waste.
B. Intermediate Centres or Districts and District Panchayats.
(a) The District Panchayat should be constituted by each Local Panchayat (or grou of Local Panchayats) periodically choosing one member, who may or may not be one of them; provided that the total number of members should not exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least two fifths of them should be residents of towns.
(b) They would form sub-committees among themselves on the lines before mentioned.den
(c) The District Panchayat would generally advise and not control the Local Panchayat, in respect of all functions. Special

provision would be made for such control as may be occasionally or absolutely necessary.
and no
(d)(i) Under Education, the District Panchayat should maintain one or more higher educational institutions (like colleges and high schools) as may be necessary, which would give cultural as well

as technical instruction. ied blood dead
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obum(ii) They would also provide Recreation, arranging for the more expensive items which may not be within the means of the Local Panchayats.
(e) Under Protection, they would
) co-ordinate the Local Police;
(ii) arrange to maintain some special Reserve of District Police:
(iii) organise and co-ordinate the Local Militia, so that they might discharge the functions of a disciplined Army; and
((ir) Maintain one or more larger Hospitals and supply medical and sanitary advice to their Communes. io.I
(f) Under Economic and Industrial Ministration, the District Panchayat would no
(i) co-ordinate the Local Banks and Stores and other local economic and industrial and commercial enterprises; and
(ii) organise or promote independent such enterprises.
C. Town Centres and Town Panchayats.
(a) Aggregation of dwellings containing ten thousand or more inhabitants should be regarded as towns.
(b) Towns should be organised in the same way, generally, as the rural Local Centres; and the same general principles should be applied to their functioning as to the rural Local Centres, as far as practicable, but regard must be had to the special variations in the economic and other circumstances.or
(c) For the purposes of the integration of the District Centres and the election of the District Panchayats, the rural and the urban Local Centres should be counted side by side as component units; and the headquarters or the seat of the District Panchayats would ordinarily be the largest town of the district. least allen teilt
(d) For the purpose of unifying the administration of each town as a single whole, the Town's Members of the District Council, together with such other members as may be specially elected by the Ward-Panchayats, in the proportion of two or more per ward, should form a Town Panchayat (like the present Municipal Boards), which would be intermediate between the urban Local (i.e., Ward) Panchayats and the District Panchayat, and would discharge as many of the functions of the District Council, towards the whole Town, as may be conveniently possible.

D. Provinces and Provincial Panchayats.
(a
The Provincial Panchayats should consist of members elected by the District Panchayats in the proportion of one for every two lakhs of the population; provided that the total number should not fall below twenty-one, nor exceed one hundred; and provided also that at least half the number should be urban residents. They may or may not be members of the District Panchayats.
(b) The Provincial Panchayats would advise the District Pan-

(5)
chayats and co-ordinate them and their work, using residuary powers control under proper safeguards.
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(c) Its special work would be
-mog (i) to maintain advanced Educational Institutions (in the nature of Vidya-pithas, Dar-ul-ulums, "Seats of Learning," "Centres of Knowledge," Universities) which would give expert cultural and tech-
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nical training and promote research;
(ii) to maintain special Police and Military Forces, for the guarding of Frontiers, Sea-boards etc; ps
(iii) to make provision for Justice in special cases;
(iv) to administer Provincial Railways, Water-works, Canals, Roads, etc.
E. The India Panchayat.
(a) The All-India Panchayat should consist of members elected by the Provincial Panchayats in the proportion of one for every thirty lakhs of population, but Provinces which may have a total population of less than thirty lakhs would send one representative. At least three-fifths of the members should be urban.
(6) The functions of the India Panchayat would be similar to

those of the Provincial Panchayat mutatis mutandis; a special one would be to deal with neighbouring States (including Indian States and Foreign Countries. to nobind ads of Jugendo rid

(c) The India Panchayat should create a Consulting Senate, consisting of eminent men and women of thought and special knowledge, belonging to all parts of India, who would be elected by the India Panchayat from time to time, without restriction of numbers, etc., and who would be asked for advice on any subject, as needed, by the India Panchayat or the Provincial Panchayats.

(d) The language of the India Panchayat should be Hindustani while the Provinces would use their mother tongues.

F. Special Provision for Filling up Vacancies.

Generally, if a member of a lower Council is elected to a higher, his place may be filled up by a new election by the same electorate.00 lei bus fait

CHAPTER V-THE QUALIFICATIONS OF THE CHOOSERS AND THE CHOSEN.

1. Every individual of either sex, who has resided in India for at least seven years, and is at least twenty-five years of age if a man, and twenty-one years if a woman, should be entitled to elect to the Local Panchayat.

od of 2. The members of the Local Panchayat should elect to the District Panchayat.

3. The members of the District Panchayat should elect to the Provincial Panchayat.

4. The members of the Provincial Panchayat should elect to the India Panchayat.

blow 5. The members of all four grades of Panchayats should be permanent residents of the country, preferably of the particular centre, and should be chosen irrespective of their creed, caste, class, color, race, or sex, but subject to adjustment, where unavoidably necessary, for purposes of creedal or communal representation.

6. Such representatives should ordinarily be not less than

forty years of age; should have done some good work in any walk of

life; should, if rural be at least literate, and if urban, should possess higher educational qualifications, and in the case of rural and urban members of the Provincial and India Councils, should have corresponding higher and superior educational qualifications or equivalent expert experience; should have retired from competitive business or other professional life of bread-winning or money-making, and be able to support themselves on their own savings, or be assured of all necessaries and personal requirements by their families or friends; should give practically all their time to national work, and should do so without any cash remuneration. But their travelling and other ex-officio expenses, which might be necessary to enable them to discharge their public duties, should be met from State funds, and their status as Members of Panchayat should be regarded as having greater honor attached to it than any salaried office, so that they would receive precedence at public functions,

7. The members of each Panchayat should possess, between them, experience of all the main departments of the communal life which they have to administer.

8. No one should offer himself, or canvass for himself, as a candidate for election; but, if requested by electors, he might publicly signify his consent to accept the burden of office, if elected.

CHAPTER VI.-SEPARATION OF FUNCTIONS.

1. Throughout the whole administration, Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions should be kept separate from one another.

CHAPTER VII-FINANCE.

1. The revenues needed to meet necessary expenditure should be raised by the Local Panchayats by means of taxation, with advice from the upper Panchayats,

2. State factories might be opened as necessary, with a view to prevent waste by individual competition, over-production, bad production, etc., to cheapen commodities, and to reduce taxation, but not so as to create monopolies and stifle private enterprise.

3. Where practicable, Local and District Councils should make such improvements in the locality as might result in addition to the communal income, e.g., public wells, tanks, canals, roads, groves of timber and fruit trees, etc., and thereby lead to reduction of taxation.

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4. Contributions would be made by the Local Panchayats to

make up the revenues of the District Panchayats; by them to the Provincial; and by the Provincial; to the India Panchayat.
5. Special taxation might be imposed by the Provincial and India Panchayats,
CHAPTER VIII-PROPRIETORSHIP.
1. Private property would be recognised and maintained and the growth of individual wealth, both movable and immovable, would be permitted, but so as not to encroach on or make impossible or impracticable the growth of public possessions as well; and the owner of invidual wealth, who spends it on pious works, i.e, works of public utility, as requested by a Panchayat, would receive special marks of honor.

APPENDIX.
NOTE TO CHAPTER I.
Fundamental Principles.
(a) Excessive centralization, and the concentration of all power in the hands of a bureaucratic clique, mindful of its own prestige and emoluments, careless of the public weal, walling itself off more and more thickly from touch with public opinion, in fact arrogant and disdainful towards the public regarding itself as public-master rather than as public-servant this is the bane, in consequence of which the public servant waxes and the public wanes, more and more, every day, in India. Genuine decentralization of administration, substantial distribution of power, and real responsibility of the public servant to the People's trusted representatives-this is the only remedy.
Hence the formulation of practical local autonomy as a fundamental principle.

(6) The failure to secure ethical fitness, the philanthropic and humanitarian outlook upon life, in the elected legislators, in consequence of which failure, the laws made by them are not wise and just, but partial to special class interests, and promote an excessive inequality and therefore widespread discontent and conflicts of all kinds and degrees-this is the disastrous and all-vitiating defect of western system of Swaraj, the cause of all their internal ferments and their external wars, of the enslavement of Labour by Capital, of the many by the few, within each State, and of the ruthless exploitation of weaker nations without. This failure must be strenuously guarded against in our scheme. Hence the formulation of the second fundamental principle.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II.

Administrative Divisions.

This scheme of administrative divisions is in accord with the time-honoured traditions of the country. The agricultural village and the village community were, are, and ought to continue to be the natural basis of our special type of culture and civilisation, and of all wise administration in a country ninety percent of the population of which is rural. Most writers and thinkers about India are agreed in this. In the most ancient days, of which accounts are available, the socio-politico-economical divisions were the village, the group of ten villages, the group of ten tens or a hundred, the group of ten such or a thousand-grama, janapada, pranta, vishaya, mandala, and so on. In medieval times and the days of the Moghals, the

arrangement was much the same-mauza, tappa, pargana, zila, sooba, etc. It is the same to-day in the Indian States and in the territories under. British occupation. The names of the divisions and sub-divisions differ in the different provinces. No radical change can be made in this principle of groupings and integration. But for the purpose of the electoral principle, which worked sub-consciously in the old days of the panchayat and the village community, and has to work consciously and deliberately now, a population basis is suggested for the initial groups, and also for the next intermediate groups, though with greater elasticity. For the third grade, the linguistic basis is the most natural and has been already recognized by the Congress. The fourth and the final grade is governed by many considerations, geographical, political, economical, cultural, etc.; for fixing the outermost boundaries of this whole, no single principle suffices.

The single village cannot well be accepted to-day as the initial unit of administration. The population of the five hundred thousand villages of British-occupied India varies from a few dozens to a few thousands. Therefore, in the interests of a convenient uniformity, a population basis of approximately ten thousand is suggested. This will give about three to four thousand electors for the Local Panchayat (dealt with in a number for such common consciousness subsequent chapter)-not too large a and general acquaintance, by reputation or directly, as is needed for electoral

purposes. For the whole of India, the proportion of women over twenty-one is, roundly, about sixty-five millions out of one hundred and fifty; and of men over twenty-five, also about sixty-five millions, but out of one hundred and sixty.

The treatment of towns as separate entities is suggested for obvious reasons. The difference between the conditions of the two, town and country-village, pura and jana-pada, shahar and dehat, has been recognized in all times and climes. The one represents (by no means exclusively, but only by predominant feature) the intellectual power (buddhi, aql) of the people; the other, their vital power (vrana, jan). They are inter-dependent. Both are necessary for a full civilized life for the People as a whole. But the modern western plutocratic and bureaucratic centralizing tendency causes the town to grow excessively and absorb the vitality of the country inordinately. This excess needs to be checked, and just balance between the two to be restored, in order to prevent disastrous devitalization of the soul and

the body of the vast agricultural population, and the consequent crashing down, before long, of the whole much too top-heavy organism.

Western writers divide the functions of government, into (i) Constituent or

Protective, and (ii) Ministrant or Promotive. The former are what may be called negative mainly, (a) the prevention of crimes and branches of peace, and (6) adjustment of wrong; in other words, preventive and curative, or police-military and judicial. The others are positive and constructive, the active promotion of the welfare of the community.

This balance will be restored by emphasizing the separate autonomy of the village groups and the towns-the needed co-ordination and mutual support being secured by the advice, and where absolutely necessary, the control, of the Provincial Authority. The need of this separateness is recognized even under the British regime by the distinction between Municipal Boards and District Boards, though, of eourse, in that regime, the local self-political thought, looking at the mischiev-government' of the Boards is carried on under the strict 'other-government' of the district officials. A

The reason for fixing more elastic population-limits for the District and Town Groups is this. In the Punjab, the population of the existing twenty-nine districts varies from five lakhs to ten lakhs, and gives an average of about seven lakhs. The twenty-six districts of Bombay vary between three and twelve lakhs, and give an average of eight. The average for Bengal is sixteen; the largest population not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, being that of Mymensingh i. e., forty-five lakhs. The average for Madras is also sixteen. Also for Behar. That for the U. P., ten. Some of the larger districts, f. i., Mymensing with forty-five

lakhs, Vizagapatam and Gorakhpur with thirty-two each, Dacca and Darbhanga with thirty each, Muzaffarpur and Midnapore with twenty-eight each, are too bulky for convenience of autonomous administration. Even the men of the British regime have been thinking of dividing some of them into two or three districts each. The capital towns have eleven or twelve lakhs. The lower limits for towns may be regarded as ten thousand. The Census officials of the present regime have defined the town as every continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than five thousand persons. Ten thousand is suggested in the text, later on, in view of the fact that that figure has been suggested for the rural Local Centre also. In British occupied India there are about twelve hundred 'towns' or villages, with a population between five and ten thousand, or a total of about eighty lakhs. In view of such facts, elastic limits, of five to twenty lakhs, have been suggested for the District. For purpose of symmetry, the figure might have been fixed at ten lakhs uniformly. It is the actual average for the two hundred and seventy-five districts of British-occupied India. But the centre of a district has ordinarily, to be a fair-sized town. And in tracts where towns are few and far between, large agricultural areas and populations have to be grouped around and with them. Natural boundaries, rivers, forests, ranges of hills, etc., also make for variation of area and population

The laisser fair school of socio-
ous consequences of over-interference by

the State, i. e., the Bureaucracy, would confine the duties of government to the former only; and would give to the individuals, regarded as units, who compose the Public or People, full liberty to work out their own destiny in their own ways, in competition with each other so far as positive welfare or 'success in life -whatever that might mean-is concerned. This is the school of individualism. Another school, looking at the immense waste of energy and life, which results from unregulated competition, and at the exploitation of the less cunning and less able 'many' by the more cunning and strong few', (so that the evils of bureaucracy re-appear as the evils of plutocracy) and also realising that widespread and substantial and lasting success in life' depends more upon 'mutual aid' and co-operation and communal organization, than upon individual enterprise, recommend State-regulation and the free-exercise of promotive functions by the State in new ways which will obviate the evils resulting from bureaucracy. This school of thought is generally known as that of Socialism; but by differences of-views as to the ways, becomes divided into many, known as Collectivism, Communism Anarchism, State-socialism, Guild-socialism, etc.

G

As usual, the truth is in the golden mean, and error in the extremes. The best course is the middle course. Our Swaraj must maintain a balance between Individualism and Socialism, (swartha and parartha); must reconcile the two.

For both are necessary to full civilized
life, even as the pronouns 'I and We'.
The needed reconciliation will be effected.
by maximising local elective autonomy
and minimizing centralization.w
As to the preventive and curative
functions, Police-Military and Justice,
there is no dispute. Also as regards.
Medicative and Sanitative, which may
be regarded partly as protective and
partly as promotive, Sanitation being
preventive of disease and promotive of
health, and medication being curative
of ills.
But a certain amount of 'promotive
work must also be done by the various
al

(
grades of Centres. This work may be
grouped under two main heads, the promo-
tion (i) of right Education, the very
foundation of all communal welfare, (and
therefore placed here before even Protec-
tion) and (ii) of Economic and Industrial
Well-being. Education will include Re-
creation also, as being indirect education
in a popular and elastic and almost more
effective form.
It is the duty of the elders of the
family (i) to protect the younger genera-
tion, (ii) to amuse and educate them,
(iii) to settle them in life, to put them
in the way of earning a livelihood. The

duty, the right, the function, of the elders of the village, of the districts, of the provinces, of the country as a great whole, is none other. All the functions of government are either these, or subsidiary to these. T
d) sinos
A word may be specially added here on the subject of Recreation. The object of measures under this head would be two-fold; (i) to provide such refined entertainment, for young and old alike, as will give healthy relaxation, as well as healthy tone, and also indirect yet very useful education, to the mind and body of all sections of the public, in leisure hours; and (ii) at the same time to displace the evil recreations, of drink and drugs and other social vices and harmful indulgences. It should be borne in mind that some recreations human beings will have; and where healthy ones are not easily available, evil ones will be resorted to.
The desirability should be considered here, of putting provision for "Places of public worship for the various creeds" among the duties of Panchayat, under the head of Education and Recreation, and putting it even in the forefront. The Worship of the Infinite, (a more indubitable fact than the Finite, is Re-creation, creation anew of the soul and the finer elements of the body, nourishment for the inmost heart, in real sense.
very
That
the Elders of the Commune should have the duty of making this provision duly

(and separately only to the extent unavoidably necessary, and with at least one place where members of all and any creed might join occasionally in a Common Prayer worded so as to be acceptable to all) this would conduce to the liberalisation of all the creeds concerned and thence to the Religious Peace which is indispensable for India's and the world's progress.

NOTE TO CHAPTER IV.

Panchayats and Allocation of Functions.

The placing of the head-quarters of the District Panchayat in the largest town of the district will make the co-ordination of the administration of the town and the country easy. And it is in accordance with natural tendency. The danger that the town may begin to

dominate the country, is guarded against by the provision that the country members of the District Panchayat should be in the majority.

The proportion of the two classes of members is made equal in the Provincial Panchayat, and reversed in the India Panchayat, because the upper bodies have to deal more and more with technical and non-agricultural affairs.

The Essential Change.

"Advisory and not mandatory excepting in rare cases"-this is the essence of the change needed in the administration. The change is one of spirit. The details of the official executive machinery may remain much as they are now; but if the executive, the judicial, and the legislative powers are separated, and the legislators (in the broad sense) who

compose the Panchayats, of all grades, are elected, and the higher Panchayats, ordinarily advise and not command the lower Panchayat, and the executive officials are really responsible to the Panchayats, then, it is expected, the evils of the present regime will be cured. For the autocracy of the Bureaucracy will be replaced by what may be called an aristo-demo-cracy. Aristo-cracy, because the Panchayats will be composed of the best and most trusted and honoured of the people; demo-cracy because the people will choose them. The members of the Panchayats would not exercise any executive powers directly, either in their individual or their corporate capacity, but would only make laws or rules or pass resolutions. These would be carried out, by the Executive. And the Executive or at least the chief officials thereof, would be appointed and, if necessary, dismissed or otherwise punished, by the Panchayats. In some cases the executive official be an elected one. He too would be subject to the supervision of the Panchayat. The control of the
the Panchayat-Legislative
would thus be exercised over the Execu
tive by means of this power of appoint-
The
ment, dismissal, or advancement.
Judiciary would be mostly elective also, subject to approval by the Panchayat-Legislative.is
may
This separation of powers would minimise the temptations to, and opportunities of, corruption for all, and would make

the Executive (and also the Judiciary) responsible to the People, in the persons of their Elect, which responsibility is the one great desideratum to-day.

It will be remembered that Mr. Gokhale suggested and endeavoured that Advisory Committees should be formed in each district, to advise the district officer in all important matters. Of course, the Bureaucracy declined, on the ground that it would interfere with the individual responsibility of the district officer.

(4)

When they said responsibility', they, of course, meant ir-responsibility; for when was the district officer responsible, and to whom? If he was or is respon-sible at all, it was and is only to the Bureaucratic Clique. If Mr. Gokhale could have agreed, as was suggested in some quarters, that the Advisory Com mittee should be nominated by the district officer himself, then, indeed, there would have been no difficulty in the acceptance of his suggestion. Only, then, each district officer would have had a standing Darbar of so many courtiers, the nawab-ic arrangement would have been complete, and the People would have been worse off than before.

What is needed is that the Advisory Committee should be a Panchayat made up of the Elders of the People, which will not interfere with the pretended

and non-existent responsibility of the executive official, but will make it real and enforce it.

Measures are outlined later on, for further safeguarding and ensuring, as far as is humanly possible, the uprightness of the members of the Panchayats themselves; for such safeguarding is the very heart of the whole scheme.

It should be noted that, though option is given, the presumption is that the majority of the members of the higher Panchayats will be chosen from among the members of the lower, who will be all directly elected by the People. Constant and sympathetic touch and unity of spirit and of work will thus be maintained throughout, and the People will, for all practical purposes, directly elect to all the Panchayats, Local, Intermediate and Central, even though technically. the election to the latter will be by a process of distillation through electoral colleges. The latter process has some advantages, which too will be secured by this method. The immense worry and trouble and expense of holding huge elections, by millions upon millions of voters, over and over again, for a handful of seats, would be all saved. And in the Local Panchayats, with their small area and population, and through them, in the upper ones, the elected and the electors will be in constant touch with each other, and public opinion will carry its full weight and receive its full due, influencing the members of the Local

Panchayats and through them those of the upper ones effectively.

It is very desirable that there should be a certain number of persons who should belong to all grades of Panchayats, They will serve as the personal linking medium and would bind together all parts of India continuously and effectively, and at the same time keep all the centres in real touch with each other. And this would be one important measure for guarding against the possibility (which is always present in federations of practically autonomous areas and communities) of their falling apart, under the influence of false provincialisms and insularities and other such causes, (which are very liable to be fostered by the linguistic demarcation), and so weakening the whole. Another measure is connected with finance, in the shape of some special All-India taxation; and a third, with the use of a common language by the All-India Panchayat. Both are mentioned in their proper places.

In this way, the virtuous (and not the vicious), circle of (not to use the harsh word government', but) administration of the affairs of the People, for the People, (by the People's Trusted and Chosen Elders) will be wholesomely completed. Human affairs should be administered by those who know human nature in mind and body; a People's affairs should be administered by those who are its Elect and are in constant and sympathetic touch with, and therefore know, the People and their requirement of body

and mind.

It will be seen that, under the scheme, the District Councils will be fairly large in point of numbers. A district of the maximum population of twenty lakhs, will have a Panchayat of one hundred members; whereas the provinces which are largest in population (at present) will have no more in their Provincial Panchayats. As the bulk of the administrative work will be disposed of by the Local and the District Council, when they are really autonomous, very large numbers for the upper Council are unnecessary from the standpoint of diposal and distribution of work between and by sub-committees. Very large numbers are also otherwise undesirable in deliberative bodies. The personnel may be changed at short intervals, by framing rules in that behalf. It may be observed here that these sub-committees properly framed and used, would correspond to heads of guilds, and would secure to the communal administration, the advantages, on a higher level, of the village-community as well as the city-guilds-system.

NOTE TO CHAPTER V.

Qualifications of Chosers and Chosen.

With regard to the ages suggested for Electors, the idea is that only those who are mature in body and mind, and have had some experience of life, and especially of family responsibility, should be entrusted with the duty of choosing those who The would rule their affairs. gested would ordinarily give these requisites in India. It seems that in England

the difference is reversed, twenty-one is
fixed for men and thirty for women.
ages sug-

(5)
Perhaps it was thought that at the earlier
age, women would be too busy with family
cares and work inside the home, to be able
to take much interest in the work outside.
In India women are as mature in body
and mind at twenty-one as men at twenty-
five; and these different ages, if fixed as
suggested, would generally enable husband
and wife to go to the poll together. od
As regards the qualifications of the
elected it has been said at the outset that
the conditions for election should be
such as would make it humanly pro-
bable that the electors may be seekers of
The
public weal and not self-seekers.
qualifications mentioned in the Outline
Scheme are as "the outward symbols of
the inward grace." They are such as
ordinarily go with the wise and self-
denying and philanthropic nature. The
reasons for suggesting them may be
mentioned in greater detail as below.
ba (a) Legislators should be permanent
residents of the country for which they
are to legislate; but their creed, caste,
class, colour, race, or sex should not, as
such, be regarded either as a qualification
or as a disqualification. Without per
manent residence in the country, sympa-

thetic understanding is not possible; while taking account of creed, caste, etc., in the elections, imports into the resulting legislature the vicious spirit of conflicting interests and party-politics in place of the virtuous spirit of each caring for all.
But if, because, at present, there is much creed and caste and class jealousy existent in the country, it should seem necessary that some exceptions should be made, there is provision for communal representation. It is to be trusted, however, that once the scheme begins to work, the whole once the scheme begins to work, the whole atmosphere will change so that these jealousies will disappear, and it will be realised by all that civic well-being is independent of creeds and sectarian beliefs, as has been realised in Japan. tuoda so
(6) At forty, persons have well passed middle age and usually have children of their own and thus experience of the fession at forty. But we do not want many. Exceptions will be able to. And we want exceptionally selfless men for this essential and highest kind of public work. Twenty-one persons in ten thousand are not too many to expect. If the country cannot provide even so much self-denial, it may as well give up all attempt at Swaraj. But the country has been showing capacity for self-denial; and there is no need to be doubtful. Moreover, if few people are in a position to give up business or profession at forty, many can and ought to, at forty-five or fifty, with considerable benefit to the whole moral tone of themselves and their community. And if the Panchayat members are fifty

years or more, there is no harm done, but rather more mature wisdom and experience secured. After all, even under the current managements, the deliberative and legislative and guiding assemblies of most nations and communities are composed of grey-haired persons. A younger and physically more vigorous and active age is wanted in the executive offices, where action is required more than thought. It has to be remembered that the old have been young, and know what the young know; but the young have not been old, and do not know what the old know; though it is devoutly to be prayed that they may all become very very old and learn all that the old know, exeept the pains of old age! It mentally inactive also, after fifty-five or may be that many persons tend to become sixty. But between forty-five and fifty-five is ordinarily, a very good age for the kind of deliberative and legislative work we have in view here. And there are cases, though rare, in which the mind is thoroughly capable and active, and the body healthly, right up to seventy or more. But it may be worth while to fix a maximum age-limit also, say sixty or sixty-five as the minimum is forty.
ddo
Provision may also be made for exceptions. It may be that these high age-limits will sometimes exclude really brilliant younger men. Our conception of the legislator requires not brilliance but wisdom. Brilliance comes and goes, and plays false and proves tinsel, and makes messes, but wisdom lingers. Wisdom is matured knowledge plus philanthropy, patriarchal bene-

house-hold life. This will make reasonably probable that the legislator possesses intimate knowledge of human nature in its more common and important aspects, knows what responsibility for the well-volence. Brilliance may well wait and being of other means, and has sober and mature judgment. But he should have also retired from all competitive bread-winning or money-making, and should be living on his past earnings or on a 'pension'. So, he would feel financially independent; his outlook upon life, his attitude towards his fellow-being, would have changed from that of selfish taking to that of unselfish giving; and he would have all the leisure needed for his public duties.

It may be that many persons are not able to retire from their business or promature into a softer, steadier, soberer light and do its duty so much the better after attaining the forty years. If it is substantial, it will not get extinguished by waiting a few years. Yet, for cases in which the work of the Panchayat concerned is likely to suffer if any particular person is shut out because of the age-limit, provision may be made for exceptions, as said.

(c) We want another qualification in our Panchayat member. He should have done outstandingly good work in some walk of life-whether literary, scientific, educa-

tional, priestly, medical, artistic, etc., or

administrative, official, military, etc., or commercial, agricultural, industrial, financial, etc., or as a labourer and manual worker; and he should have done this and at the same time acquired a reputation for uprightness and honest dealing and sympathy for fellow-creatures. An aged agriculturist who has tilled his few acres successfully, has raised up a good family, is respected and trusted in his own and neighbouring villages, and can express his views clearly, is a wise village-elder, in short, may be a more useful member of a legislature which has to deal with vast agricultural interests like those of India, even though he may be only just able to sign his name, than many brilliant speakers or writers with only a college education that has little touch of reality.
IS
(d) Another desirable condition that the legislator should not receive any cash remuneration for his work from the public funds. Such cash payment, while perfectly right and even necessary in other fields of work, taints the peculiar fiduciary status of the legislator, who should stand in the position of Trustee and Elder to the people. He should therefore meet all his personal expenses himself. But, of course, all his ex-officio expenses must be met out of public funds. This would invest the legislator with the venerable. dignity which naturally belongs to such an Elder. Trust, honour, reverence-these are the proper, the only, and the natural price of patriarchal benevolence and caring; and they usually are paid, where the generous instincts and traditions of the

community have not been perverted. Also, the giving and receiving of such honour-a reward greater than power and wealth and amusements, for it can be enjoyed not only in life, but also after the death of the physical body, which the others cannot be is a great nourishment to the heart of both giver and receiver, and is a continuous inducement to benevolent work on the part of the latter (when it is not mixed up with and corrupted by power and wealth,) and a powerful check against temptations to corruption. The natural corollary of this is that in all public functions, the unsalaried legislator should have rank and precedence above all salaried office-bearers as well as persons engaged in competitive money-earning professions.

It will be readily seen that the idea underlying this condition is that which has been discussed and emphasised before, the idea of spritualising politics by changing the whole culture and civilization of society from its present mercenary to a missionary basis, even as the work of the elder in a family is done for the youngers, not for mercenary motives, but out of 'missionary benevolence. The right instinct is already there; it has only to be revived. Many western countries do not, or until recently did not, give any salary to their legislators. Aldermen are not paid. Nor are justices of the peace. The theory about the honorarium of the barrister is the same. But the prevailing mammonism of western civi lization has corrupted the whole moral at|mosphere of human life and penetrated in-

to and vitiated even the most sacred domestic and fiduciary relations. If this atmosphere cannot be purified by the introduction of the missionary and patriarchal spirit in the Panchayats, the Legislators and the Courts of Arbitration, then there is no hope of true Swaraj.

1 (e) It goes without saying that, grade after grade, each Panchayat should have, in its personnel, members possessing between them, all the knowledge and experience needed for dealing with all the different kinds of work which the panchayat as a whole has to attend to. For making rules for, and dealing with, each main department of work, the Panchayat will have to form a subcommittee out of its own members; and it is obvious that these should have special knowlodge of that kind of work.

(f) Another important point is this: There should be no 'standing' offering of or canvassing for, himself by any one as a candidate for election. The idea of self display and seeking election is wholly incongruous with the spirit of philanthropic public service. Favours are sought, not burdens. The conception here should be, not that the electors confer a favour or honour on the elected, but that they place a heavy burden of public work on him; and it is therefore they who are to be placed under obligation, and should request the electee, instead of being requested by him. Seeking election for oneself has an inevitable savour of selfishness of some sort or other about it, which is quite inconsistent

with our ideal of the legislator. Of course there will always be possibilities of abuse. But the point to be considered is whether they will be less or greater than under the current systems, under which the gross abuses of "electioneering",
tioneering", are as much a by-word as commercial and financial "profiteering" and bureaucratic "domineering." And it has also to be remembered that the mere public acceptance and declaration of the principles and ideas here suggested will change for the better, the whole tone and atmosphere of politics.

It may be objected that we may make a rule that there must be no canvassing etc., but-will not persons surreptitiously get others to nominate and canvass for them? The reply is that obviously we do not profess to be able to abolish all evil. Whoever or Whatever made the Universe has not succeeded in doing so.

Human beings can obviously not do better. Indeed, some people think and believe that if evil were abolished, good would disappear automatically also. But what human beings ought to and can do is, to try to minimise the evil and maximise the good, in a given time, place, and circumstance.

We profess only to make suggestions to-

wards this. No doubt, there will be room for sunderhand doings. But the other conditions which we propose must not be overlooked. They will blunt the edge of the temptations to such doings. Thus, legislators will not be entrusted with executive powers, as they are to-day, in the capacity of Ministers or Executive Councillors, etc. Judicial powers will also be separated off from the other two. And the re-formed public opinion will make a different atmosphere altogether. The general recognition of the non-mercenary principle; and of the principle of the division of the rewards of extra honor, and special official powers, and extra wealth, and more amusements etc., in correspondence with the division of labour and functions and the difference of the main kinds of temperaments and capacities; the condition that legislators should not be engaged in any money-making business, which will naturally keep the public eye alertly and wakefully upon his purity-all this will make the election something to be accepted only from a sense of duty, as a burden for which the only (but great) recompense is honor, rather than to be eagerly sought for as a means of easy selfish joys.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VI.

Separation of Functions.

That Judicial functions should be separated off from Executive functions is admitted even by the Bnreaucracy in profession; though they are avoiding, might and main, the carrying out of their profession into practice. But it is not equally generally recognised that the

Legislative function should also be separated off from the other two. Even more radically dangerous than the combination of Judicial and Executive, is the combination of Legislative and Executive. If the
If the Executive-Judge will always decide in favour of himself, or of his class or clique, the Executive-Legislator will make laws in favour of himself or of his class or clique-a far more radical danger, mischief at the very root.
In the ancient Indian scheme, the man of thought was the Legislator, and the man of action was the Executor of his law. Such a pioneer of reform in India as Raja Ram Mohan Roy has expressed an opinion that the downfall of India began when the Rajas usurped the power of making laws from the Pandits. The ancient Smritis are all composed by Rishis, not by Rajas
The Islamic tradition is similar, too.
Therefore no legislator should have direct executive power; but the Legislature should supervise and control the Executive which should be responsible in every way to the Legislature. This is the very essence of responsible government and self-government as conceived here. Where the chief Executive and the chief Legislative are practically identical, and the members of the former are substantially or heavily salaried as in England, true responsibility ceases, maneuvres and intrigues of party politics become rampant, and legislation cannot be disinterested.
In other places the opposite error is

observable, viz, that if the Legislative is separated from the Executive, the latter is free of control by the former.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VII.

Finance.

These provisions will reverse the present order of things, secure financial autonomy, and provide a safeguard against the disastrous extravagance and top-heaviness which are the consequences of excessive centralisation, have plunged western countries in hopeless indebtedness and bankruptcy, and are ruining India also.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

Proprietorship.

The opposite tendencies are patent in politics and economics as throughout human and other nature, in all the aspects and manifestations thereof. The current names for them are Individualism and Socialism. Other names for them are egoism and altruism, the separative 'I' and the communal 'We', mutual struggle or struggle for existence, and mutual aid or alliance for existence, competition and co-operation. To endeavour to suppress either, and retain the other only, is a fatal error, due to ignorance of the very elements of human nature, or to blinding arrogance and greed for power and wealth. Bureaucracy and all other 'cracies', as also the many current schemes of collectivism -one of which is being tried in Russia committing this disastrous error of one- under the name of Bolshevism-are always sided and top-sided excess and exaggeration, and therefore are always committing suicide while causing grievous disturbance and injury to the People. Russian Bol-

shevism, after a vain endeavour to abolish
private property, in the course of which
widespread misery of the most awful
character has been caused, seems now to
have decided to recognise private property,
as was inevitable. Safety lies in recognising
both these indefeasible and unabolishable
aspects of human nature, and in trying
to reconcile them wisely. The growth

(8)
of the sense of separate Individuality, the
growth of egoistic intelligence, of the insti-
tution of monogamous marriage and the
sentiments connected with it, of the defini-
tion of the family life, of the sense of pri-
vate property, of the customs of inheritance,
of the incentive to productive efforts of an
ever more complicated order-all these are
inter-connected, inter-dependent, flourish or
decay together. At the same time, by
that paradox of antimonial duality or,
ambivalence which is the very nature of
the universe, their flourishing is possible
only in the setting of a Society. Society
and Individual, "We" and "1", are inter-
dependent yet opposed. The reconcilia-
tion must be found in a National Organi-
sation of Society, such as will give due
play to the instincts or forces of individu-
alistic competition, (droh-atmaka vibhuti)
as well as socialist co-operation (sambhuya-
samutthana. sangh-atmaka sambhuti).
Refinement of life is not possible
without accumulation of wealth;
and that is not possible without some

play of Individualism (ryashti-budhhi, bhed-budhhi, swartha, khud-garzi, khudi) the sense of private, exclusive, separate possession. But the excess of individualism leads to class wars and disruption of communities, and (when the spirit of Individualism puts on the mask and the larger form of Nationalism) to world-ruining wars, like the recent or indeed still continuing European War; and so it defeats its own ends and commits suicide. To guard against this excess, to set due limits to private accumulations, to ensure even the refinement against degenerating into vulgar loudness, to bring about an equitable distribution of necessaries and comfort-this is the work of the spirit of socialism (Samashti-buddhi, abheda. buddhi, parartha, isar, aql-i-ijmaai). The reconciliation is to be found in making the private life simpler and the public possessions richer, by putting 'private' individuals in charge of 'public' pro. perties of common use and enjoyment like public parks, museums, children's and youths' playgrounds, reading-rooms, libraries, roads. tanks, wells, places of worship, rest houses, dharmashalas, sara's, almshouses, bathing ghats, hospitals, etc., and inducing them, by the incentives of public honour (and public censure in the opposite case) to lay out their individually-accumulated wealth on these. In this connection the principle of the separation of the four prizes of life should be very carefully

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main

borne in mind. The preservation of

the integrity of the central authority (in other words, of the purity of the Legislature), and the inducing of all the individuals composing the community to put forth the best work that there is in them-these are the main problems of government and social organisation. Modern governments and modern collectivist schemes and experiments are all failing to find a solution for them. As said before, Lenin, in Russia, after extraordinary efforts to abolish private property has realised that capitalism has to be restored (though, no doubt, with limitations). He is reported to have found out that the peasants avoid working more than will produce enough for their necessary wants, and are not interested in supporting the intellectuals' etc., who are necessary for the State', unless special inducement is applied. Now the simple cld traditional solution, in India, of these problems is the separation of the four main prizes of life, viz. honor, power wealth and amusements, which constitute the main ambitional inducement to strenuous work of correspondingly different. kinds. The possibility of combining them, of securing them all, is the one prime cause of all kinds of social and political corruption. Separate them, and you at once minimise the temptations of the central authority, and at the same time provide an adequate (if not excessive) inducement to every worker to put forth his best. Socio-political reform of the affairs of human beings, if it is to be successfully carried out, must not ignore these facts and laws of the Science of Psy-

chology, ie, of Human Nature.
By taking due account of these
laws and facts, it is possible to minimise
the disadvantages and pick out the advan-
tages of all the many forms socio-political
organisation, which man has tried of the
village community, the city-guilds system,
the city-state, the country-state, theocracy
and sacerdotalism, autocracy and monar-
chy and despotism, aristocracy and feud-
alism and militarism, plutocracy and
capitalism, bureaucracy and oligarchy
of many kinds, and finally democracy
and collectivism of many shapes and
forms, each one only a lop-side exaggeration
of one constituent and necessary element
in the corporate life of humanity-and
synthesise them all anew in a truly
beneficent form of Swa-raj, government of
the community by its higher self.

प्रकाशक व मुद्रक - माधव वष्णिु पराड़कर, ज्ञानमण्डल यन्त्रालय, काशी २०५९-८३ ।

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